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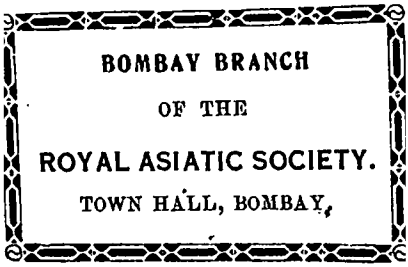

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A NEW

HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

ITALY.

A NEW

HISTORY OF PAINTING

IN

ITALY

FROM THE SECOND TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

DRAWN UP FROM FRESH MATERIALS AND RECENT RESEARCHES IN THE ARCHIVES OF ITALY; AS WELL AS FROM PERSONAL INSPECTION OF THE WORKS OF ART SCATTERED THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

E.C.303

BY J. A. CROWE & G. B. CAVALCASELLE,

AUTHORS OF 'THE EARLY FLEMISH PAINTERS.'

VOL. III.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1866.

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TO

AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, D.C.L., M.P.,

&c. &c. &c.,

WHOSE VARIOUS TALENTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

HAVE PROCURED FOR HIM SUCCESS

IN THE FIELDS OF ART, OF LETTERS, AND OF POLITICS,

This Volume

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHORS.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. III.

THE SCHOOL OF PAN, by Luca Signorelli; an oil-painting in possession of Marquis Corsi at Florence 7

THE HISTORY OF MOSES; a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, by Luca Signorelli ... 8

THE PARADISE; a fresco by Luca Signorelli, in the Duomo of Orvieto..... 19

THE "FULMINATI:" DESTRUCTION OF THE WICKED; part of a fresco by Luca Signorelli, in the Duomo of Orvieto 20

S. BARBARA, Saints and Angels; an altarpiece by Matteo di Giovanni, in S. Domenico of Sienna 84

MADONNA AND SAINTS; a wall-painting by Ottaviano Nelli, in S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio 88

THE ADORATION OF THE KINGS; an altarpiece by Gentile da Fabriano, in the Academy of Arts at Florence 100

THE DEATH OF S. LOUIS; a fresco by Benedetto Bonfigli, in the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia 143

CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER; a fresco by Pietro Perugino, in the Sixtine Chapel 180

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN; an altarpiece by Pietro Perugino, in the Museum of Caen 217

THE RESURRECTION; a panel by Pietro Perugino and Raphael, in the Gallery of the Vatican 219

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI; a fresco by Pietro Perugino, at Città della Pieve 226

THE LAST SUPPER; a fresco in S. Onofrio at Florence 247

MADONNA AND CHILD; portion of a picture by Perugino, in the Gallery of Bologna 249

VIRGIN, CHILD, AND DONOR; an altarpiece by Pinturicchio, in the Duomo of S. Severino 273

Page

ÆNEAS PICCOLOMINI GOING TO THE COUNCIL OF BASLE; a fresco by Pinturicchio, in the Library at Sienna 290

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI; an altarpiece by Lo Spagna, in the Museum of Berlin 305

MADONNA AND SAINTS; a picture by Domenico Alfani, in the Collegio Gregoriano at Perugia..... 366

THE NATIVITY; a fresco by Girolamo del Pacchia, in the Brotherhood of S. Bernardino at Sienna 382

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE; a fresco by Baldassare Peruzzi, in S. Maria della Pace at Rome 396

THE NATIVITY; an altarpiece by Lorenzo di Credi, in the Academy of Arts at Florence 410

MADONNA AND ANGELS; panel by Raffaellino del Garbo, in the Museum at Berlin 417

THE LAST JUDGMENT; a fresco by Fra Bartolommeo, in S. Maria Nuova at Florence 436

THE HOLY FAMILY; an oil-painting by Fra Bartolommeo, in Earl Cowper's collection at Panshanger 450

THE MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE OF SIENNA; an altarpiece by Fra Bartolommeo, in the Pitti at Florence..... 454

A GROUP from Fra Bartolommeo's picture in S. Romano at Lucca 462

S. MARK; by Fra Bartolommeo, at the Pitti in Florence 468

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE; by Fra Bartolommeo, in the Belvedere at Vienna..... 470

THE CRUCIFIXION; a fresco by Fra Paolino, in S. Spirito at Sienna 479

THE SALUTATION; an oil-painting by Mariotto Albertinelli, in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence 485

S. ZENOBIUS RAISING A DEAD CHILD; an oil-painting by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence 527

THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; a fresco by A. del Sarto, in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi at Florence 555

THE MADONNA DEL SACCO; a fresco by A. del Sarto, in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi at Florence 572

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

LUCA SIGNORELLI.

Luca Signorelli was born, as there is reason to believe, in 1441, at Cortona;[1] but his earliest impressions of art seem to have been obtained at Perugia, where he imbibed a tincture of the style peculiar to Bonfigli, Fiorenzo, and Pinturicchio.[2]

We may conceive it possible that a man of his talent should in the course of time have curbed the impetuosity of his nature and assumed the staid tenderness of the Umbrians; although it is not easy to believe that he would then have risen to fame. But his temper was not put to so hard a trial; and an early transfer into a wider field developed the full powers of his mind.

Cortona and Arezzo were both inhabited in the middle of the fifteenth century by branches of a family to which Luca

[1] The date of Signorelli's birth is not ascertained. But Vasari says he died aged 82 (Vas. VI. 147); and the death is all but proved to have occurred in 1523. Signorelli's full name is Luca d' Egidio di Ventura.

[2] There is some probability in Rumohr's belief (Forsch. ub. sup. II. 333) that Signorelli studied with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. At all events we may consider that he derived from a Perugian the small portion of Umbrian feeling apparent in the character of his curly headed children or in the type and action of angels.

was related. Their common ancestor Giorgio was known as a skilful potter. He handed down to his descendents a name which has become imperishable in connection with the history of Italian art.

Lazzaro Vasari, the son of the potter, inherited the skill of his father, but carried on also the trade of a painter.[1] His thrift was sufficient to give him a respectable station in Arezzo, and enable him to help his brothers at Cortona. His sister, who was married to Egidio di Ventura Signorelli of Cortona, was one of the partakers of his benevolence; and she was indebted to Lazzaro's acquaintance with Piero della Francesca for an apprenticeship for her son Luca in the atelier of that painter.[2]

That Signorelli owes his style principally to this great Umbro-Florentine is not for a moment to be doubted. Under his tuition he paid more than usual attention to the study of anatomy which at that time was carried on almost openly in the burial-grounds of great cities; and though he probably did not fathom the depths, he introduced into the stiffly and geometrically correct forms, of that master a greater liberty and force. He inaugurated a new phase in the science of Uccelli and Piero della Francesca, and prepared the way for its perfection in Michael Angelo. Signorelli in fact learnt to display the structure and mechanism of nude in immediate action with a power unattained in his day, and even went so far at last as to overstep the bounds of nature, and substitute for it unreal and conventional calculations of probabilities. We judge of his daring play with the greatest difficulties of position that art can pretend to render, not merely by his pictures but by the remains of his original drawings from the naked model or from anatomical subjects, in which a successful effort is made to suggest the internal formation, as well as imitate the external appear-

[1] Vasari has written a short life of his great grandfather whom he describes as born in 1380 and deceased in 1452. The works of Lazzaro who is said to have imitated Piero della Francesca have all perished. (See Vas. IV, pp. 67—8.)

[2] Vasari IV. 68.

ance, of flesh, muscle, and bone. These drawings are still preserved in the Louvre, and might easily be confounded with similar ones by Michael Angelo; whilst their carefulness and accuracy reveal a knowledge of the laws which Leonardo reduced to a system in his treatise. If indeed Signorelli recalls the first by his vigour, and by his passion for overstepping the bounds of truth, he may remind us of Leonardo in the scientific path, since the rules which guided the latter were familiar to Piero della Francesca; and a natural medium for the interchange of ideas between him and Leonardo is found in Luca Pacioli, the mathematician and friend of both.

The truth was what Signorelli thus early strove to attain; but the truth in art as in the daily intercourse of men frequently and justly offends, unless taste or tact soften its asperities. At the school of Piero, Signorelli learnt no more than to render the exactly true in nature; he found no incitement, or if he did, he disdained, to realize anything more choice or noble than that which is apparent in any one example of humanity. He therefore remained deprived of one of the elements which produces unity and keeping in the works of such men as Domenico Ghirlandaio, Fra Bartolommeo, Raphael, or Andrea del Sarto. He became a painter of mere nude, of a nude excellent in its parts, powerful in bone and muscle, but unselect and academical.

Signorelli's genius and temper naturally led him to prefer large to small spaces. He is therefore great in the former — at Rome and Orvieto. He set much less value in consequence on charm of colour than upon the exhibition of feats in drawing. There is a roughness and asperity in the red lights and brown-red shadows of his frescos which indicate contempt for the exquisite feeling for tone displayed by Piero. His hurtling decision is equally apparent in the division of masses of chiaroscuro. The lights and shadows are like a peal of bells, sharp, defined, and surprising rather than pleasant. These peculiarities are not confined to Signorelli's frescos, but ex-

tend also to his panels, some of which, in the mixed system, are of a gloomy olive tinge full of character and power, whilst others finished at one painting are, if glazed at all, only slightly scumbled with opaque brown in the shadows. These are always fuller in substance than the rest, and prove that Luca had not Piero's sensitive fibre for tone. Though Signorelli thus throws out less characteristic traits of Piero's teaching in his pictures than in frescos, these traits are not absolutely wanting in the former. A Nativity originally in Borgo S. Sepolcro, now in the hands of Mr. Barker in London, has been described amongst the works of Piero, as exhibiting some of Signorelli's vulgarity in faces, and in the positive brown hue of its full bodied colour. At the Brera gallery in Milan, a Flagellation by Signorelli is clearly impressed with the influence of Piero della Francesca in the conception, which is on the model of the same subject at Urbino, — in the style of architecture, in the types and action. The column to which the Saviour is bound, supports an idol.[1] A scourger, in the act of fastening one of the ligaments, is a nude conceived in the spirit of the master, and academically rendered with the energy of the pupil. Another, whose back is to the spectator, recalls the powerful creations of Michael Angelo. Pilate sits on the left in an intercolumniated distance enlivened with statues, friezes, and entablatures, on one of which are the words: "Opus Luce Cortonensis." The care with which the drawing is carried out, and the repetition of certain forms, already remarkable in Piero as reminiscent of Leonardo, are proofs of Luca's education under della Francesca; whilst the bold muscular movement, the Herculean frame and unselect shape of the Redeemer reveal how completely Signorelli thus early made his teacher's style subordinate to the evolution of his own.[2]

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[1] As at Urbino. The piece is No. 91 in the Brera Catalogue.

[2] Thus, though Vasari does not exaggerate, when he says that Luca "imitated" the manner of Piero, he exaggerates when he adds that "it was difficult to distinguish the works of either."

We have no means of ascertaining at what time the Flagellation was completed, nor the person or corporation for whom it was ordered. We only know that Signorelli painted in 1472[1] at Arezzo, and in 1474 at Città di Castello;[2] but he was then in the prime of life, thirty-three or thirty-five years of age, if the tradition of his birth be correct, and of matured experience; nor can we conceive that one of his temper, and taught by an artist who owed so much to Florence, should have hesitated to betake himself, as soon as his means allowed him, to the capital of Italy, the capital insofar at least as the arts were concerned.

He was no stranger, it would seem, to Lorenzo de' Medici, who is said to have accepted presents from him of pictures representing both mythological subjects then in fashion, and more sacred themes.[3]

It was natural that a man of Signorelli's spirit should treat poetical incidents derived from the books of ancient Greece with peculiar pleasure, at the period when Greek literature was studied with so much interest; and that he should prize the occasions of doing so in proportion to their rarity. The attraction which such incidents might have for educated people was confined to the highest and wealthiest class; and we know of no one for whom Signorelli might hope to paint them, except a Lorenzo de' Medici or a Pandolfo Petrucci. Vasari states that Luca made Lorenzo a present of a canvass in which groups of naked gods were represented.[4] A line engraving of a canvass, answering his description, will be found annexed to these pages. It was recently discovered at Florence, and now belongs to the Marquis Corsi. The subject seems to be the School of Pan, most poetically conceived and beautifully arranged. Pan sits on a rocky throne, with the leopard's skin on his shoulders, the pipes in his left

[1] Vas. (VI. 137).

[2] Muzi, Memorie civili di Città di Castello II. 48 ap. annot. to Vas. (VI. 156). That fresco has since perished.

[3] Vas. VI. 141.

[4] Ib. ib. p. 141.

hand, a staff in his right. The horns on his head are idealized in the prettiest manner. A finely posed Olympus stands in profile at his side, turning his back to the spectator and playing, whilst two shepherds on each hand listen with intense attention. The sounds are supposed to be wafted away by the reeds which are held united by a man lying on the ground, and a nymph, erect near him. This nymph, who is probably no other than Echo, rests her hand on a cane to which a tablet is affixed, bearing the words "Luca Cortonen.". Two other nymphs are in the distance of trees and rocks; and the car of the sun is just visible in the sky. It is almost the same subject as that painted by Signorelli on the walls of the Petrucci palace at Sienna — a masterpiece for beauty of forms, a sure proof of the artist's talent in drawing nudes, admirable for the select classicism of the Olympus, and charming for the variety of expressions embodied in the group.[1]

Signorelli's Madonnas also are not wanting in Florentine galleries; and one of them, a round of a Virgin and child, with two prophets in monochrome medallions, in the upper angles of a circumscribing square, has ceased to be the ornament of the villa of Castello, and is in the Uffizi.[2] Of the same period and class, the Virgin and child at the Pitti,[3] the Nativity in Mr. Barker's collection,[4] the Holy Family in the Dresden Gallery,[5] the Virgin and

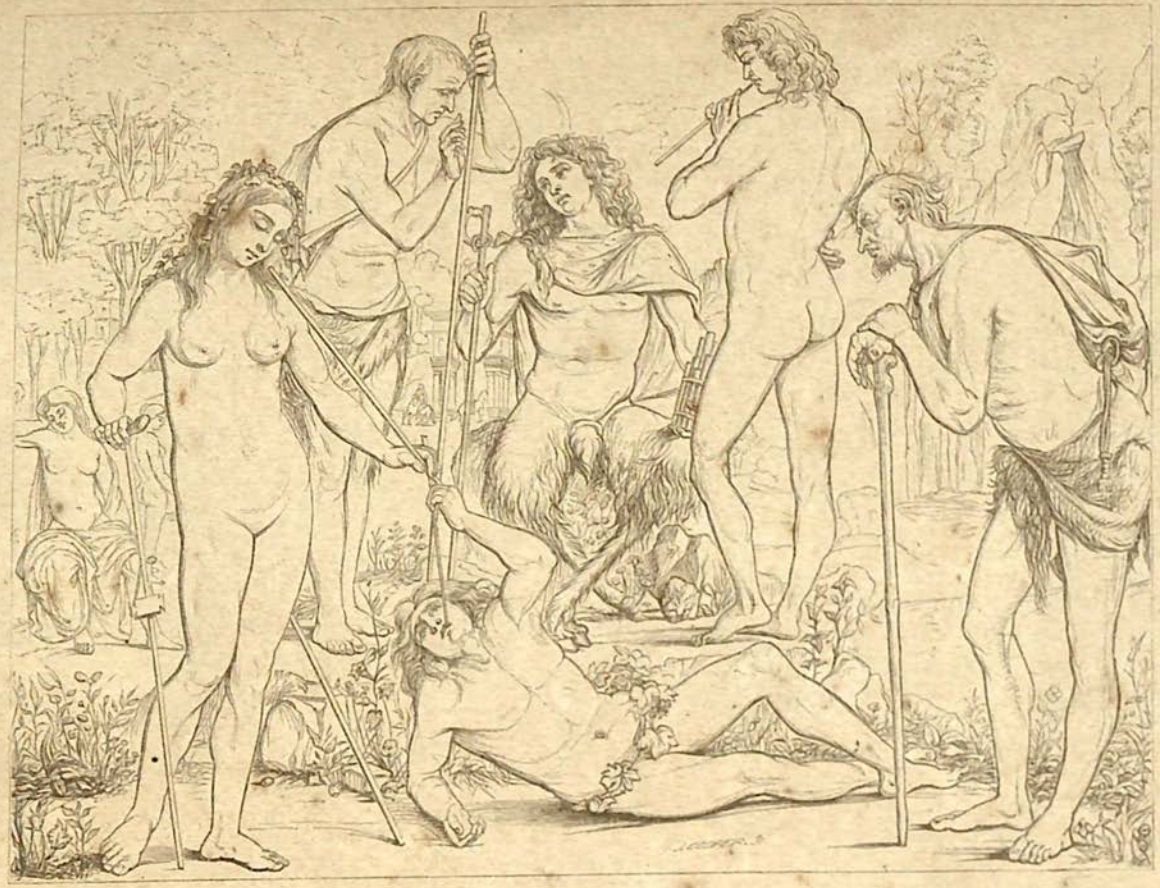
[1] If this picture, of which the authors have only seen the photograph taken from a most careful drawing, be as well preserved as it is beautifully composed and designed, it is one of the most important extant of Signorelli.

[2] No. 34. Uffizi. Four nude shepherds are in the distance — a well preserved piece (Vas. VI. 141).

[3] No. 355. Pitti. The Virgin holds the infant on a cushion on her lap. He dictates to S. Catherine who stands before him writing in a book. This also is in good condition.

[4] The Virgin adores the infant asleep on the right. S. Joseph is on the left. The distance is a landscape. According to tradition, Lorenzo de' Medici gave this picture to a lady of the family of the Guiducci. It was purchased from that family for the Metzger collection and thence passed to Mr. Barker.

[5] No. 21. Dresden Gallery. This round, originally in Pisa, belonged to Mr. Woodburn. The Virgin holds on her knee the naked infant who plays with the infant S. John. The latter looks at S. Joseph who points to a cross in his (S. John's) hand. Distance — rocky. Above



THE SCHOOL OF PAN, by Luca Signorelli — an oil painting in possession of Marquis Corsi at Florence

child between the kneeling S. Jerome and a Benedictine in the Corsini Palace,[1] and two rounds belonging to the Ginori family at Florence, all prove Signorelli's study of Botticelli, and Filippino.[2]

The Madonna at the Uffizi is painted in a grand style; the nudes in the distance are admirable studies; and the prophets in the medallions recall the works of Michael Angelo. A noble gentleness marks the Virgin and child at the Pitti. Mr. Barker's Nativity — a bold, clever picture — is in Signorelli's gloomy olive tone; a feature, repeated in the Holy Family at Dresden, in which the Florentine types of Botticelli and Filippino, in the Virgin and S. Joseph, are coupled with Umbrian masks in the two graceful angels. It is composed with much thought, and boldly executed "a la prima", showing the bond which unites the master to P. della Francesca, Melozzo of Forlì, and Gio. Santi. The three remaining rounds are of the same character.

The Medicean was not the only princely family for which Signorelli laboured. He was employed by the Della Roveres, painted in the sanctuary of Loreto, and competed in the Sixtine chapel with Perugino and the best Florentines. It would be easier to determine which of these great undertakings was first completed, were the frescos in S. Maria di Loreto in a better state of preservation. Local writers affirm that Giuliano della Rovere, who was afterwards Pope under the title of Julius the Second, was protector of the sanctuary at Loreto in 1478,[3] and that he caused the marble

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are two angels reading and singing.

[1] No. 18. The Virgin's blue dress injured.

[2] In one of these, the Virgin supports the infant Christ and Baptist who embrace each other. In a rich landscape distance, to the left, S. Jerome kneels in prayer with the lion at his side. To the right, kneels S. Bernard. There is a reminiscence of the works of Bazzi in the children. This picture is probably the most pleasing in tone that was produced by Signorelli. The second of these rounds is less good. The Virgin seated, with joined hands turns towards the infant near her. The youthful Baptist in distance to the right is in the act of fastening a sandal. The figures are more slender, the tones cooler, than in the immediately foregoing example.

[3] See Torsellino and the Guida di Loreto published at Ancona in

pavement of the Holy chapel to be laid at that time. Vasari says, that Signorelli was liberally paid by Sixtus the Fourth for the frescos.[1] He certainly deserved liberal treatment for the most chastened work he ever produced on wall. The triangles of the octogon ceiling contain eight angels in various attitudes playing instruments. The four doctors of the church and the four evangelists fill the upper, the twelve apostles, in couples, six spaces of the lower course; and the two remaining fields comprise the incredulity of S. Thomas, and the conversion of S. Paul. A reminiscence of Fra Filippo's ceiling at Prato is evident in the four evangelists, and confirms the supposition that Signorelli had been at Florence, and tempered his Umbrian feeling with the more masculine elements of its art. His angels, which are least injured by dirt and smoke, are done with great carefulness and patience. But most of the apostles and the two subject pieces are dimmed to incomprehensibility.[2]

A single fresco at the Sixtine is the work of Signorelli. One feels on looking at it that the painter knew he was competing with men great in the art of composition and in the science of light and shade. His conception and arrangement of incidents are grand and suitable. To the right Moses reads from a book. His rod is in his hand. He sits and tells of the promised land to the Hebrews of all sex and age surrounding him. To the left he transfers the rod to Aaron. The people are gathered on a grassy slope, which rises as it recedes into rocky distances interspersed with trees. In the centre background the angel shows the promised land; and far off to the left, the body of the patriarch is buried. The grand choice of nude in some of the figures about the sitting Moses is striking, leaving an impression akin to that produced by Piero della Francesca in the frescos of Arezzo.

824, quoted in Ricci (Memorie Stor. degli artisti della Marca di Ancona. I. 196).

[1] Vas. VI. 143.

[2] In the great aisle of the church are 26 monochrome figures completely renewed by Pomarancio.

THE HISTORY OF MOSES; a fresco in the Sixtine Chapel, by Luca Signorelli.

Great spirit is thrown into the draped figure to the right, leaning an elbow on a staff. There is vigour and Umbrian grace in the back views of the men in the tight costume of the period. The females are less successful than the males, heavy in type and stiffly angular in form, as might be expected from a pupil of Francesca, whilst the children are clumsy and aged in frame and head; but the group of women and children may be due to Don Bartolommeo della Gatta, who was at Rome with Signorelli and Perugino, and laboured as their assistant at the Sixtine. The drawing is at once bold and broken, in contrast with carefulness of general handling and a patient application of gold in the dresses.[1]

Signorelli holds an honourable place in the Sixtine chapel. He is second to Ghirlandaio in the great law of balance, in propriety and objectiveness; but he compensates these failings by liveliness and action. He is grander and more dignified than Botticelli, and reminds us that his path was followed later by Michael Angelo. He stands in marked contrast to Perugino, whose softness and tenderness are the direct contrary of his energy and impetuosity. He is naturally much above Cosimo Rosselli. We believe that most of these painters met and laboured together at Rome. Their rivalry was friendly; and each of them probably had commissions from many Roman patrons. Of these, however, Signorelli's share has not been preserved. If he furnished altarpieces to wealthy cardinals, they are not forthcoming; — if he did more than one fresco at the Sixtine, his successors obliterated it; and the journey of Moses and Zipporah, usually attributed to him, must be resigned to Perugino.[2] — Signorelli's stay at Rome may have lasted from about 1478 to 1484. At the latter date he was already residing in Cortona.

A subscription had been made about that time for the

[1] Some portions of the flesh tints which are generally reddish, and the lower part of the foreground, are retouched.

[2] See postea.

erection of S. Maria del Calcinaio outside the town, and the promoters of the scheme were desirous of obtaining plans and models from competent hands. On application to Signorelli, who seems to have been diffident of his own powers, he suggested the name of Francesco di Giorgio. Francesco was at that time on duty for the Duke of Urbino at Gubbio; Signorelli was sent there to meet him, and the matter was speedily settled to the satisfaction of all parties. S. M. del Calcinaio is one of the few edifices in Italy really planned by Francesco di Giorgio.[1]

To Signorelli's labours in the year 1484 we likewise owe the altarpiece in the cathedral of Perugia, representing the Virgin and child enthroned under a garland of fruit and flowers in the Paduan fashion, between SS. Onofrio, John the Baptist, and an angel, Ercolano, Stephen and an angel, whilst a nude seraph times a stringed instrument as he sits on the pediment of the throne.[2] In spite of the realism of the seraph and of the aged and bony S. Onofrio, the picture was no doubt a fine one originally, but its beauties are veiled by heavy repainting; and horizontal splits in the panel deprive it of value.[3]

Cortona was now Signorelli's home, and it may be assumed that he usually remained there, attending to the

[1] The records of this affair, in which Signorelli took so conspicuous a part, are published in the Giornale Arcadico di Roma for the year 1823. Two of them are republished in Passavant's Raphael ubi supra. I. 420, one in Vas. com. VI. p. 156. The date of Signorelli's visit to Francesco di Giorgio at Gubbio is June 1484.

[2] Cesare Crispolti in Perugia Augusta, lib. I. fol. 63 and lib. II. fol. 270 gives the following as the inscription then on the picture: "Jacobus Vannutius nobilis Cortonensis, olim Episcopus Perusinus, hoc Deo maximo et divo Onofrio sacellum dedicavit; cui in archiepiscopum Nicaenum assumpto, nepos Dyonisius successit, et quanta vides impensa ornavit aequa pietas MCCCCLXXXIV." The picture was originally at Arezzo, and came later into the Duomo of Perugia.

[3] Manni (Vita di Luca Signorelli ap. Vas. com. VI. 144) alludes to a contract of Jan. 1485, by which Signorelli binds himself to paint a chapel in S. Agata of spoleto. We cannot ascertain whether the date is calculated according to the old or to the new style, and whether to place it after or before the journey to Gubbio. At all events there is no trace of Signorelli's work in S. Agata.

numerous commissions for altarpieces and church standards which poured in upon him. The company of the Virgin at Città di Castello, for which he had painted a banner, caused the freedom of the town to be conferred on him in 1488,[1] and many pieces still extant in the place testify to Luca's popularity. At Cortona his worth was fully appreciated; and he was elected to municipal honours in the same year, as well as on several different occasions till his death.[2] The extent of his reputation may be conceived from the fact that he was one of those called upon to decide the competition for the models of the front of S. Maria del Fiore at Florence in 1491.[3]

Amongst the more distant places in which he is supposed in these days to have laboured is Volterra, where a Circumcision, ordered for the altar of a company in S. Francesco, is described by Vasari as a "marvel of beauty". Its original completeness was injured by Bazzi, who repainted the infant Christ, and spoiled it; and this Vandalism is strongly reproved by the Aretine.[4] Vasari, however, speaks of a fresco, and one is tempted to inquire whether his memory did not lead him into error. A panel of the Circumcision by Signorelli, in the Hamilton Palace near Glasgow, deserves his praise, and would justify his reproaches, inasmuch as all the figures but one are well preserved; and the infant Christ alone is repainted.[5] The composition is one of Signorelli's best, well arranged, and full of energy. The life-size figures are bold in action, yet unstrained; the colour, strong and of an olive tinge, with brown shadows. Firmness and truth of drawing are combined with a judicious distribution of light and shade. The high-priest raises his eyes and stretches his hands to heaven with a benevolent glance, whilst a person of lower rank in front of him

[1] Com. in Vas. (VI. 156).

[2] Ib. Luca held the magistracy for two months in the years 1488. 1495. 1497. 1502. 1504. 1508. 1520. and 1524.

[3] See the records of this competition in com. Vas. VII. 247.

[4] Vas. VI. 138.

[5] Repainted at a very distant period but in a manner out of keeping with the rest of the altarpiece.

bends over the form of the infant Christ, held by the Virgin on her lap. Her face is cast in Signorelli's well-known mould, and expresses kindly softness, whilst that of the operator is on the model of those of Piero della Francesca and Leonardo. A graceful female to the left of the high-priest touches the Virgin's shoulder, and offers to the spectator a form of Umbrian character. S. Joseph, on the same side, a grandiose apparition in full drapery, contemplates the ceremony and supports himself with the right hand on a short staff. Tender care is expressed in his looks. Behind him a female of sweet features, with an air recalling to mind a creation by Giovanni Santi, is accompanied by a turbaned male. To the right of the principal group, a man in converse enforces his speech by the touches of his fingers upon each other, explaining something with force to a young female in front, who pauses in the act of departing, and turns her head towards the infant Christ. It would be difficult to find a better Umbro-Florentine work of Signorelli's good period than this.[1]

But Volterra boasts of other portable works by him, one of which, an Annunciation, dated 1491, in the Cappella S. Carlo of the Duomo, is reminiscent of a similar piece by Giovanni Santi in the Brera at Milan. The Virgin has been reading under a colonnade, and in her surprise at the appearance of the angel in the court, she has dropped her book, the Eternal in glory appearing as usual in the heavens to the left. The perspective is good, the colour powerful, and the handling masterly, but the types and character of the figures, and the cast of the drapery are more than usually Umbrian, and the pic-

[1] The picture is signed on the base "Lucas Cortonensis pinxit." The scene is laid within the niche of a temple with yellow ornament on a blue ground in the borders. A prophet in a medallion fills the angles of the niche. A ribband, vase and book are on the floor. The annotators of Vas. (VI. 138) say that MS. records by Ormanni in the library of Volterra mention the existence of a circumcision by Luca de Cortona — on panel in S. Francesco and the same subject on panel in the company del nome di Gesù. The panels forming the surface are laid transversely and have slightly bulged outwards.

ture is one of those in which Signorelli most displayed an amiable and kindly spirit.[1]

A tabernacle altarpiece in S. Francesco of the same city, dating from the same year as the foregoing, represents the Virgin enthroned amongst saints, with a predella of feigned bas-reliefs, unfortunately ruined. No earlier one by Luca so fully develops his grand boldness. The hardy energy of the infant Saviour's gesture, as he raises an arm, which is seen from beneath, like the Redeemer's in Michael Angelo's ceiling at the Sixtine, is truly startling. The two saints nearest the spectator are very fine, and the angels have again the Umbrian affectation of grace. The draperies are massed with considerable breadth, and the colour is as usual full of texture and high in the shadows.[2]

Luca's return and residence at Cortona, in 1493 and 1494, are certified by records of payments for two altarpieces at Città di Castello;[3] and a peculiar interest attaches to his movements in the latter year, because it has been supposed that he visited Urbino on the occasion of a contract for a banner to be delivered after a specified time to the brotherhood of S. Spirito in that place.[4] Signorelli is evidently well known to Giov. Santi, who calls him "il Cortonese Luca, d'ingegno e spirto pellegrino". Pungileoni inquires, whether it might not be likely that so distinguished an artist should have been of some influence on the career of the youthful Ra-

[1] The architecture is good and highly ornamented. On the nearest pillar of the colonnade is a scroll, containg the inscription: "Lucas Cortonen pinxit MXDI." The head and hands of the Virgin have been retouched.

[2] This fine piece is on the altar of the Maffei second to the right as you enter the portal. On the step beneath the Virgin's feet are the words: "Mariae. Virgini. Petrus. Bella Domna. hujus. religionis. professor. posuit. Lvcas Cortonen pinxit M.CCCCLXXXXI." There are three vertical splits in the panel which is much injured, the colour scaling in parts and altered in the flesh shadows. The figures at the Virgin's sides are (left) SS. Francis, John the Baptist, and an angel, (right) Anthony, Joseph, and an angel. On the foreground seated are S. Jerome and a bishop writing.

[3] Mancini ub. sup. ap. com. Vas. (VI. 157).

[4] See the contract in Pungileoni, Elog. Stor. di Gio. Santi. p. 77.

phael, or have taught him something when at Urbino in 1494.[1] But there is no proof whatever in the records which he adduces, to justify the belief that Signorelli came to Urbino on the occasion in question; and Giovanni Santi, who died in August of that very year, was cognizant of his talents and fame long before. The banner of S. Spirito is still preserved in the edifice of that name in Urbino, representing on one side the crucifixion with great animation in the principal and episodic scenes, and on the other a grey and not pleasing Descent of the Holy Spirit.

A Nativity and a Martyrdom of S. Sebastian ordered severally for S. Francesco and S. Domenico of Città de Castello mark the year 1496.[2] The latter still in the church for which it was commissioned, shows an exaggerated vigour in the crossbow-men like that which characterizes the subject as painted by the Pollaiuoli in the National Gallery. The distance is equally full of figures and classic edifices; but the execution generally is somewhat dry.[3]

In 1497, Signorelli left Cortona and commenced a progress abroad during which he produced some of his finest and grandest works. We shall have occasion to ascertain how the art of Sienna continued its retrograde course during the fifteenth century. Its absorption into the Perugian school occurred a little later. In the meanwhile Signorelli who sustained at least the Umbrian fibre of the old school, appeared at Sienna, the precursor of the Pinturicchios and Bazzis, and found his way to the Olivetine convent of Chiusuri, in one cloister of which he carried out part of a vast decorative series illustrating the life of S. Benedict.[4] To enjoy the fullness of Lucas' power from the

[1] Pungileoni, Elogio Stor. di Raffaello Santi. 8° Urb. 1829. p. 13. 14. 15.

[2] As to the Nativity see records, in com. Vas. (VI. 157).

[3] Vasari notices the picture. (VI. 138) and Mancini states that it was inscribed in the predella: "Thomas de Brozziis et Francisca uxor fieri fecit 1498" (ap. note to Vas. VI. 138). The date is wrongly given, being 1496. The picture has lost its liveliness of colour and has greatly suffered.

[4] Vasari XI. 146.

remnants of his wall paintings in this edifice is, however, difficult because of the injury which they have sustained.

Eleven spaces are filled with paintings on the cloister wall to the right of the entrance. The first is one of those which Bazzi completed in 1505,[1] the last is by Riccio, whilst the penultimate is completely gone. There remain therefore eight frescos by Signorelli, representing 1. (after that of Bazzi near the door) Totila's genuflexion before Benedict;[2] 2. the shield-bearer's coming to Benedict in place of Totila (injured in parts); 3. the temptation of the abstinent monk (injured and renewed in the lower part); 4. the conviction of two brethren for breaking the fast-vow; 5. the resurrection of a monk on whom Satan had pitched a stone (much blackened); 6. Benedict exorcising the devil who prevented the stone from moving; 7. the overthrow of the idol (damaged); 8. the fall of a house and crushing of a youth (much injured and retouched).

These frescos date from 1497.[3] They prove that Signorelli was still under the influence of his early education by Piero della Francesca. They embody all his energy and fancy. The drawing, pounced on very smooth surfaces from cartoons like Pieros', is clean. It defines not only the outlines of the forms, but the respective parts in light and in shade with geometric precision. The technical system is also perfectly clear, a local water colour of a yellowish tinge for light, stippled with yellow red for mezzo tints, with red for shadows, always in one direction on the plan pursued by Leonardo in his drawings.

A prolonged stay in Sienna during 1498, resulted in Luca's completion of an altarpiece for the chapel of the Bicchi in S. Agostino, of which the wings alone, representing life size figures of SS. Chiara, Mary Magdalen, and Jerome, Augustin, Catherine, and Anthony of Padua, are in the Berlin Museum and must be classed amongst the fine productions of the master.[4] His chief occupation

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[1] The record vouching for this date is in Doc. Sen. III. 184.

[2] Several of the drawings for this fresco are in the gallery of the Louvre.

[3] Guida all' archicenobio di Monte Oliveto, Sienna, 1844. p. 20.

[4] No. 79. Berlin Museum. The date of this piece is given by Tizio (in MS. Hist. Sen. ap. Pungileoni Raph. ub. sup, p. 6) who says: "Lucas ... in S. Augustino tabulam peregrinam pinxit anno abhine (1513) decimo quinto." The centre of the altarpiece as described by Vasari (VI. 149) was a S. Christopher, the saint to whom the chapel of the Bicchi was dedicated,

at this time was however the adornment of the Palace of Pandolfo Petrucci. That wealthy individual who in a long course of years had succeeded in usurping supreme power at Sienna had wellnigh brought a new palace to completion; and one of the rooms in that edifice was covered with frescos which Della Valle has described.* One of them represented Midas angered at the discovery of his ass's ears.[1] The second was the school of Pan, almost similar in composition to the canvass of the same subject in possession of Marquis Corsi.[2] In a third, the torments and triumph of Cupid were depicted.[3] A fourth was devoted to Coriolanus listening to the prayers of his mother and wife.[4] In the same room were a flight of Eneas from Troy, a Ransom of prisoners and a Penelope or Lucretia at her loom, the latter by Pinturicchio.[5] The triumph of Cupid and the Coriolanus, transferred to canvass and injured, are now in Mr. Barker's collection, and are grand compositions of figures quarter the life-size. The rest of Luca's frescos have been lost, whilst the flight of Eneas and the Ransom are still preserved in the Academy of Arts at Sienna and display a mixture of the styles of Signorelli and Pinturicchio with something of the character appertaining to the Bolognese, Ercole Grandi, or to Girolamo Genga.[6] The latter is known to have been in Pandolfo's employ, and is even said to have laboured later with Signorelli at Orvieto and elsewhere, yet one cannot find his hand in the Cappella S. Brizio, and if he did any

* and according to Tizio the portraits of the Bicchi were also there. We only mention as a duty a Nativity in S. Domenico of Sienna cited by Taia, Guida di Sienna 1822, p. 149 as by Signorelli. We shall note this piece in the life of Francesco di Giorgio. The Nativity, however, exhibits an animation and movement from which we might infer that some influence was wielded by Signorelli on the painter.

[1] Inscribed: ΛΟΥΚΑΣ Ο ΚΟΡΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ.

[2] Inscribed: "Lucas d. Cortona."

[3] It was inscribed: "Lucas Coritius."

[4] Also signed: "Lucas Coritius."

[5] See Della Valle's Lettere Sanese (II. 320—21) Dr. Waagen had occasion to see this piece in possession of Mr. Joly de Bammeville in Paris.

[6] No. 224 and 225, Acad. of Arts. Sienna.

thing there, his attention must have been confined to ornaments.[1]

From Sienna Signorelli now proceeded to Orvieto, where the council of the cathedral after waiting nine years for Perugino, and after trying Pinturicchio, had finally resolved that Luca should decorate the chapel of S. Brizio.[2]

It would be curious to ascertain, what the painter's reflections may have been as he contemplated the unfinished masterpieces of Angelico on one of the ceilings of the chapel. The last great artist who embodied the essentially religious element had left the traces of a mighty talent behind. How was the equally mighty representative of new principles and of modern modes of thought, to reconcile his creations with those of his precursor? One can understand a debate in the Orvieto council, if the members discussed the relative merits of Pinturicchio and Signorelli. Would not the tender, perhaps affected Perugian be better suited to continue the work of the mystic Dominican than the fiery follower of Piero della Francesca? But Signorelli prevailed. Pinturicchio whose art is that of Perugino minus his best qualities, was not fit to compete with the gigantic power of one whose *opus* following on that of his teacher was necessary to the development of Italian painting; — who left at Orvieto his mark for all time. Not but that his frescos there may in the course of centuries perish like so many others that have gone that way before, but they were in their path suggestive and grand; and had their influence on the growth of Michael Angelo.

[1] These are indeed executed with less accurate care than the rest of the work, but see Vas. (XI. 86—7).

[2] The contract was signed on the 5th of April 1499, and comprised at first only the ceilings and windows. When Signorelli had completed these he was ordered to proceed with the remainder, receiving for the whole 780 ducats. He was furnished besides with the necessary ultramarine and free quarters. On obtaining the second commission he further received monthly a certain measure of wine and corn, and two beds, one being no doubt for his assistant, supposed to have been Girolamo Genga. The walls of the chapel were completed between April 1500 and the close of 1501. See Della Valle's Storia del Duomo di Orvieto: ub. sup. pp. 316. 319.

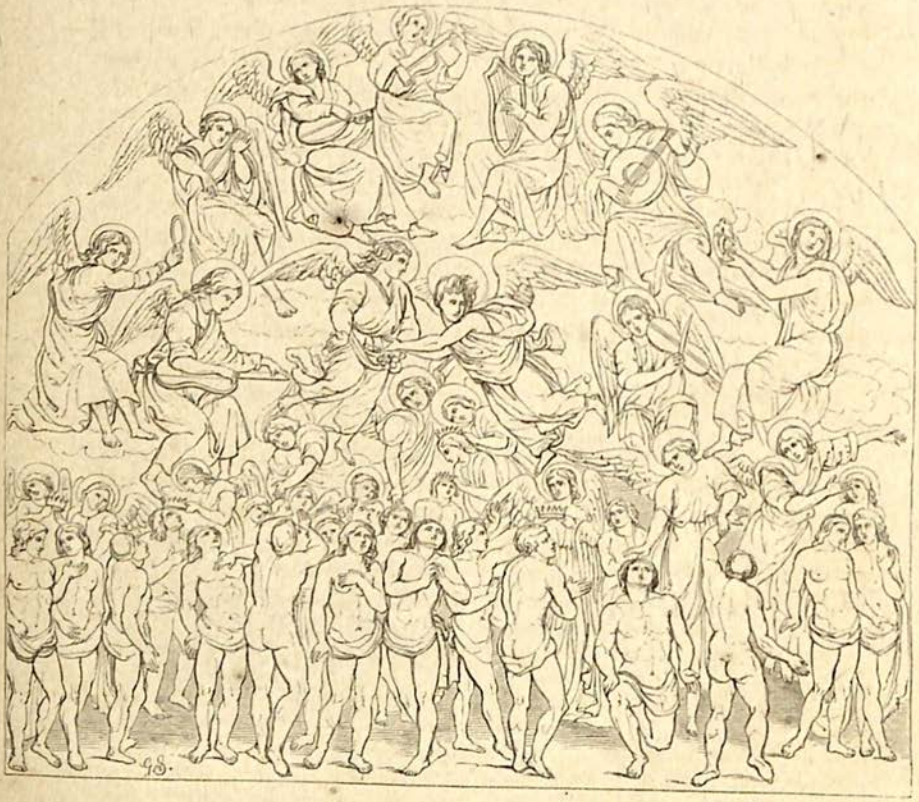
Looking round him at Orvieto, Signorelli might see, not merely the comparatively small production of a ceiling by Angelico; his imagination might feed on the examples of great bygone sculptors. He could leisurely examine the bas-reliefs of the time of the Pisan revival, the Giottesque ones of Andrea Pisano. He might perhaps still see mosaics by Orcagna. He certainly followed the ideas of Dante in the conception of an Inferno. What Signorelli did in S. Brizio at Orvieto; how he adorned the walls, and with what taste he combined his pictures with the architecture which surrounds them must however now be told.

The Cappella S. Brizio is a rectangle in two subdivisions, each subdivision having three lunettes and a groined ceiling. An entrance leads through the lower side. The upper naturally holds the altar. Each of the lunettes is one picture, vast in size. All the pictures are at a certain height, their lower borders resting on fictive marble skirtings, adorned in the centre with square panels inclosing portraits, and medallions as satellites, with scenes derived from Dante's Purgatorio, or subjects taken from mythology.

In the first lunette to the left of the entrance, Antichrist falls, head downwards, from heaven, pursued by the archangel, sword in hand. An innumerable crowd peoples the world below. The heavenly wrath confounds a mass of mortals in every sort of action, on foot, on horseback. They are hurled to the ground or fall on their backs, faces, sides, in such variety of attitude as one can scarcely imagine. On the foreground to the left, stand Luca Signorelli with Angelico, according to tradition; by his side; they look on whilst Antichrist on a pedestal, inspired by the devil, preaches to a multitude who listen, commune, or distribute to each other the wealth which is the reward offered with full hands by the tempter. In front of a splendid temple, occupying the right distance, episodes too numerous for description are depicted.[1]

The next lunette on the same side represents Paradise. The happy of both sexes stand in extasy, attended by angels who de-

[1] On the centre of the skirting below this fresco, a likeness of Dante fills a square panel. The medallion in dead colour beneath its base represents Dante and Virgil meeting Cato; the opposite one vertically — Dante and Virgil examining the rock, and the meeting of Dante with Manfred; the medallion to the left, Dante and Virgil awaiting the approach of the angel on the waters, that to the right the poets ascending the rock, Virgil showing Dante the sun, and Dante recognizing Belacqua. The lower part of the fresco of the fall of Antichrist is damaged and the colour a little abraded.



THE PARADISE; a fresco by Luca Signorelli, in the Duomo of Orvieto.

posit crowns on their heads, and point out to them the way to the more distant abodes of bliss, whilst others in flight play instruments or cast flowers in most graceful motion.[1]

On the wall pierced by the window, the embrasure of which contains two angels and two canonized bishops, an altar covers the lower part. To the left, the elect proceed upwards to heaven, guided by angels, and other celestial messengers, in a higher space, rush down with crowns, or float in ether, playing lutes and casting flowers.[2] In contrast to this scene, the menacing archangels, with S. Michael at their head, occupy the right of the pointed window above the altar. The fires of hell encompass a mob led by one holding a flag. Charon in his boat rows with his hideous wings. Groups await his pleasure for a passage of Acheron; and spirits assail the forms of the damned.[3]

Pursuing the course of the story, in the opposite side (right) of the chapel, the infernal regions are on the lunette nearest the altar. The archangels, on high to the right, winged, and in armour, stand by, as the ministers of Satan drive the sinners down, carry them on their backs, repel them panting and despairing; or strangle them with cords.[4]

The next lunette near the door (right) is devoted to the resurrection. Two angels, amidst clouds alive with cherubs, blow the last trump, their draperies and ribbands flying in the wind. Beneath them, the people rise from their tombs, in the flesh or as skeletons. In the centre of a lower skirting, an arch confines the dead Christ, resting his head on the Virgin's lap, and watched by a standing apostle on the right. A grieving figure is at his feet The kneeling Magdalen, between him and the spectator, kisses his

[1] On the centre of the skirting below this piece, the portrait is that of an unknown person; but the subjects in the medallions about it, in the same order as above, are: — Dante led by Virgil, then meeting with the souls singing miserere; — the meeting of Dante and Sordello, and the embrace of Sordello and Virgil; — again the embrace of Virgil and Sordello; — Virgil and Dante observing the "esercito gentile" the two angels with drawn swords guarding the hill, and Dante talking to Nino Visconti of Pisa.

[2] A small window in the midst of these groups has in its embrasure an angel expelling Satan, and S. Michael weighing the souls.

[3] In the sides of a little window in the midst of this group, the word "Ave Maria" are inscribed. In the skirting to the left of the altar a vertical chain of two rectangular panels with a medallion between them, represent, 1. Dante asleep with an eagle above him; 2. Dante followed by Virgil and seeing the bas-relief of the annunciation; 3. Dante's meeting with Oderisio di Gubbio. In the same order on the skirting of the right side of the altar, 1. unknown subject; 2. Perseus and Andromeda; 3. marriage of Perseus and Andromeda.

[4] In the skirting, the central square panelling contains a portrait of Claudian; and in the medallions around, all on gold ground are Juno, Venus, Minerva and Proserpine.

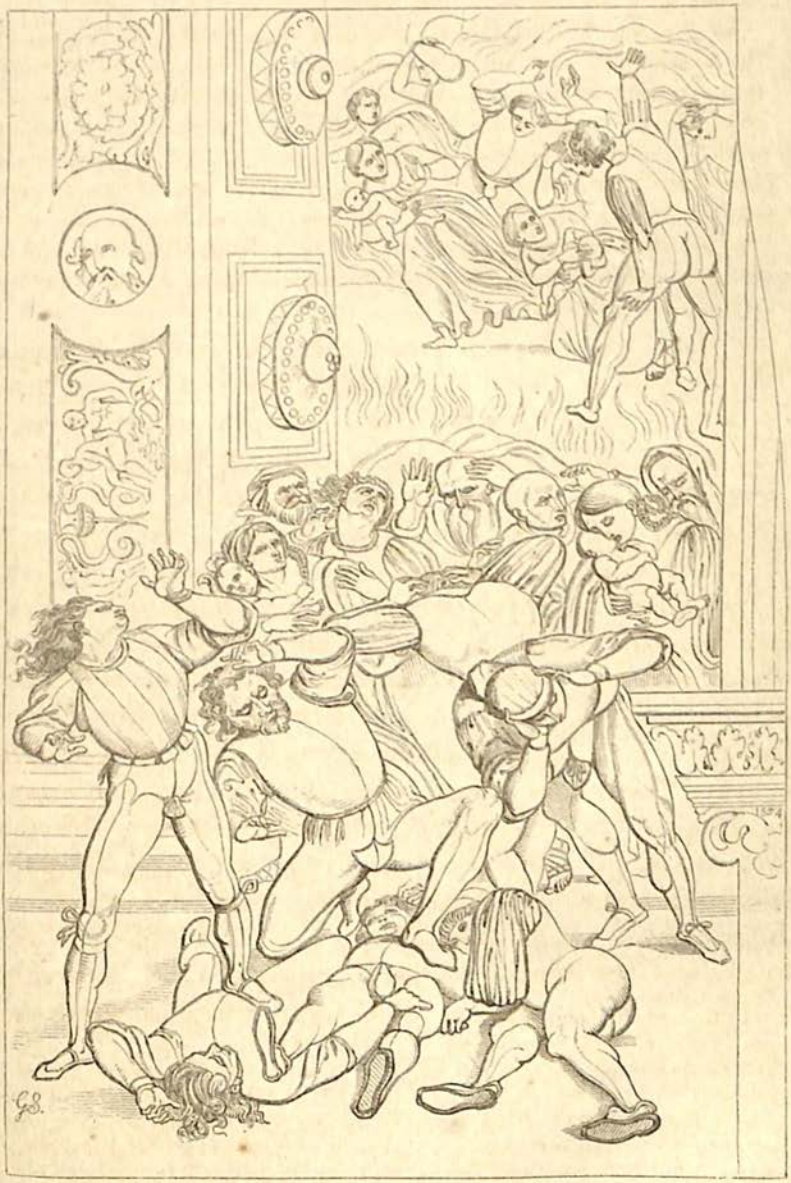
lifeless hand; and in the rear, in the shape of a bas-relief on a tomb, the body of the Redeemer is carried by three bearers to the grave.[1]

At the side of the door is a continuation of the destruction of the wicked. Beneath on each hand are two portraits, one of them probably that of Signorelli, the other that of Niccola di Francesco, who ordered the frescos. To the ceiling of Angelico, which is that of the subdivision nearest the altar, Signorelli added one section, left empty by the Dominican, depicting Michael-angelesque figures sounding trumpets, and others carrying the emblems of the passion. In the four sections of the second ceiling, Luca painted a choir of eight virgins, fifteen doctors of the church, thirteen patriarchs, and seven martyrs.[2]

Nothing can be more hardy than the angel pursuing with his drawn sword the falling form of the demon. The innumerable figures in the episodes of Antichrist's miracles are distributed with a skill equal to that of Michael Angelo. The architecture is in the best classic style. The angels in the paradise charm by nobleness and grace, those who guide the elect upwards to Paradise are also beautiful and the very finest ever designed by the master. The archangels and the condemned, expelled from the sky, are grandiose and truly admirable. The animation and life in the lower scenes are as great as those in Michael Angelo's battle of Anghiari, the nudes like those of the Sixtine; and the foreshortenings are the perfection of those originally conceived by the daring of Uccelli and Piero della Francesca. The struggles of the imps and souls are scientifically rendered with extraordinary truth and with an energy well suited to the subject, and the spaces filled by the parts are perfectly divided. The angels in the resurrection remind one

[1] On the skirting to the left of this, a central square panelling, as before, contains a portrait of Virgil. In the four medallions are: 1. Orpheus with his lyre recalling Eurydice; 2. the descent of Eneas to the infernal regions; 3. Eurydice taken away after the disobedience of Orpheus; 4. Hercules chaining Antæus. The skirting on the right of the Pietà is partly covered by it. The centre portrait is still there with an upper and side medallion representing wrestlers. The fresco of the resurrection is abraded chiefly in the sky. A large salt stain damages the centre of the picture.

[2] At the sides of the portrait in the right hand medallion the initials L. S. are twice repeated.



THE "FULMINATI." DESTRUCTION OF THE WICKED; part of a fresco by Luca Signorelli, in the Duomo of Orvieto.

of the Hercules in the Sixtine chapel, whilst the groups below, though somewhat affected, are still effective. The grinning skeletons, varying the array of souls rising to the judgment, partake of the general vehemence, they move as living things, and are wonderful as studies of action. The Christ in the Pietà, though muscular, is not depicted without feeling, but the relief figures carrying the Redeemer betray Luca's Umbrian nature, one of them indeed recalling those of Raphael in the various drawings of the same subject at Oxford and Florence, and suggesting that Sanzio had seen the masterpieces of Orvieto. — The composition, like so many others by Signorelli, is Michaelangelesque.

Here then, on the classic ground trod before by so many Italian artists, Signorelli, at the age of threescore, was enabled to satisfy his instincts to the full by delineating scenes of a highly dramatic character. Had it been the fortune of Angelico to complete the chapel of S. Brizio, he would no doubt have painted the same subjects in the grand but kindly solemn spirit which pervades those in the ceilings, — a spirit the very reverse of that which marks the colossal, and often vulgar, forms of the Cortonese. Both men were great in their path; but they pursued different ways and aims; the one wafting the spectator into an atmosphere of calm, the other with difficulty convincing him that he is not hovering over a field of battle. Unavoidable indeed is the reflection that Signorelli, whilst he challenges our admiration, does so by a medley of conflicting and not always pleasing impressions. The pleasure which he creates is not entirely unalloyed. Like Michael Angelo he fascinates and crushes; he extorts applause by his extraordinary vigour, and hardly leaves a moment for the analysis of the sensations which crowd together at sight of his masterpieces. Cold reason supervenes. We admit the daring conception, and its successful realization, but we feel less sympathy than surprise. The athlete has taken away our breath by the performance of his feats, he has not touched one of the softer fibres of our heart.

But the character of Signorelli was eminently calculated to strike the mind and to rouse the attention of Michael Angelo; nor is it a marvel that, having visited Orvieto, he should be pleased by the art of Luca, and consider some of his groups worthy of reproduction in the Last Judgment of the Sixtine chapel.[1] As for the rest, it would be repetition to enter further into the details of the style and execution of these frescos, their characteristic features having been already generalized for the sake of presenting to the reader a compact sketch of Signorelli's manner.

His first stay at Orvieto did not exceed two years; for though he painted in 1503 two fine bust portraits of himself and of Niccola di Francesco, with a boldness and freedom of hand seldom surpassed,[2] he had already (if we believe an inscription which we have not seen) returned in 1502 to Cortona and delivered to the church of S. Margherita a dead Christ, wailed by the Marys and apostles, with but slight variations like the fresco in the chapel of S. Brizio, with a predella representing the Sermon on the Mount, the Last Supper, the Kiss of Judas, the Capture, and the Flagellation.[3] He returned, however, to Orvieto in 1504, perhaps to finish some parts of the

[1] See as to this Vasari (VI. 142).

[2] The two men face each other. The names "Luca" and "Nicolaus" are engraved on the dress of each figure on a tile, 15 inches by 13. That of Nicholas is grave in pose, reminiscent of Piero della Francesca. On the back of the tile, which is in the opera of the Duomo at Orvieto, are the words: "Lucas Signorellus, natione Ytalus, patria Cortonensis, arte eximius merito Apelli comparandus, sub regimine et stipendio Nicolai Francisci de nationis patrie (urbeve)tane, camerario fabrice hujus basilice, sacellū hoc Virgini dedicatū judici finalis ordine figuratum perspicue pinxit cupidusque immortalitatis viriusque effigiem a tergo litterarum harum naturaliter mira effisit arte. Alexandro VI pon. M. M sedente et Maximiano IIII°. imperant. año salutis M.cccc° tertio Kalendas Januarias." The colour of this piece is liquid on the white ground with the lights in body and the rest stippled — all of a ruddy tone.

[3] This picture is now in the choir of the Duomo having been transferred from its original place (noticed in Vasari VI. 138–9). The annotators of Vasari give the following inscription not visible to the authors of this work. "Lucas Ægidii Signorelli Cortonensis MDII." The composition is very animated reminiscent of one by Botticelli. The drawing is free and bold, the colour sharp and red.

chapel in the Duomo, and a picture of S. Mary Magdalen of that date.[1]

From this time forward, Signorelli resided frequently in Sienna, where Pinturicchio, Bazzi, and himself, assisted by Genga and others, competed with the Pacchiarottos, Pacchias, and their local guild-brethren. There was plenty to do for them all, in a city where such enterprising persons as the Piccolomini and the Petrucci, contended with each other in display as well as in wealth and power. The cartoons which Signorelli completed there in 1506 for the pavement of the Duomo, were never put in hand;[2] but they would occupy his leisure hours, and leave him time to compose, paint, and set together the numerous panels which form the great altarpiece of 1507 in S. Medardo at Arcevia. There are not many finer or more pleasing creations of his than this, although it has suffered so much from scaling and from dust. The central Virgin and child are still Umbrian, but the five predella pieces, Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration, Flight into Egypt, and Massacre of the Innocents, have a peculiar charm on account of their grace and carefulness, and a Peruginesque feeling in the fine proportions and movement of draped or naked figures, which remind one of the youth of Raphael.[3]

[1] The Magdalen is now in the "opera"; it is inscribed: "Conservat pa. pacis conservatrici ex so consueto MDIIII." There is a record of the payment to Signorelli for this piece. Yet the rude handling of it might suggest the exclusive employment of an assistant.

[2] Gaetano Milanesi, Discorso etc. ub. sup. 131 and annot. Vas. (VI. 158).

[3] Arcevia is near Fabriano in the heart of the Umbrian country. The altarpiece is in courses with pilasters containing seven half lengths of saints apiece. In the principal course the Virgin and child are enthroned between SS. Sebastian Andrew, Roch, and another saint. In the upper course the Eternal is between the Baptist and three apostles. The arms of the "comune" of Arcevia are on panels at the extremities of the predella. One reads on the step of the throne: "Lucas Signorellus pingebat MDVII."

In the cappella del Sacramento of the same collegiate church of S. Medardo is an altarpiece, in the centre of which is a Baptism of Christ inscribed on a scroll: "Lucas Signorelli da Cortona." Yet it looks like a feeble imitation of the master's style by a pupil. Four incidents fill each of two pilasters and are painted by a rude hand of the school of Alunno. The base of

An affecting incident, which occurred about this period, contributes greatly to our knowledge of Signorelli's character. We have seen how energetic, how gloomy at times he could be in his pictures. We now remark of what a stern and masculine stuff his mind was made. He was the father of a family respecting which but little is known. One son, who was his favourite, met his death suddenly and apparently by accident. Signorelli caused him to be stripped, "and with great constancy, without repining or tears, painted from his corpse, that he might at leisure contemplate, in the work of his own hand, the treasure which nature had given him, and envious fortune taken away".[1] The body of the boy was buried at Sienna.[2]

In the meanwhile, Pinturicchio had finished the Piccolomini library, and gone to set up the altarpiece at Spello (April 1508). Signorelli had been to Cortona to fill an office in the municipal council for two months (July and August 1508).[3] Just then, Julius the Second determined to readorn the Vatican Camere. He engaged Signorelli,[4] Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Bazzi, to perform this duty. They all went up to Rome about the same period, and began their labours. Most of them were old and tried hands, Signorelli and Perugino, famous. They used to meet in the house of Bramante, and even dined there with Giambattista Caporali, who remembered the occasion,[5] but they were all obliged to yield the palm to the youthful Raphael, whom Bramante, their host, introduced to the Pope; and they all had the mortification of receiving their dismissal, and of seeing part of their work taken down.[6] Signorelli, Perugino, and Pinturicchio returned together to Sienna, where the latter was presented in January with a son,

the altarpiece is by an artist of the seventeenth century.

[1] Vas. (VI. 143).

[2] In 1506 annot. Vas. (VI. 143).

[3] (Annot. Vas. VI. 158.)

[4] Vas. VIII. 13.

[5] Caporali's Vitruv. in Vermiglioli. Vita di Pinturicchio. 8° Perug. 1837. p. 5. Tenenza Vita di Jacopo Sansovino p. 6. Vas. XIII. 73.

[6] Vas. VIII. 40. XI. 146.

whom the former held at the baptismal font,[1] and both closed their careers without any further incident of mark. Signorelli remained chiefly in and about Cortona, where several undated pieces prove the untiring industry with which he attended to the orders of his patrons. The Communion of the apostles, commissioned for the Compagnia di Gesù at Cortona, was produced in 1512; — the altarpiece of Montone, now at Città di Castello, — a Virgin and child for the bishop of Cortona, now in S. Domenico, and the Deposition from the Cross for La Fratta near Perugia, in 1515; a Madonna and saints for the company of S. Girolamo at Arezzo, in 1520. Vasari states that the person who ordered the latter was an advocate named Niccolo Gamurrini, auditor of the Rota, whose portrait was painted by Signorelli in a kneeling attitude before the Virgin and child. He was recommended by S. Nicholas, besides whom, SS. Donato, Stephen, Jerom, David, and two prophets occupied places around. When the brothers of the company carried the altarpiece on their shoulders from Cortona to Arezzo, they were accompanied by Signorelli, who lodged during his stay in the house of the Vasari. As this occurred, Giorgio, the historian, being then eight years of age, saw Luca, much stricken in years, but full of benevolence and amiability, and heard him tell his father not to check the child's propensity for the pursuit of art.[2] The impression, which his own observation and the traditions of his family had left, was that Signorelli was of the best manners, sincere, and loving in his social intercourse, mild and kindly in conversation, and above all, courteous to those who wished for the product of his pencil. His teaching of disciples was easy. He lived well, and liked to appear in fine attire; and his good qualities caused him to be venerated abroad as well as at home.[3] He continued to exercise the duties of his profession to the very last, and

[1] Doc. Sen. III. 65. and Gaetano Milanesi, Discorso. ub. sup.

[2] Vas. (VI. 144. 5).

[3] Vas. (VI. 147).

Vasari states that he was paralytic when he began a fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the chapel of Cardinal Passerini's palace near Cortona.[1] That his hand was still firm, though slightly tremulous from age, in 1523, is proved by the receipt for payment of an altarpiece in the Pieve of Foiano, of which Gaye has preserved the facsimile.[2] In 1524, Signorelli sat for the last time in the Magistracy of Cortona, and it is believed that his death took place either in that year or shortly after.

The following is a detailed register of the authentic works indicated as having been furnished between 1512 and the date of Luca's death.

The Communion of the apostles, originally in the Compagnia del Gesù, now in the Duomo of Cortona, is in oil and signed on a pilaster: "Lucas Signorellus Corthuniensis pingebat 1512." The Saviour, in a fine attitude, without any excess of weight in frame, gives the host to the disciples erect or kneeling in threes at each side. Judas, as Vasari says, puts the host into his scrip.[3]

The Virgin, standing with the child in her arms, crowned by two angels, and in the midst of four saints, is a picture of life size figures in oil, for a long time at Montone, and now in possession of Signor Mancini at Città di Castello.[4] It is signed: "Egregium quod cernis opus Magister Aloysius Physicus ex Gallia et Thomasina ejus uxor ex devotione suis sumptibus poni curaverunt. Luca Signorelli de Cortona pictore insigni formas inducente. Anno D... MDXV." Much injury from darkening of the shadows, from restoring and repainting, is apparent. The predella, with six scenes from the life of S. Cristina, is not to be found at present.

Signorelli's picture of 1515 is not mentioned by guide-books or authors generally, yet exists on the altar of S. Vincenzo in S. Domenico of Cortona, with the following inscription: "Io Serninius epṣ Cortonenṣ iconam et ornatum p. p. facieri A. D. CIↃIↃXV. Hæredes vero D. Asdrubalis ejus ex fṽe ab. nepotis P. S. instauran. curaverunt. A. D. CIↃ.IↃ.CXIX." This fine panel represents the Virgin, life size, holding the infant Saviour, resting her feet on three cherubs between two angels, S. Peter Martyr, and another Dominican, the bust

[1] This piece exists but so entirely repainted as to defy criticism.

[2] See in Plates to Carteggio Vol. II.

[3] Vasari (VI. 139.).

[4] SS. Jerom and Sebastian (right), Nicholas of Bari and Cristina (left). See Mariotti. p. 274. and Orsini's Guida d' Ascoli which states that the predella of the piece was in casa Odardi at Ascoli.

of bishop Serninius, a good portrait, being visible in the right-hand corner. The panel is surrounded by a painted canvass framework. The draperies of the Virgin are sealed off.

The Descent from the cross of 1515, commissioned for the church of the brotherhood of S. Croce at La Fratta near Perugia, is in Signorelli's usual style, but inferior as to grandeur of composition to that of the Duomo at Cortona; yet the conception is that which many subsequent painters repeated, as Daniel of Volterra in his picture lately in S. Trinità di Monte at Rome; Bazzi, in that of S. Francesco at Sienna, Coreggio, the Caracci, Rubens, and Van Dyk. Three scenes from the life of S. Helen in the predella are very graceful, but somewhat dryly painted.[1]

The altarpiece of 1520 (circa), the transfer of which to S. Girolamo of Arezzo gave occasion to Vasari to see Signorelli, is now, in good preservation, in the church of the nuns of S. Spirito, and is composed of life size figures, in oil, in the master's broad and powerful style; but the colour is of a low key in tone, the half-tints red, and the shadows black.

The picture of Foiano (1523) was a Virgin and child with saints and angels, and a predella containing incidents from the life of S. Martin.

The following list will comprise all the works of Signorelli seen by the authors in addition to those in the body of the narrative.

Cortona — Compagnia S. Niccolò. High altar; with subjects on both sides, in oil. The body of Christ held up on the edge of the tomb by an angel, is exhibited by him to the adoration of several saints. S. Francis, on the left, kneeling shows the stigmata. S. Dominick, kneeling likewise, is at S. Francis' side, whilst, in rear of them, two saints stand. S. Jerom is on the right with three angels. The picture is a fine and chastened one in Signorelli's Umbrian manner; purely designed in comparison with other works. The flesh tones are yellowish, the high surface shadows strong and brown.

The Virgin and child, between SS. Peter and Paul on the obverse, is a grand composition reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo the infant more pleasing and amiable than usual.

Some frescos in this church have lately been recovered from white-wash, but are ruined by retouching: They represent a tabernacle inclosing a Virgin, child, and saints; and are said, on the strength of old records, to have been painted by Signorelli without charge, because he was a member of the brotherhood of S. Niccolò.[2]

[1] The expenses incurred and the date are preserved in original records printed in Gualandi. Ser. VI. 36. 37—38.

[2] See com. in Vas. (VI. 150—1).

Cortona — Chiesa del Gesù.[1] Conception of the Virgin, with six figures at each side, Adam and Eve in the distance — a hard picture of cold general tone and dark shadows. The nude is feeble, and the handling dry. The Nativity, the Virgin adoring the infant, S. Joseph on the opposite side, three angels above, singing, and the shepherds in background feeble. This and the following in the chiesa del Gesù show indeed the extensive use of assistant's labour, and possibly the hand of Turpino Zaccagna.

Cortona — Chiesa del Gesù. Panel, representing the Virgin and child, between S. Francis and a bishop in friar's dress, reading, Bruno and a saint with a tree in his hand (a half length of the Eternal in the upper part seems of a later date, and to be of the school). This is a dry, hard production, better on the whole than the two others in the Chiesa del Gesù; but the tone is low and dim, and some parts are scaled.

Cortona. An ascension of the Virgin, formerly in the Pieve of Cortona,[2] is said to be in the hands of the heirs of Signor Luca Tommasi.

Cortona. Signor Carlo Tommasi has a small allegory of the Crowning of Plenty (five figures). In possession of the heirs of Signor Agostino Castellani in Cortona also is a half length of S. Stephen, and a small Nativity; the latter in the better manner of Signorelli, the former careful, but less in the grand style.

Borgo S. Sepolcro — Compagnia di S. Antonio Abate. The church standard of this brotherhood by Signorelli represents on one side a crucifixion, marked by the usual boldness of action and vigour of colour. The Saviour is not of a noble form however, but somewhat mannered. The Virgin lies faint in the arms of the Marys. The distance is rich in episodes, Calvary and the Passion. S. Anthony and S. Egidius are on the reverse side of the canvass, with the brethren of the company at their feet.

Castiglione Fiorentino (of old Aretino),[3] *— Cappella del Sacramento.* Here is a fresco of Christ taken from the cross, in the broad manner, the composition a replicate of that in the picture in Cortona cathedral (11 figures). A piece has been added, apparently in the last century. Some of the high lights are gilt in the Umbrian fashion. The sky is renewed.

Città di Castello — Convent church of S. Cecilia. The Virgin holds the infant, who crowns S. Cecilia on the left, behind whom are S. Francis and a bishop. The Virgin's face is turned to the right towards S. Chiara, behind whom are SS. Anthony and Louis of Toulouse. SS. Catherine and Margaret kneel in the foreground, whilst between them, angels gather roses which have fallen from

[1] Vasari (VI. 139).
[2] Vas. (VI. 139).
[3] Vasari (VI. 139).

the Virgin's left hand. The composition is overcharged, and the tone generally brown and dim. But the panel is injured by flaying; the Virgin's mantle is repainted anew, and the whole upper angle to the left damaged.

The predella, in the interior of the convent, contains figures of SS. Margaret, John the Baptist, Bernardino, Jerom, Lucy, and the archangel Michael. In this convent are also two pictures of the school of Signorelli.

Città di Castello. Signor Mancini owns a Nativity, much better than the altarpiece of Montone previously described, signed on the frieze of a round temple. "Ł. Luca da Cortona P. C." This is a good picture in which the influence of Piero della Francesca may be traced. The Virgin kneels in adoration before the infant on the ground, with the shepherds on the left; and the attendant angels, in the eagerness with which they take part in the scene, recall the works of Filippino Lippi. A shepherd on a hill in the distance plays on a pipe, and a market is held near the temple in the background. The annunciation to the pastors in the landscape completes the composition. This may be the piece noticed by Vasari in S. Francesco of Città di Castello.[1] It is well preserved, of a marked brown tone; and entitles Signorelli to be called the Caravaggio of his time.

An Annunciation in the hands of the same proprietor is not by Signorelli; but by Raphael of Città di Castello.

Florence — Acad. of Fine Arts. Gal. des gr. tableaux. No. 54. from S. Trinita of Cortona — in Signorelli's grand manner — representing the Virgin and child between the archangels Michael and Gabriel, and the sitting SS. Augustin and Athanasius, with a Trinity in the upper space.

Florence — Acad. of Fine Arts. Galérie des anciens tableaux. No. 6. Canvass, assigned to Andrea del Castagno. Christ crucified, with a kneeling Magdalen, and a deposition from the cross in the distance. This, no doubt, was a church standard, by Signorelli.

Florence — Academy of Arts. Galerie des petits tableaux. No. 1 A predella, with the Last supper, the Entrance into Jerusalem, and the Flagellation, boldly and freely handled. These scenes are not very pleasing. The neglect and colossal nature of the figures are peculiar to the master's latest creations.

Florence — Uffizi. No. 1291. A well preserved round of the Holy Family, all intent on the contents of a book read by the Virgin — in Signorelli's broad forcible style.

[1] Vasari (VI. 138.)

Same Gallery, originally in S. Lucia of Montepulciano. No. 1298. Predella, containing the Annunciation, Nativity, and Adoration of the Magi — a fine original.

Florence — Galleria Lombardi, once belonging to the Albergotti family at Arezzo. A Virgin and child, with four angels above the group — a feeble production, so much below the mark of the master, that we might believe it executed by a pupil.

Florence — Galleria Torrigiani. No. 8. Magnificent life size portrait of a man in a red cap and vest, three quarters to the left. It is described as a portrait of Signorelli himself, but seems to be that of a person of higher condition. It is very broadly modelled, a little grey in tone, and is one of Signorelli's Florentine creations. An antique arch adorns a distance to the right. In front of it are two nude figures, one of which leans on a staff. The red cap is a little restored.

Milan — Brera. No. 93. Round (wood). The Virgin, child, and angels, in Signorelli's softer mood, as illustrated in the altarpiece of Arcevia. Finely and carefully drawn, and copiously ornamented with gold.

Altenburg (in the Saxon Duchy of that name) — *Town Museum;* bequeathed by the late Herr von Lindenau. Five parts of a predella by Signorelli (wood), representing: No. 111, Christ on the Mount; No. 112, the Flagellation; No. 113, the Crucifixion; No. 114, the Entombment; No. 115, the Resurrection. This predella is said to have been originally at La Fratta near Perugia. The subjects are slightly but rapidly handled, in oil. The figures generally are Herculean. The movement of the Christ in the Resurrection is bold, as in the later works of Michael Angelo, and the scourgers in the Flagellation are remarkable for the coarse energy of their action, and the vulgar development of muscular strength.

Same Gallery. Not numbered. Four small panels, in the form of pointed niches, about one foot high, containing each a saint — SS. Bernardino, Louis of France, and two females of the Franciscan order. These are painted in oil, in the style of the foregoing, and were perhaps part of the same altarpiece.

Paris — Louvre. No. 402. Predella, representing the Virgin's birth. This is one of the best examples of Signorelli. The composition is fine; the figures are dignified without mannerism.

Paris — Louvre. Musée Napoleon III. Ex-Campana. No. 163. Adoration of the Magi, rude; said to have been (see Catal. of Ex-Campana Collection anno 1859) commissioned in 1482 for S. Agostino of Città di Castello.

Same Gallery. No. 161. Knee-piece (fragment), comprising seven life size figures. Less rude than the foregoing. But both give a slight idea of Signorelli's talent. The reddish colour is poorly handled.

Paris — Louvre. No. 515, classed as "nameless". Virgin reading, with the child on her lap. This injured production looks as if it might have issued from Signorelli's shop. It is, however, feeble.

Vienna — Belvedere Gallery. Seventh Room. No. 7. Nativity, half life size, transferred to canvass, and thereby somewhat injured. — Although we trace the stamp of Signorelli in this piece, it lacks the master's own grandeur and power. The figures are somewhat paltry in drawing and execution.

London — Mr. Barker's Collection. A small and injured but genuine S. George and the Dragon, in Signorelli's Michaelangelesque style.

Same Collection. Two pilasters, on one of which are SS. Bernard, Onofrio, and Dorothy; on the other, SS. Bernard and Jerom, and the Angel and Tobit. Fine genuine works.

London — Lord Taunton (Ex-Stoke Park). Martyrdom of S. Catherine; a good example, full of life and animation, and with but a few and slight retouches.

Scotland — Glentyan, Seat of Captain Stirling. Small panel of about 29 figures, representing the Pharisees' feast; the Magdalen approaching the Saviour with the ointment, on the right; Martha, Mary, and curious bystanders, at the entrance. It is spirited and of Signorelli's fine time; well composed, full of variety, animation and nature, and, with the exception of a repainted figure at the end of the left wing of the table, in fair preservation.

Keir, Seat of W. Stirling, Esq., M. P. No. 90 at the Manchester Exhibition. A genuine Pietà by Signorelli.

Liverpool Institution. No. 26. Panel. Virgin seated, with the infant Christ in her arms — distance a landscape — assigned to Cima da Conegliano, but by Signorelli, though not one of his best, and damaged.

St. Petersburg. Collection of H. I. H. the Grand Duchess Marie, widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg (round, wood, figures half life size.) Nativity. The Virgin kneels, attended by an angel, near the Infant on the ground. S. Joseph descends some steps. The character is Signorelli's, the composition and execution below his. This is a school work.

The following noticed by Vasari are not forthcoming at this time: *Arezzo.* Standard for the company of S. Catherine (Vas. VI. 137); standard of the company of the S. Trinità (Ib.); altarpiece of S. Margarita (Ib. 144); frescos and an altarpiece in S. Agostino

(Ib.); altarpiece in cappella degli Accolti at S. Francesco representing the Virgin and child, four saints, and two angels playing instruments, the patron and some of his relatives. The predella was filled with scenes from the life of S. Catherine (Ib.). — *Volterra*, Altarpiece in S. Agostino (Ib. 138).; *Monte S. Maria*, a dead Christ (ib); *Città di Castello* S. Francesco, a Nativity, executed it is said in 1496 (Ib. ib. and Certini ap. annot. to Vas. VI. 138 and 157). — *Cortona*, Frescos in Vescovado (Ib. 139). — *Lucignano*, S. Francesco, doors of a church press (Ib. 139); pictures at Montepulciano (Ib. 141).

Signorelli was clearly not a man fitted to give an impulse to a school. His own skill was such that he merely required the simplest aid from his assistants; and most of those, whose works have been preserved, proved themselves unworthy of being remembered. Maso Papacello, Francesco Signorelli, Turpino Zaccagna, and others, may therefore be comprised in the following short notices.

Vasari does not mention Papacello as a pupil of Signorelli. On the contrary, he calls him a disciple of Giulio Romano and Benedetto (error for Giambattista) Caporali.[1] But Papacello's remaining panels betray the influence of Signorelli. His real name is Tommaso Barnabei. The earliest frescos, with which he is connected, are those of Giulio Romano at Rome, after the death of Raphael, and before the Mantuan period.[2] In these, it is natural that the assistant's hand should not be discerned. We next see Papacello, about 1523—4, helping Giambattista Caporali at the villa of Cardinal Passerini near Cortona,[3] — but in a subordinate capacity, and leaving no trace of his own style. In 1524, we first find a genuine production from his hand — a Conception, in S. Maria del Calcinaio near Cortona — in which there is a reminiscence of Signorelli, combined with raw chalky tones and leaden shadows.[4] Two other pictures of the same class — an Adoration of the Magi, and Annunciation, dated 1527 — are in the same church, and suffice to characterize the low rate of Papacello's talent.[5] He finally settled at Perugia. Mariotti notices frescos commissioned of him at Cesi, in

[1] Vas. VI. 145.
[2] Vas. X. 96.
[3] Vas. VI. 145.
[4] At the sides of the principal group are four prophets, and two sitting saints in the foreground on the edge of which are busts of the patrons in profile — above, an Eternal and two angels. A predella represents the sacrifice of the mass. Inscribed: "Intactæ XPI mŕis Vanutius heros. Baptista hoc supplex pigere jussit opus. MDXXIIII."
[5] These pictures are all assigned to Papacello on the authority of records discovered by Pinucci (ap. annot. to Vasari VI. 145—6).

the diocese of Spoléto, by the brethren of the church of S. Maria.[1] Vasari alludes to others in the fortress of Perugia;[2] and we learn from the will of Giambattista Caporali, dated July 27th 1553, that Maso was witness to that instrument.[3] In the same year, a Trinity with Saints by him, was placed on an altar in S. Francesco of Perugia (now missing),[4] and in 1559 he died.[5]

Papacello's was a kindred spirit, as regards manner and execution, to that of Francesco Signorelli, a nephew of Luca,[6] who may have helped him to some extent in the Chiesa del Gesù at Cortona. His nearest approach to the manner of his uncle is in a somewhat damaged round of the Virgin, child, and saints in the Palazzo del Comune at Cortona, and in an Incredulity of S. Thomas (injured and feeble) in the choir of the Duomo. In the Monastery church of the Trinità at Cortona, a picture is preserved of which it is doubtful whether it be by Francesco or by Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. The subject is, S. Michael weighing the souls, and S. Benedict at the side of a tomb, behind which the Virgin sits enthroned, in prayer, and surrounded by angels. The long lean figures are coloured with cold tones shadowed in bluish green. A Conception in the choir of S. Francesco at Gubbio, in the style of the foregoing, bears the signature: "Franciscus de Signorellis de Cortona pingebat". The drawing is defective, the draperies are festooned, the colour is dull and black in shadow; and the arrangement of the personages betrays an absence of perspective science. We may give to Francesco a church standard in the sacristy of the brotherhood of S. Giovanni decollato at Città di Castello, under the name of Pinturicchio, painted on both sides, and representing on one, S. John the Baptist, and episodes of his life in a distance, on the other the Baptism of Christ.[7] In the same character as the above, a Tiberius Gracchus, on a pedestal, killing a dragon with a lance, and incidental episodes in a landscape, No. 49. Gallery of Prince Esterhazy at Vienna — assigned to Pinturicchio.

A Virgin and child between S. Sebastian and S. Roch, in S. M. del Calcinaio near Cortona, is said by local authorities to have been by Antonio, a son of Luca Signorelli, but it is now not forthcoming.[8]

Another workman of the school is one whose coarse Madonna and saints in the sacristy of S. Girolamo al Seminario in Città di Castello is signed: "Hoc opus fecit Johēs Bta 1492". A predella

[1] Mariotti Lett. Pitt. ub. sup. p. 239 note . .

[2] Vas. XI. 13, destroyed in 1848.

[3] Mariotti. Lett. Pitt. ub. sup. 238.

[4] Ib. ib.

[5] At Perugia — see copy of the register in Vas. VI. note to p. 146.

[6] (Ib.) See for Francesco, Manni's Signorelli and excerpts in note to Vas. (VI. 148).

[7] Vermiglioli p. 79. gives this to Pinturicchio.

[8] Pinucci. ub. sup.

contains S. Jerom drawing the thorn from the lion's paw, S. Jerom in prayer, and the Adoration of the Shepherds.[1]

Turpino Zaccagna, the last of these subordinates,[2] is the author of a Burial and Ascension of the Virgin in the choir of the Duomo at Cortona, which, like one by Francesco Signorelli, is dark in outlines and shadow, and unprepossessing in every sense.

The list of inferior school pieces may be closed as follows:

Cortona — S. Francesco, choir. Nativity, roughly done in Signorelli's shop, by a pupil entrusted with the master's design. Split in half, and the four shepherds repainted. The predella, which probably once belonged to another picture, represents scenes from the life of S. Benedict. The handling is the same as that of the Nativity.

Cortona — S. Francesco, choir. Virgin and child between SS. Anthony, Michael, Bernardino, and Bonaventura — longitudinally split in three places; also from Signorelli's shop, and better than the immediately foregoing.

Cortona — Spedale. A Circumcision in the apartments of the Rettore (19 figures), with some of the heads retouched, seems to have been by an assistant in Signorelli's atelier. A predella, with scenes from the legend of S. Anthony of Padua, in the same place, is better.

Pacciano, province of Orvieto, ex-convent of S. Antonio. The most striking example of school-work is an altarpiece in the choir of the church at this place, representing the Virgin enthroned with the child, between SS. Michael, Lawrence, Anthony the Abbot, and Sebastian, erect; and SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua kneeling. Eight angels surround the Virgin. On the pilasters are the words: "Lucas Signorellis de Cortona pingebat". The predella, which is now alone on the altar, comprises amongst others figures of SS. Bernardino, and Anthony. Were it not for the signature, the name of Signorelli would be out of the question. The types and forms, as well as the handling, coarse and feeble, and of the same kind as in the Papacello's of S. M. del Calcinaio near Cortona.[3]

Milan — Brera, Galleria Oggiono. Predella, representing scenes from the life of S. Cristina. (The same as those in the lost predella of the Madonna and saints, belonging to Signor Mancini at Città di Castello.) We note the spirit of Signorelli without his power.

Ireland — Marquis of Lothian. Panel, arched at top, representing the life-size SS. Peter and Stephen — mannered drawing, defective

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[1] See postea Gio. Bat. Caporali.
[2] Vasari VI. 147. in comment.
[3] Has just been purchased for the gallery of Perugia.

forms, and heavy extremities. This is a rude tempera of Signorelli's school. It is well preserved.

Oxford — University Gallery. The following, presented by the Hon. W. Fox Strangways, are assigned to Luca Signorelli. Salutation, a small panel, by some Umbrian follower of Gentile da Fabriano. S. Paul, by the Ferrarese Marco Zoppo, a half length. Holy Family, round, feeble production of a painter later than Lorenzo di Credi, the colour and handling reminiscent of that of Pier' di Cosimo.

A few remarks, in conclusion, may be necessary to characterize two Nativities which claim, on account of their inscriptions, to be works of Luca Signorelli.

Genoa — At Terragio, belonging to Dottore Ettore Costa. The Virgin adores the child. She is accompanied by Joseph, and attended by four angels. In the distance, the shepherds receive the message from heaven. On a cartellino, fast to a pilaster, are the words "Luce Opus". Originally in oil on wood, and not free from restoring.

Milan — Professor Molteni. This also is a Nativity, with the Virgin, child, S. Joseph, and an angel, on wood in oil, and inscribed: "1501 Luce opus".

Signorelli generally signs "Luca Cortonensis or Coritius". The name is given without indication of country on the two panels under examination. They are Umbrian, with a stamp of art related to that of Signorelli's disciples, distantly reminiscent of Signorelli himself in the character of the infant Christ, in the architecture and landscape. But the technical handling and colour are different from those of the master; his power and style are alike wanting. They date from the year 1501, at which period Signorelli was in his greatest vigour. They seem the creation of a third or fourth rate craftsman, who unfortunately bears the name of Luca, and is an Umbrian in manner, but who lacks even the share of grandeur which may be discerned in the least favoured of the assistants in Signorelli's atelier.

CHAPTER II.

DON BARTOLOMMEO. PECORI. SOGGI.

Signorelli, we have said, was not gifted with the peculiar talent of a teacher, though he exercised a vast influence over painters of his own and succeeding times. Amongst cotemporaries there is none on whom he more surely impressed his style than on Don Bartolommeo della Gatta.

This friar was older than Signorelli by many years and had entered the Camaldole convent of the Angeli at Florence in the first half of the fifteenth century.[1] He learnt miniature there, and attended to religious duties with satisfaction to the community and advantage to himself. His vellums were considered valuable; and a missal, into which he introduced scenes from the Passion, was found of sufficient beauty to warrant its presentation to Sixtus the Fourth.[2] A small abbey served by very few monks belonged to the Camaldoles of Arezzo. It was called Badia di S. Clemente, and was poorly endowed. Its walls were bare, and the choir was not enlivened by the sounds of an organ. Della Gatta was made abbot of this small fraternity and

[1] Vas. V. 44. A family of della Gatta existed at Florence. One of its members, a stationer called Francesco di Bartolommeo, registers three sons in his income paper of 1442. One of these sons, called Mattio, is described as being then nine years of age; and does not reappear in the subsequent returns of his father. The commentators of Vasari believe in consequence that this Mattio became a monk under the name of Don Bartolommeo (see "Tavola alfabetica delle vite degli artefici descritte da Giorgio Vasari" published separately; 8°. Florence. Lemonnier. 1864. art. "Bartolommeo.") Vas. says that Don B. died in 1461 aged 83. But it is probable that the date should be 1491, and in that case the birthday of Don Bartolommeo would lie in 1408.

[2] Vas. V. 44.

justified the choice by covering the empty spaces with frescos, and by the invention of an organ of pasteboard, which yielded the truest and softest of tones. Not content with adorning the interior of his home, he found occasion to eke out the poor sustenance of his brother-friars by taking commissions for altar-pieces, and thus showed himself a benefactor of his order.[1]

It is not possible to assign dates to these events, nor are there means of ascertaining how della Gatta made the acquaintance of Signorelli and Perugino, though he might have met them at Arezzo, if it be true that they were both assistants to Piero della Francesca. It is enough to state that he did not owe his education in art to either of them. Time has disposed of all his miniatures; though some are ascribed to him of which the authenticity is a matter of dispute;[2] but panels exist at Arezzo, from which we judge that, previous to visiting Rome, he had acquired a style of his own, in which patience and carefulness are distinguishing characteristics. He is said to have begun painting on a large scale during the years which followed the outbreak of the plague at Arezzo (1468);[3] and this is correct insofar that we possess two out of three panels representing the invocation of the plague saint, S. Roch, commissioned for religious houses in Arezzo; and that one of them, originally in the Brotherhood of mercy and now in the Town hall, bears the date of 1479. It presents to our view the square of the city, on which the tile coloured house of the Brotherhood of mercy is erected. Three grave-diggers at the foot of the door-steps stand on the particoloured marbles of the pavement. They have just returned from burying some plague-stricken corpses. S. Roch is on the foreground, a thin slender figure in a gentle attitude, looking up bareheaded to heaven and his hands joined in prayer. A long staff

[1] Vas. V. 49.

[2] The choral books in the Cathedral of Lucca, and one of old belonging to S. Egidio now at the Magliabecchiana in Florence, have been quoted as containing miniatures assignable to Della Gatta; but no one can certify to their genuineness (see annot. Vas. V. 44—5).

[3] Vas. V. 45.

rests on the inner bend of his arm and supports his hat. He wears yellow buskins, a green tunic, and ashen green mantle. The Virgin appears above the house between two angels in white vestments and resting on a cloud supported by cherubs' heads. There is very little relief in the flat red tone, which pervades the dry surface of colour on the panel. There is gentleness in the aspect of the Virgin and saint, an eel-like quickness of motion in the angels — reminiscent of the Lippi. The figures are slender; the drawing is a little mannered, but the execution is very careful, and proves that Don Bartolommeo was not as yet far advanced in his pictorial career.[1]

The second of these pieces represents the Saint in a kneeling posture, looking up, and the Eternal floating on the heavens supported by angels who throw plague-darts. It is apparently that which Vasari describes in S. Piero of Arezzo, being adorned in the distance with a view of that city. It conveys no other impression of Don Bartolommeo's talent than the previous one, and seems to date from the same period.[2]

A third production of this time and quite in the abbot's manner may be found in a damaged lunette-fresco of the Vision of S. Bernard above the outer portal of S. Bernardo of Arezzo.[3]

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[1] This picture is noticed by Vas. (V. 46). It is on wood; and the principal figure has the size of life. At the feet of S. Roch one reads: "Tempore . spectabilium . virorum . rectorum . Guidi Antonii de Camajanis . Ser Baptiste Catenaci de Catenaciis . Tomasi Rinaldi de Cozaris . Ser Pauli Nicolai de Gallis . Johannis Vincentii de Judicibus . Ser Baptiste Johannis Colis . Ser Fini Bernardi de Azzis Zacharie . Ser Johannis Baptiste de Lambertis . MCCCCLXXVIIII."

[2] This is also in the Town-hall of Arezzo. The saint is of life-size and wears a light blue tunic and yellow socks. His form is bony and raw. The commentators of Vasari do not believe this to have been the original in S. Piero of Arezzo; which they cite as having been transported to Campriano near Arezzo. They add that the figure of S. Roch has been repainted and turned into a S. Martin. If this be true we must believe that the third S. Roch seen by Vasari in the Pieve of Arezzo at the altar of the Lippi is that described in the text. We must consequently assume that the panels of S. Piero and of the Pieve were replicas.

[3] The Virgin appears (to the left) surrounded by angels. A stream parts her from the kneeling S. Bernard (right), who interrupts his labours at a desk to wonder at the vision. Two friars kneel in the centre

These, we should say, are all works of Don Bartolommeo before his Roman journey, examples of a time when the habits of the miniaturist had not been cast aside, when the friar was free as yet from contact with Signorelli, and when he exerted himself to delineate forms of a delicate, slender, and not ungraceful appearance, without much relief by light and shade. They show a painter of a gentle turn, full of application and of patience, clever in details and in landscape, but without great powers, and essentially devoid of feeling as a colourist. A man of his sort was evidently fitted to act under masters of superior attainments. He would be ready to follow the instructions of any one who might wish to employ him, and he might afford invaluable assistance to Signorelli and Perugino by his fitness for working out, with their orders, the minutiæ of landscape and of ornament. There is no reason indeed to doubt that Don Bartolommeo helped them in the Sixtine chapel. The absence of his pictures at Arezzo between 1479 to 1486 indicates the period of his stay at Rome. Vasari says "that he served at the Sixtine in company with Signorelli and Perugino[1] . . . and that he began something in the rooms of the Vatican."[2] Of the latter nothing remains, but Della Gatta's hand is apparent in Signorelli's fresco, and in Perugino's of the Delivery of the Keys. In the former we should attribute to him a group of females and children in various postures in front of the sitting Moses, because they are too angular in drawing, unrefined in action and coarse in features for Signorelli, whilst the aged air and heavy inexpressive heads of the children are often repeated by the abbot. He may have helped Signorelli to better purpose in

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and fill the middle ground — a meadow stretching to the front of the picture. The distance is a rocky landscape lighted from a pure sky. Two medallions above the lunette contain the Virgin and the angel annunciate. Parts of the fresco are gone and others are daily disappearing. There is no lack of feeling in the group of the Virgin and angels which, in character, is like that in the invocation of S. Roch. A certain grace may be conceded to the slender figures.

[1] Vas. V. 46. and VI. 40.

[2] Vas. VIII. 13.

the landscape, gilding, and embroideries of his fresco. In such minor parts alone can we consider him to have aided Perugino.

Della Gatta returned an altered man to Arezzo. His picture of 1486 in the Pieve di S. Giuliano at Castiglione Fiorentino proves that he had learnt to follow Luca's style, and also that he had studied the works of the Florentines and Umbrians, who were in Sixtus the Fourth's service at Rome.

The life-sized Virgin, enthroned, is guarded by angels and seraphs. The infant Christ lies in her joined hands. At her sides S. Peter and S. Julian, S. Paul and S. Michael attend. A most careful handling distinguishes the whole piece; and the ornaments are so finished that they court the closest examination; the raw and reddish lights, the dark grey shadows are both hatched in one direction as in engravings, and are parted by a sharp line of demarcation. A tenuous contour defines the parts with great precision, producing bony and angular forms. The coarse and, in some instances, affected personages are clothed in draperies of hard and broken folds. The Virgin's head is an overcharged imitation of those common to Signorelli, Botticelli and Filippino Lippi. The limbs and extremities display a study and rendering of anatomy that betray the influence of Luca. Two children at the foot of the throne holding flowers rival in vulgarity those in the history of Moses at the Sixtine.

In the predella, four scenes from the life of S. Julian are fairly composed of slender and animated figures, the small size of which no doubt conceals some usual deficiencies.[1]

[1] This altarpiece contains life-size figures and is painted on wood in oil, but on the tempera system of hatching. A vertical split divides it through the centre, and the surface is bleached and dirty. The back ground is gold. The S. Julian kneels on the flowered foreground to the left, and the archangel stands on the dragon driving a lance into his jaws with affected air on the right. One reads on a border: "Cristian di Piero di cecho mal scalcho da castiglione retino M...CLXXXVI." The predella is in the sacristy of the chapter-house. Vas. praises the whole piece very highly (V. 48).

Looking at this production as a whole, one sees that the original source from which its peculiarities are derived is that of Piero della Francesca; but it is evident also that Della Gatta instead of improving has sunk irrevocably into the common; that he has exchanged the gentleness of the first period for some of the vehemence of Signorelli, without gaining anything in strength.

Other panels in the Pieve of S. Giuliano at Castel Fiorentino illustrate this change, and give a further insight into Don Bartolommeo's character. In the sacristy, a female of noble family is represented with an infant in arms, kneeling before an erect archangel Michael who tramples on the dragon. Grotesque and affected as the Saint appears, his shape and air still remind one of Signorelli, whilst the head of the lady is Peruginesque in form.[1] But the handling of this and of two other pictures in the same edifice already points to the decline of Don Bartolommeo's powers.[2]

At times he more exclusively reproduces the exaggerated force of his self-elected model Luca, as one sees in the S. Francis receiving the Stigmata, which stands on an altar in the right transept of S. Francesco of Castiglione Fiorentino, and in a wasted S. Jerom penitent, a fresco now in the chapter-house of the episcopal palace at Arezzo. In both he has chosen a rugged landscape as the scene of the action, studying from nature, one should think, a nook in the rocky and wooded wilderness, which still exists in the neighbourhood of the monasteries of Vallombrosa and La Vernia. The figures, however, only reveal

[1] A scutcheon at the feet of the female bears the arms of the Visconti; and the annotators of Vas. (last edition) state that the lady is Teodora Visconti. A scroll on the picture contains the words: "Laurentia fecit fieri." S. Michael, in armour, wears a white jacket over his breastplate. He gives a benediction with his left hand. The colour is lighter than in previous examples, and the execution is feebler. Vasari mentions the panel (V. 48).

[2] 1. In sacristy a Virgin of Mercy; 2. in the church, on the second altar to the right as you enter, a Virgin and child and angels, and in front SS. Stephen and Bartholomew. The first of these is much damaged, the second is all repainted, but is still reminiscent of Don B. and shows a mixture of Peruginesque elements, with the more usual ones of his later style.

the intention of violent and rapid motion. They are hard, and wooden, low and grey in flesh tone, and shaded abruptly with olive brown.[1]

But it is useless to pretend to give a perfect sketch of Don Bartolommeo's career, which closes in 1491 at Arezzo.[2] One picture in addition to those already mentioned may be assigned to him. It is an Assumption on the high-altar of S. Domenico at Cortona, very much injured by retouching, and perhaps finished by two hands.[3] The greater number of the frescos noticed by Vasari have perished or disappeared, and although some things may be found, and have indeed been described in these pages, recalling Signorelli, yet in the manner of the abbot, their value is hardly more than nominal.[4]

[1] S. Francis (life-size, on wood, in oil) is seen striding and looking up to the vision of Christ crucified, whose loins only are shown. On the right foreground, a friar looks up. An owl perches on a tree at S. Francis' side. The form of the Saviour is moulded on the types of Signorelli. The drawing is broken as in the altarpiece of 1486. The drapery is wooden. The lights are hatched in one direction. Time has bleached the surface of the picture and particularly the head of S. Francis.

In the fresco which has been injured by time and repainting, and perhaps by its transfer from the Gozzari chapel in which it originally stood to the chapter-house, two small episodes are given in the distance. The Saint is long, lean, and bony, and praised beyond measure by Vas. (V. 46). The colour is dulled to a chocolate tinge.

[2] Vasari gives the date of Della Gatta's death 1461. The printer seems to have turned the third cipher upside down. (See Vas. V. 53.)

[3] The apostles about the tomb, look up to heaven, towards which the Virgin is taken in a double glory of cherubs and of angels playing instruments. Four of the latter with viols and harps kneel at her sides in graceful action. In the lower foreground, a Dominican nun and a Dominican friar are on their knees in prayer. The upper part of the picture is better than the lower. It is arranged and handled in the spirit of Della Gatta's early pieces in the Town-hall and at S. Bernardo of Arezzo, and reminiscent of them in the types, the drawing, and the drapery. It is, however, a later work with something of Piero della Francesca and Signorelli's manner, and insofar recalls the Virgin and child of Castiglione Aretino. The lower part exhibits the hardness and rigidity of vehement action of the later S. Francis and S. Jerom. No painter is better entitled to the authorship than Della Gatta and his assistants —yet we must remember that much injury has been done by repainting. A large piece in the upper curve of the Glory is new.

[4] The following has already been noticed. (See Signorelli, and Franceseo Signorelli.) Cortona, S. Trinita, Virgin, SS. Michael and Benedict. — Vasari notes the following (now absent) pieces — Frescos: Arezzo, S. Agostino, S. Donato, Badia-S. Fiore, Vescovado, Duomo Vecchio, Carmine, S. Orsina, Murate. Monte S. Savino (ta-

It would be unjust, however, to Della Gatta, to keep silence respecting the painters of Arezzo, who partly owed their education to his care, not because they reflect any lustre on his name, or tend to raise it in the estimation of posterity, but because they have left mementos of his teaching, and thus have furnished pages to the history of Vasari.

Domenico Pecori was doubtless seldom heard of outside Arezzo. His pictures, as still shown there, are a fourth rate mixture of a manner taken through Della Gatta from Signorelli and Perugino.[1] Looking at his Adoration of the Virgin in the sacristy of the Pieve, and considering the pretty way, in which the infant Christ is held on the Virgin's lap, as she looks down from a glory of cherubs to four Saints in a portico, one fancies that he studied under the abbot of S. Clemente before his journey to Rome.[2] A Virgin of Mercy in S. Maria della Pieve is remarkable for confused composition and the monotony of its pallid colour. Dry and defective drawing and want of relief repel the spectator, who sees the younger Spinelli's faults carried on to the sixteenth century.[3] It is no wonder that the designs of such a man, when transferred to the glass windows of the chapel in the Episcopal palace should be abused, and that Stagio, Pecori's partner, should afterwards have preferred the talents of William of Marseilles.[4] Nor is it matter for surprise that

bernacle). Borgo S. Sepolcro.—Panel. Arezzo, S. Piero. The angel Raphael and the beato Philip of Piacenza (? Faenza) signed: "Beatus ... 148 ..." —(See Vas. V. 44—9).

[1] Pecori is not otherwise mentioned by Vas. (V. 51) than as a pupil of Della Gatta.

[2] Originally in S. Antonio and mentioned by Vasari (V. 51), a dark picture, perhaps dimmed by restoring. The saints on the marble floor of the portico are SS. Satiro, Lorentino, Pergentino and Donato. The Virgin's hands are joined in prayer.

[3] The Eternal, between two angels, launches his arrows, which are supposed to be intercepted by the Virgin's mantle. Under its folds, as they are looped back by two angels, kneel the males to the right under the guard of a canonized bishop with a dragon at his feet, the females to the left under that of S. Mark. The panel is painted in oil, the composition, a reproduction of Parri Spinelli's. Vasari says, Pecori was helped by a Spaniard in the completion of the work. (See Vas. V. 51. 2.)

[4] Vas. V. 53 and VIII. 100—1.

Pecori should seek assistance from a draughtsman of more experience than himself in the circumcision of S. Agostino. The mere fact that an artist engaged on a subject involving architectural detail should employ another to line out the perspective of an interior, is indeed no proof of his want of ability; but this ambitious work of Pecori contains a large assemblage of people placed at random on a sloping plane in advance of an altar, on which the infant lies and behind which Simeon stands. No attempt is made to compensate the defects of linear perspective by atmosphere. Chiaroscuro is all but absent. The paltry personages that should animate the scene are drawn with wiry outlines, betraying insufficient study of the nude; and their affected airs remind one of the Peruginesque style in the inferior productions of Tiberio d'Assisi. The flesh is of a grey-brown colour with slight high surface shadows; and tasteless ornament covers the arches and panelled ceiling of the temple, in which the ceremony is performed.[1]

The person who is said to have done the perspective for Pecori is Niccolò Soggi, his friend and contemporary,[2] the same who afterwards painted for him a Virgin of Mercy attached to a baldaquin belonging to the brotherhood of Arezzo. This baldaquin was burnt in S. Francesco during a sacred play in which paradise was represented. The lights set fire to the hangings, and a friar who sat as the Eternal was burnt to death together with sixty six of the congregation.[3]

One is led naturally to inquire whether Soggi who afforded such frequent assistance to Pecori, was not the person to whom the latter owed the Peruginesque in his manner; for Vasari states that Soggi was Perugino's pupil

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These windows were put in about 1513.

[1] This picture is noticed by Vasari (V. 52. and X. 211). It was commissioned for the Compagnia della Trinità at Arezzo (ib. ib.).

[2] Ib. ib.

[3] This event reminds us of one that lately took place in South America. It occurred on the 29th of Sept. 1556. (See annnot. Vas. V. 53.)

at Florence.[1] Without entering at any length into this question, it is sufficient to remark that Soggi has a local Aretine stamp and something of the Umbrian of Perugino, but that his talent does not justify Vasari in saying that, "after Raphael no one was more studious or diligent than he."[2] Soggi is indeed but little superior to Pecori, and only preserves the humble cento of Signorelli and Perugino handed down by Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. His life is of use however in conjunction with Pecori's, because it contains authentic dates and certified facts, and we thus become acquainted with the time when both laboured. He was born at Arezzo in 1480,[3] but was taken at an early age to Florence, where he studied in the Medici Garden.[4] After giving some proofs of his skill there he was sent by his father (c. 1512) to Rome under the patronage of the Cardinal di Monte, for whom he furnished arms and pictures with varying success.[5] He was for a long time secure of the prelates' interest, and accompanied him to Arezzo, settling there and doing much for the churches and companies of the town.[6] The same interest no doubt insured him commissions (1522) from Baldo Magini, a chamberlain of Pope Julius the Second, who had undertaken works of some importance in the church of the Madonna delle Carcere at Prato. There he had the audacity to measure himself against Andrea del Sarto, offering to wager any sum he could beat him at any picture. Andrea contemptuously retorted: — he would back his boy Puligo to do better.[7] The favour of Baldo Magini was however proof against these taunts, and Soggi remained

[1] Vas. X. 209.

[2] Vas. X. 209.

[3] This date is derived from the income-return of 1480—1 made by Donato di Jacopo Soggi at Florence. Niccolò is registered in it as one year old. (See Tav. Alfab. ub. sup.)

[4] Vas. VII. 205.

[5] The arms of Leo the X^th^ were placed by him on the front of the cardinal's palace, and he finished a S. Praxedis martyr and a holy family which have since been lost. (Vas. X. 210—11.)

[6] Ib. X. 210—11.

[7] Vas. X. 213 and com. 221 and VIII. 283.

at Prato until he had finished an altar-piece[1] and a portrait of his patron. On his return to Florence he encountered a lively opposition from the friends of Andrea del Sarto.[2] The quality which had recommended him to Pecori at Arezzo made him useful for a time in the capital, and he traced the perspective of an Annunciation for Giovanni Francesco Rustici;[3] but he could not long withstand the rivalry of numerous and better masters than himself, and after 1527 he lived chiefly at Arezzo, where he painted frescos in the Compagnia della Nunziata,[4] in the convent of the Murate[5] in S. Benedetto,[6] besides canvasses and panels for other places; and the comedy of the Intronati, performed at Arezzo in 1534 before Alexander de' Medici, was given with his decorations.[7] His fortunes seriously declined as he grew older, and he travelled to Milan about 1546, anticipating sustenance or employment from his own pupil Giuntalodi. His hopes were necessarily frustrated, because Giuntalodi, who would never have made a fortune out of the art communicated to him by Soggi, was then established as an architect, and refused to do more than assist his old master with a small sum of money.[8] Soggi therefore resumed his wanderings, went to Rome again at the elevation of Julius the Third in 1550, received commissions from the Pope and returned the following year to Arezzo to die and receive a decent burial in S. Domenico.[9]

Amongst the pictures completed during Soggi's first stay in Arezzo, the Nativity, originally at the Madonna delle

[1] The altarpiece was ordered in August 1522; and the contract for it is in Guasti's com. (Vas. X. 243). It adorned a tabernacle by Antonio da S. Gallo, in the Madonna delle Carcere, but has since disappeared.

[2] Vas. X. 214.

[3] Ib. XII. 4.

[4] The frescos of the Nunziata at Arezzo are under whitewash. The date of their execution is about 1527—30, as Vasari says they were in hand when Lappoli and Rosso came to Arezzo from Rome and when the latter precipitately left Arezzo in 1530. (See Vas. IX. 75. X. 204 and 215.)

[5] The fresco of the Murate is said to represent the Pietà (Vas. X. 215) and is invisible to all but the nuns themselves on account of the clausura.

[6] Vas. X. 216. These frescos have perished.

[7] Vas. X. 204.

[8] Vas. X. 218. Guasti defends Giuntalodi from the charge of ingratitude towards Soggi with success. (See his Comm. Vas. X. 231.)

[9] Vas. X. 218. 19.

Lagrime, now in the SS. Annunziata at Arezzo may be singled out as the most praised by Vasari.[1] It is dated 1522, and represents the infant Christ leaning on a cushion in the centre of the foreground between the kneeling Virgin and S. Joseph, whilst three angels sing from a long scroll in the sky. Two shepherds, whose heads seem to be portraits, stand to the left behind the Virgin, and a third bows, with his arms crossed and one knee on the ground, in an attitude of great humility. The most remarkable feature is an effect of light like those of Hondthorst, with a low red monotonous colour unrelieved by strong shadow. The Umbrian character in the angels and kneeling shepherd does not extend to the other figures, of which the types and angular forms, as well as the straight and broken drapery, seem inspired from the older manner of Piero della Francesca. Careful and patient handling is naturally allied to want of atmosphere.[2]

A nearer relation to Perugino may be discerned in the damaged remnants of a fresco of the Virgin, child, and Saints in S. Francesco of Arezzo; but the local style of Della Gatta and Pecori is still apparent in the mechanical drawing of the long and ungraceful figures.[3]

In the Duomo at Prato, Soggi was spurred to greater exertion. He painted the likeness of Baldo Magini, erect under an arch, with more natural colour and better relief than usual. He produced something broader and better in every sense than at Arezzo,[4] but admitting this

[1] Ib. IX. 74. X. 212.

[2] This picture is mentioned by Vas. 212. and IX. 74. It bears an inscription as follows: "Franc^{s}: D. Ricciardis P. C. A. MDXXII." A recent cleaning has injured the surface.

[3] Bits of the outline of the Virgin and child together with the contours of a kneeling Baptist and an erect friar on the left; and three angels singing from a long scroll, in the sky, the saints on the right, are obliterated. Vas. (X. 211) notices this work, which seems to have been prepared as usual with verde, and hatched, and to have been subsequently varnished.

[4] The sky is visible through the arch. The figure holds in one hand a model of a church to which it points with the right. On a stone to the right is a bas-relief of a fight. Wood — oil.

it is still improbable that he should be the author of an Annunciation dated 1523 (or 6) in the Hospital of S. Bonifacio at Florence. It suggests the name of Sogliani rather than that of Soggi,[1] whereas the Virgin and child between two saints and angels at the Pitti really does betray Perugian character (ex gr. of Manni), in the angels, and a relation to the style of Pecori.[2]

The following list classifies under one head some unimportant pieces at Arezzo, which bear the impress of Soggi and of Pecori.

Arezzo — S. Domenico, chapel to the rear of the choir. S. Mary Magdalen between two females of the Dominican order in a landscape-distance — wood — much injured. The figures are paltry, and reminiscent of those in the Virgin and saints by Pecori in the Sacristy of the Pieve.

Same church. Lunette, above outer portal. Virgin and child and seraphs, S. Dominick and another saint. Same class as the foregoing.

Arezzo — S. Michele, cloister of old Badia S. Fiore, and now a public school. The lunettes above the doors contain frescos: 1. Virgin and child and two angels; 2. two saints; 3. the Saviour blessing. These and other bits are executed with some Peruginesque feeling; the manner being local, and akin to that of Pecori and Soggi. We know of the latter that he painted in this place a Christ on the Mount which has perished (Vas. X. 215).

Arezzo — Duomo. A number of altar-pieces hang in a passage leading from the Duomo to the Episcopal Palace. Amongst them is one of many figures (saints and angels), commissioned it is said, on Vasari's authority (Vas. V. 52), by one Donato Marinelli, and finished, with the assistance of Capanna of Sienna, by Pecori. This may truly be the picture described by Vasari, who restored the altar on which it stood (see note 5 to Vas. V. 52); but there is no proof of its genuineness.

Vasari justly doubts the genuineness of a Virgin and child between SS. Peter and Jerome formerly on the high altar of the child of the Cappuccini, now in S. Piero martire at Prato. It is a very rough production. (Vas. X. 213.—14.)

[1] On the pedestal of the desk one reads:

"A D. M. orate pro pictore. . . . CCCCCXXIII . . ." (See Vas. X. 209.)

[2] Pitti. Gal. No. 77. The figures are paltry, the child heavy, with a large head. The general tone is reddish, which may, however, be due to restoring.

Arezzo — S. Agostino. An altarpiece of the Virgin and child enthroned, in a niche in this church, might be considered more in Pecori's manner, as ex. gr. in the ornaments; but the surface is much repainted. A bishop, and a S. M. Magdalen in the choir, repainted likewise, seem to have been part of this picture.

The following works by Pecori are said to exist: — Campriano, outside Arezzo; Virgin and child; SS. Sebastian and Fabian, described by Vas. (V. 51) as in S. Piero of Arezzo; Badia S. Fiore at Arezzo, garden, damaged Noli me tangere, the chapel containing it being now used by a gardener for his tools (Vas. V. 52. and note 4. ib.); S. Margarita of Arezzo, Annunciation (Vas. X. 201). — The following works have perished: Fresco in S. Giustino of Arezzo (Vas. V. 51); panels and canvasses at Sargiano (Vas. V. 51); Arezzo, S. M. Maddalena; standard; Arezzo Pieve, S. Appollonia (ib. ib.).

The following works, by Soggi, are said to exist: Monte Sansovino, Compagnia di S. M. della Neve — Incident from the legend of the Madonna of that name (Vas. X. 212); same place, altar of Madonna delle Vertighe, Virgin, Christ, and two saints (ib. ib. 218); Marciana in Valdicchiana, fresco (ib. ib. 212—216); Sargiano, Zoccoli, Assumption and Gift of the Girdle (ib. ib. 215). The following are lost: Arezzo, S. Agostino, Virgin of Mercy, fresco, and S. Roch do. (Vas. X. 211—12).

CHAPTER III.

DOMENICO DI BARTOLO AND THE SIENNESE OF THE XVth CENTURY.

To one acquainted with the civil commotions which marked the decline of the Siennese republic during the fifteenth century, the absence of eminence in professors of painting will appear neither strange nor unexpected. Repeated changes, accompanied by violence, a constant renewal of governments in which the ambition of a few men invariably sought satisfaction at the expense of the masses, were necessarily productive of debility and languor. The historian of Sienna consequently follows the fortunes of poor limners who laboured under the double disadvantage of hereditary errors, and a social dislocation unfavourable to their pursuits.[1] Yet their weakness did not preclude the exercise of a wide spread influence; and the close relation of Taddeo Bartoli to the chiefs of the Gubbian school was maintained after him by Domenico di Bartolo. It is difficult, indeed, to name a master, a picture, in the northernmost parts of the land bordering the Adriatic, that is not impressed with Siennese defects or peculiarities. The Boccati of Camerino, Matteo of Gualdo, even Bonfigli of Perugia display them; and the only exception is to be found in the great Umbro-Florentines, Piero della Francesca, Signorelli, Giovanni

[1] Rumohr, speaking of the Siennese painters from 1430 to 1500, says he neglects them, partly because Della Valle and Lanzi have described them minutely, but chiefly because he professes to deal with the development of art, not with its diseased forms "..(Forsch. II. note to p. 313). Yet these "diseased forms" had an influence on the development of Italian art.

Santi, and Melozzo, whose equal Sienna did not boast of at the time, and was not destined to boast of in the sequel.

The period filled by the Domenicos, Vecchiettas, Sassettas, and their satellites, was one of retrogression, preparatory to the final absorption of the Siennese into the Perugian school. It is a period interesting chiefly to those who seek to fathom the causes or note the results of a transfusion of elements from an expiring and worn out body artistic into another nascent and growing. That the Siennese school did not produce a class equivalent to that which in Florence comprised Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Donato, and Paolo Uccelli, that it remained without a Mantegna, or Piero della Francesca, was, no doubt, fatal to its further existence. For the religious spirit of the older time had passed away, there as elsewhere; and men, whose aim might have been the combination of scientific and pictorial principles, could alone have succeeded in imparting a new life to an enfeebled and decaying frame.

The painters, who illustrate this last phase of Siennese art, are numerous and prolific. At their head stands Domenico Bartoli Ghezzi of Asciano, with Vecchietta, Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto di Giovanni, Girolamo di Benvenuto, Matteo da Sienna, and Cozzarelli in support. They held a position in Sienna resembling that of the Florentines from Brunelleschi to Ghirlandaio's time; but, unlike them, they contentedly and leisurely followed ancient models of Siennese composition, as if repelled by the mere suggestion of innovation. They did not attempt to infuse any new character into their ill-favoured impersonations. Their figures embodied errors similar to those of Taddeo Bartoli, without exhibiting the energy or earnestness which occasionally raised him above those less gifted than himself. They were, as colourists, inferior to the earlier men of their school, null in the science of light and shade.

By their side stood another branch, with Sassetta as

root, Sano di Pietro as leader, and a ruck of men of less mark behind them. These clung, not merely to the old system of composition, form, and drapery, but to the old methods of tempera, modelling their style, according to their ability, on the antiquated one of Ugolino and Segna.

Domenico di Bartolo was born at Asciano in the early part of the fifteenth century, and was free of the guild of Sienna in 1428.[1] The sphere of his activity is limited by that date and 1444, after which time his name has not been discovered in records. His productions justify in part the criticisms of Vasari, who assigns them to one taught in the school of Taddeo Bartoli.[2] His manner is Umbro-Siennese, deficient in order and balance, in repose and purpose, unadorned with any of the charms of perspective, unattractive because of the weakness and rigidity of figures attired in tasteless dress, because of the rare presence of pleasing types, and the monotony consequent on a shadowless reddish brown tone of dim texture. In this respect, his earliest and his latest efforts are consistently the same. In a panel, of 1433, at the Academy of Sienna, inscribed with the name of "Dominicus" alone, in which the Virgin sits on the ground amidst angels, and holds the infant on her knee, the principal group hardly differs from that of a mother with her child in the less sacred subject of the Marriage of a Foundling at the Spedale.[3] In both pieces, the heads overweigh the slender necks and frames; a meaningless grimace overspreads the faces; but in the former a lustrous reddish tone colours the entire surface of the panel.

The Siennese themselves seemed to attach less value to the pictorial works of this time, than to those of archi-

[1] Proof of his birth at Asciano is afforded by a contract in the Siennese arch. (Doc Sen. II. 172.) which shows that Vasari (II. 223) errs in calling him Taddeo Bartoli's nephew.

[2] Vasari II. 223.

[3] No. 138. Sienna academy; inscribed: "Oh decus o species o stella supremi eteris exaudi miseros famulosque deprecantes. Dominicus Domini matrem te pinxit et orat. anno. MCCCCXXXIII."

tecture or sculpture. Domenico di Bartolo, though casually employed, was little known or considered by his contemporaries, and never rose to great notoriety. A short time after the Emperor Sigismund had visited Sienna, on the way to his coronation at Rome, the council of the Duomo proposed to found a memorial of the event. The pavement of coloured marble in the cathedral, which had been in progress since 1369, still remained unfinished, and a suggestion that "the Cæsar's Majesty" should be represented there, in company of his chief ministers, met with approval. Unhappily, the features of the Kaiser had not been authentically preserved, and though fancy portraits of ministers might appear a tolerable liberty, an ideal of the Emperor, who but two years before had triumphantly shown himself to the Siennese, might have been ridiculed. The council of the Duomo was informed in this emergency that "one Domenico" (di Bartolo) was owner of "a statue or design" in which a resemblance to the face of the Cæsar's Majesty might be traced, and accordingly purchased it, together with the incongruous addition of a S. John and a font, ordering the artist at the same time (1434) to prepare a sketch for the group of the Emperor.[1] This commission led to others; and, at intervals between 1435 and 1439, Domenico painted the whole sacristy of the Duomo with scenes from the lives of SS. Ansano, Vittorio, and Savino,[2] and in 1437 an altarpiece for S. Agostino of Asciano.[3] By a curious coincidence, a picture hangs to this day in the church of this name, which might claim to be that contracted for by Domenico.[4] The Virgin is enthroned between four standing saints, and above, the Eternal gives his benediction, whilst the Virgin and angel annunciate

[1] A proposal for this purchase, (Oct. 30. 1434) an order for it (Nov. 13). and payment for the design, are in Doc. Sen. II. 161. 2.

[2] Ib. II. 172. Della Valle Lett. San. II. 197. A fire destroyed these frescos in the sixteenth century.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 172. It is from this contract that we learn the real name of the painter, which is Domenico Bartoli Ghezzi di Asciano.

[4] The central Virgin is on the high altar, the rest of the picture on an altar to the right as you enter S. Agostino.

fill spaces at his sides. Scenes from the life of S. Catherine are enclosed in the small frames of a predella, in the centre of which the Saviour is crucified. The broken and angular draperies are full of superfluous folds. The Virgin sits on her throne with the languid grace of the Umbrian school. The angel annunciate moves with the liveliness to which we become accustomed in Vecchietta, and there is an effort at foreshortening in the Eternal. The colour, of an uncommon lustre, seems to disclose a change in the old system of tempera.[1] It is a work of a better class than the authentic Virgin and saints of 1438 at Perugia; and some difficulties arise in the attempt to ascribe both to one hand.[2] The Perugian altarpiece, with the usual profusion of triangular gables, and a predella in five parts, is inscribed with the painter's name, dated 1438, and is usually invisible in consequence of the papal *clausura*, which isolates from the world the nuns of the convent of Sta. Giuliana. As compositions, the predella scenes, illustrating the life and martyrdom of the Baptist, are in better balance than the principal group of the Virgin, child, and kneeling patroness; but the lean coarseness of males, and affected daintiness and tasteless dress of females; the wiry serpentine locks of the Benedict, or the frizzled hair of the Giuliana; the broken draperies generally, are not more natural or attractive than the low-toned flatness of the ruddy raw colour. Yet, such a picture as this in such a place repays attention.[3] It is the pro-

[1] The panels at Asciano are not unlike those by Vecchietta forming the presses in the Spedale at Siena. (See postea.)

[2] This is not the only production to be noticed at Asciano. An ascension by Giovanni di Paolo hangs in a dark place in the Duomo above the door leading into the sacristy. Two saints, S. Michael and another have been attached to the sides of the ascension, and in spite of dim colour or damaged surface, they reveal the manner apparent in the picture of S. Agostino above mentioned.

[3] The whole of this altarpiece comprises: the Virgin, child, and kneeling donatrix, between SS. John the Baptist (pointing at Mary with his first and fifth finger) and Benedict (right), SS. Giuliana and Bernard (left). The Eternal gives a blessing in the central upper gable. The angel and Virgin annunciate occupy the gables at his sides, and right and left of these are SS. Paul and Peter. In the pre-

duction of a pure Siennese in an Umbrian city, destined to be the cradle of a reviving art. It offers occasion for comparison with other creations of the time; and proves that Giovanni Boccati, whose panel of 1447 is hard by in S. Domenico, was educated on the same principles, and struggled with similar defects. The Siennese school was, no doubt, superior generally to that of Umbria and the Marches up to this time. Still, it is not easy to determine whether Domenico shed an influence on the Boccati, or whether the converse proposition would hold good. Gentile da Fabriano had already interposed both at Sienna and in Umbria. If, however, Sienna now ceased to wield supremacy over the neighbouring country; the effect was as yet hardly perceptible; and this is equally true at Camerino, east of the Appennine, and at Foligno, west of that chain, where local art was modified by the presence of Benozzo Gozzoli.

But Domenico's Perugian Madonna seems not a solitary Siennese example of its time at a distance from Sienna. The Priory of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Borgo S. Sepolcro, the inmates of which have parted with the "Baptism" of Piero della Francesca,[1] still shelters the remains of an altarpiece, of which that episode was the centre, reminiscent of the Virgin and saints at S. Agostino of Asciano. An improvement upon the style of that piece may be conceded, but the SS. Peter and Paul combine the feebleness of figure, overweight of head, and peculiar draperies, which have been described as characteristic of

della (left to right) are: 1. S. John's departure to the desert; 2. his sermon; 3. his execution and the dance of the daughter of Herodias; 4. the interview with Herod; and 5. the Baptism of Christ. On a scroll at the Virgin's feet are the words: "Dominicus Bartoli de Senis me pinxit," on a border below: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Domina Antonia filia Francisci de Domõ Bucholis, abbatissa istius monasterii in hanno M.CCCCXXXVIII de mensis Maii." The colour is abraded and dimmed by time. Since the foregoing was written the altarpiece has found a place in the Galleria Comunale.

[1] This Baptism, is painted in tempera and not in oil as we, in error, stated. See Vol. II. Piero della Francesca, p. 541 and foll. The observations made as to Piero's use of oil medium are however correct and apply to other pieces produced by him on the new system.

Domenico. The angel and Virgin annunciate are stamped in his mould likewise; and Vecchietta's creations are recalled to mind in each case. A predella, comprising the crucifixion and four scenes from the life of the Baptist, exhibit the essential liveliness and animation, the vehemence and grimace of the Siennese school. Certain types assume a family likeness to those of Piero della Francesca, whose Umbrian tendency they might explain and illustrate. The drawing is minute and precise, but the colour resembles that of the Asciano pictures.[1] Were it even recorded that this was the fruit of Domenico's labour, his stay at Borgo S. Sepolcro would still be uncertain. Yet a ruined fresco in a tabernacle at the corner of the Via di Mezzo seems to prove the presence at least of the artist who painted the greater part of the panels in S. Giovanni Evangelista.[2]

Domenico devoted five consecutive years (1435—40) to the lost decorations of the sacristy in the Sienna Duomo,[3] completing in the interval the orders for Asciano and Perugia. No knowledge is attainable respecting his occupations during 1440—2. In the middle of 1444, he had finished seven subjects on the walls of the Pellegrinaio in the Spedale di S. M. della Scala at Sienna: a sick ward; alms-giving; marriage of the foundlings of the establishment; the Pope's indulgence for enlarging the hospital; the building of the annexes, and a Virgin of

[1] The altarpiece described in the text remains, minus its centre, in the sacristy of S. Giovanni Evangelista. S. Paul and S. Peter stand under a niche fringed with a leaf ornament in gilt relief, above which the pinnacles are filled with rounds inclosing the angel and Virgin annunciate. Three saints of not impleasant aspect stand above each other in pilasters at the flanks. In the predella are: the Birth and Sermon of the Baptist on one side of the Crucifixion, the Imprisonment and Martyrdom of the precursor on the other. The heads of the principal saints are aged, their foreheads high and their eyes extravagantly open. The large hands and feet are bony and skinny. The crucified Saviour is fair enough, whilst the dancing daughter of Herodias boasts a springy and slender form. One sees in fact a certain association of pictorial and sculptural qualities in her;— an association already suggested by the SS. Paul and Peter which resemble statues by Vecchietta.

[2] The half of a Virgin and child appear in a painted niche, but the remains are in bad condition.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 172.

Mercy.[1] A passing interest may be created by some of these injured pieces, in an archæological sense, because the hospital, as represented in the fifteenth century, has undergone no change since then; but no single fresco can be selected in which the most conspicuous defects are not apparent. The rudest handling, a dull tempera on a rough wall, confused groups of heavy figures, alike rigid and angular in shape and outline, tasteless costume, extravagantly laden with relief ornament, absence of aerial or linear perspective in edifices either ill-copied from nature, or invented by a singular and unnatural fancy, form a total of unattractive features difficult to rival at this time. This was the latest example of Domenico di Bartolo.[2] But he was not the sole person employed at the Pellegrinaio,[3] and a S. Agostino Novello, giving the dress to

[1] All these pieces except the Virgin of Mercy are preserved.

[2] There is no record of Domenico after 1444 and we don't know the date of his death.

Vasari knew but of two works by Domenico in S. Trinita and the Carmine of Florence, both absent. (Vas. II. 223.)

[3] The catalogue of the Berlin Gallery assigns to Domenico di Bartolo a Burial, and Ascension of the Virgin, with the gift of the girdle to S. Thomas; an Eternal at top amidst angels (No. 1122). The arrangement of this piece is unmistakeably Siennese, and may be found repeated by Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto, Fungai, and Giacomo di Bartolomeo Pacchiarotti. The technical handling is, however, different in some measure from that noted in Domenico. The upper part is by Sassetta as well for manner as for handling. The lower part is treated differently by some other Siennese, ex. gr. the Benvenuti, etc.

Frankfort. Stædel-Gallery. No. 4, assigned to Domenico Bartoli, represents Christ going to Golgotha, the Crucifixion, and Deposition, and is by a later Siennese after the time of Neroccio.

Altenburg — Lindenau Museum. No. 19. Half length S. Francis, of a time preceding that of Domenico Bartoli, but Siennese of the period of Simone. — No. 110 in this gallery, Adoration of the shepherds, is classed "unkown", and is really by Domenico, as well as No. 150, a S. Dominick. — In Mr. Ramboux's gallery at Cologne, a Virgin and child (No. 171) is given to Domenico. Also No. 167.

Edinburgh. National Gallery of Scotland. No. 445. Altarpiece in courses, with SS. Michael and John Baptist, a bishop and Virgin martyr in the two principal compartments, the Virgin and angel annunciate in two medallions above, and a Virgin and Evangelist in two pinnacles. The whole confined by pilasters with six saints in each. This piece is assigned to Andrea del Castagno and his pupils, but is a poor work of the schools of Domenico di Bartolo and Vecchietta, injured by restoring. It was originally in a

the brothers of the hospital, is by Priamo, brother of the sculptor Giacomo della Quercia.[1]

This artist had been left heir to Giacomo by a will, dated the 3rd of October 1438, but the charges of the succession seemed likely to exceed its profits. Giacomo had been unable to complete the funeral monument of the Vari in S. Petronio at Bologna; and the superintendents required Priamo, or any substitute he might name, to finish it. Giacomo had subjected himself to heavy fines by staying at Bologna beyond the time allowed him by the authorities of Sienna; and Priamo was called upon to pay them. Cino di Bartolo, assistant to Giacomo at Bologna, had applied to his own use the property of his master; and the dispute between Priamo and him had been submitted to umpires. In the midst of all this Priamo was reduced to beggary; and his income-paper of 1453 is but a doleful petition for consideration in favour of a miserable impoverished debtor.

An altarpiece, ordered of him in 1442 by the fraternity of S. Michele at Volterra, remained publicly exposed in its original situation till 1827, but has since disappeared. It cost originally the small sum of 40 lire, or ten Siennese florins; and was, no doubt, not more worthy of attention than the fresco of the same year at the Pellegrinaio of Sienna, where Priamo rudely carried out a composition of the very poorest conception.[2]

convent at Pratovecchio, and was purchased from the Lombardi collection.

[1] Della Valle (Lettere Sanese. II. 197) speaks of Luciano da Volletri as an assistant of Domenico in the Pellegrinaio, but he is alone in that statement, and no extant productions are assigned to him.

[2] Giacomo della Quercia died Oct. 20. 1438, having made (Oct. 3) a will, leaving his property, a minus quantity, to Priamo. Yet Priamo with little forethought married, before the year expired, Bartolommea di Antonio (Doc. Sen. 178—9). Cino di Bartolo, assistant to Giacomo della Quercia at Bologna, had taken possession of his master's property there, and was at once claimed by the Siennese authorities (ib. II. 181), whilst at the same time Priamo wrote (Dec. 1. 1438) to the superintendents of S. Petronio, demanding the rest of the sum due to his brother for the erection of the Vari monument. To the Signoria the superintendents replied (Doc. Sen. II. 181), surrendering Cino, but asking that he or Priamo should be allowed to finish the Vari monument. To Priamo they answered, apparently, offering to pay him, if he came or

Giacomo della Quercia, whose bequests were attended with such melancholy results to his less talented brother, is one of a class which fills a considerable place in Siennese annals, but of which it is only necessary, in a history of painting, to say that its sculpture, in spite of apparent ability, invariably disclosed a fanciful and false conventionalism. Giacomo's life fills half a century. He was born in 1371, and died in 1438, after a bright career marked by great industry. His practice fell afterwards principally into the hands of Sano di Matteo and Antonio Federighi, the rivals of Bernardo Rossellino in the employ of the Piccolomini, to whom Sienna and Pienza owed so much of their architectural improvements. In Agostino's plastic creations, low classicism is strongly intermingled with a disagreable swagger; and the mannerism of Giacomo della Quercia in action and drapery descends to him unimproved and unimproveable.

Partner in these defects, but more versatile in his pursuits: Lorenzo di Pietro kept a goldsmith's shop, and practised with varying success as an architect, sculptor, and painter. He was of the same age as Domenico di Bartolo, and a cotemporary of Sano di Pietro; and he was nicknamed Vecchietta, perhaps because of the tottering frames and aged faces repeated with consistent pertinacity in every specimen of his skill in every branch.

sent some one to complete the work on hand (Doc. Sen. II. 184). Priamo (ib. ib.) declared his readiness to go to Bologna (Feb. 11. 1439, old st.) with Cino, but ultimately sent Cino alone thither (Doc. Sen. II. 185), whose quarrels had in the meanwhile been submitted to an umpire (ib. II. 189). It seems obvious that the Siennese authorities desired to keep Priamo until he had settled the fines due by his dead brother; for we find him in April 1440 (o. s.) presenting a petition for the revision of the sentence in accordance with which these fines were to be paid (ib. II. 191). The Volterra picture and the Pellegrinaio frescos were both completed in 1442 (ib. II. 278—9, and 283), and in Aug. of the same year Antonio Petri de Briosso was accepted by the superintendents of S. Petronio to finish the work which Priamo was clearly unable to undertake (ib. II. 209—10). Priamo's income-paper of 1453 is published (ib. II. 283).

Of Cino di Bartolo the records only notice that he was the son of Bartolo, a goldsmith of Sienna (Doc. Sen. I. 284), that he was first employed by Giacomo della Quercia in 1428 at S. Petronio of Bologna (ib. II. 150), and that his death took place in 1475 (ib. I. 284).

He was born in 1412,[1] and free of his guild in 1428;[2] but no records allude to him before 1439, when he delivered to the authorities of the Sienna Duomo a panel of the Annunciation, produced by the joint labour of himself and Sano di Pietro.[3] His frescos in the Spedale at Sienna, and a statue of Christ *"risorto"* on the high altar of the Sienna Duomo were finished almost at the same period, the first in 1441,[4] the second in 1442.[5] He was thus early devoted to the sister arts which he carried on simultaneously. We can not, however, as yet discuss his power as a sculptor, because the Christ is not in existence; but the frescos of the Spedale are in part standing, and though we miss three scenes from the story of Tobit, and a crucified Saviour between the Virgin and S. John, in the hospital chapel,[6] a companion subject to the series afterwards completed by Domenico still fills the arch above the door of the Pellegrinaio, and bears the inscription "Laurensius de Senis". A kneeling figure, no doubt intended for that of the founder of the hospital, occupies an advantageous position in the centre of a triple arched space, of which the vaulting retreats with some show of perspective. Near him, a ladder leads upwards to the presence of the Virgin, who awaits the hospital children climbing towards her. Another phase of the foundation's benevolence is the distribution of alms to the right of the kneeling patron, and a third incident is delineated on his left. To say that Vecchietta is better than Domenico in his last days, is curt but sufficient praise. The false classicism of the Roman architecture with its bas-reliefs and friezes in monochrome, the capitals of the columns overladen with detail, are not more calculated to satisfy a polished taste than the copious ornamentation of the dresses with their tinted model wax-borders. Faulty arrangement of figures, false perspective, feeble frames,

[1] Doc. Sen. II. 367.
[2] Ib. I. 49.
[3] Ib. II. 369—388.
[4] Ib. 369.
[5] Ib. ib.
[6] Ib. ib.

bewigged and aged heads, all repel the observer; whilst the colour, dimmed by time, it is true, yet still preserved, is flat and unrelieved. No mitigating circumstances alter the force of this necessary verdict, which condemns with equal justice the earlier as well as the later pictures of Vecchietta. The relic press in the Spedale, of which he painted the doors inside and out in 1445 with twenty-five different subjects, only serves to illustrate the decline of Siennese art since Duccio.[1] Were the frescos of the sacristy in the same building yet extant, they would, doubtless, tell no other tale.[2] The decoration of four ceilings and part of the tribune of the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Sienna, which date from 1449—50, exhibit no change in the practise of previous years;[3] and panels

[1] Doc. Sen. II. 369. Della Valle (Let. Sen. III. 57) assigns these doors to Matteo di Giovanni. The outer side contains three courses of panels, the uppermost of which are: 1. the crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist; 2. the Resurrection of Christ, both between 3. the angel and 4. the Virgin annunciate, each of the latter attended by 5. and 6. a seraph. Twelve panels in the next two courses contain (from left to right) SS. Ansano, Ambrogio Sansedoni (beato), Bernardino, Agostino Novello (beato giving the dress), Galerani (beato), Savino, Victor, Catherine of Sienna, unknown, Galgano, and Crescenzio.

The inner side of the press-doors comprises (in a double course from left to right): 1. Christ before Pilate; 2. the Scourging; 3. the Last Supper; 4. Christ washing the feet of his disciples; 5. Christ crowned with thorns; 6. Christ carrying his cross; 7. the kiss of Judas; 8. Christ before Caiaphas. The inner panels are inferior to the outer, and perhaps by pupils.

[2] Since the text was written the frescos of the sacristy have been cleared of white-wash. They represent ten scenes from the new and old Testament; Christ, Evangelists, and saints in the ceiling. In a corner of one of the walls one reads: "Urbano equite D. æccellentissimo hujus sanct. Domus præfecto. Laurentius Petri filius Senensis hoc sacrarum undique versum picturis honestavit M.CCCCXLVIIII."

[3] Two of these ceilings are by Michele Lambertini (antea. II. 218); four by Vecchietta. In the central one, by the entrance, are SS. James, Philip, John Evang., and Mathew. In the next central one, by the tribune, are: the Last Judgment; Christ in glory; the Limbo, and a symbolical picture of the communion. Right of this, as one stands in the centre of the church and looks towards the tribune, are: the Baptism of Christ; the Saviour and Virgin in glory; Remission of sins (damaged); and the Resurrection of Christ. To the left, if one keeps the same position, the Flagellation; then an empty space; Christ in glory; and the Annunciation. The frescos in the tribunes are by other hands. That of the semidome (central tribune), representing the crucified Saviour, the sleeping apostles, and the burial of Christ, attributed to one

or frescos alike disclose absence of aerial and linear perspective, flatness of tone, poor composition, lean, withered, and ill-proportioned figures of unselect shape, moving with a broken and fantastic action, involved draperies, trivial, vulgar, or grimacing heads, so incompletely modelled on nature that eyes take a triangular shape, and noses, in three quarter faces, are flattened down to profile; yet the contours and the technical finish are careful to a fault.

The mere employment of Vecchietta in numerous undertakings at Sienna would not be surprising, if it were granted that his talent might be considered cheap and prolific, like that of Neri di Bicci at Florence. But Lorenzo, in spite of the poverty apparent in his works, held a high place in the estimation of his townsmen. He and Sano di Pietro were the chosen umpires of the municipality for the valuation of the frescos on the Porta Romana when Sassetta died, leaving his work unfinished, in 1452.[1] Vecchietta complains, however, in an income-paper of 1453 that, although proprietor of small parcels of land and houses in Sienna and its vicinity, his ailing health and the infirmity of his wife contributed much to his discomfort and indebtedness, "and if fortune were to plague him long, as it had hitherto done, he should be forced to sell his movables for bread";[2] but we may partially mistrust the statements of a man desirous to move the stern feelings of the tax-gatherer, and Vecchietta continued for many subsequent years to carve stone and bronze, and wield the brush. Amongst the altar-pieces furnished in those days, we notice the Madonna

Gasparre d'Agostino, an artist following the manner of Giovanni d'Asciano, who laboured (1451—54. 55) in a style reminiscent of that which we shall find in Giovanni di Paolo (postea), but more rational than his. The colour is fair; the figures are long and lean, and in vehement action. To this Gasparre a small S. Bernardino, preaching, which hangs in the sacristy of the Sienna Duomo, is assigned. There is a record of Gasparre's design for part of the pavement in the Duomo (1451) in Milanesi's "Doc. Sen. (II. 269)", and he is noticed by the annotators of Vasari in a commentary to the life of Gentile da Fabriano (IV. 163).

[1] Doc. Sen. II. 274—5. 6. 7.

[2] See the paper in Doc. Sen. III. 28*

and saints of 1447 in the gallery of the Uffizi, and the ascension of the Virgin, with four holy attendants, on one of the altars of the Duomo of Pienza. The former has been injured by partial retouching, but contains in its pilasters some slender and fairly thrown personages, after the manner of Domenico di Bartolo,[1] whilst the latter, one of the best examples of Vecchietta, seems to date from the same time, and comprises, amongst the heavenly choir accompanying the Virgin, some not ungraceful angels.[2]

Vecchietta's productions were now so highly valued at Sienna, that in March 1460, the supreme government took upon itself to address Messer Goro Loli Piccolomini with the prayer that he might recommend the "singular talent" of Lorenzo di Pietro to Pius the Second, as the most fitted to superintend the rebuilding of the Papal lodge at Sienna.[3] Pius, however, had perhaps less confidence in the artist's powers than the lords of Sienna. Perhaps he did not believe that the author of the Pienza altarpiece could turn out a great architect. Certain if is that he preferred Agostino di Federigo.[4] This contempt of his claims irritated or discouraged Vecchietta; and he formed the resolution to abandon his country for ever; whilst at the same time the members of the Siennese council apparently felt that they had been slighted by the Piccolomini. We may conjecture, at least, that such was the course of events, because, Agostino di Federigo, who had

[1] The Uffizi altarpiece (No. 27, corridor) is in a modern frame, and an inscription, repainted (it is said on the old one), runs as follows: "Opus Laurenti Petri Senensis, 1457. Questa tavola l'ha fatta fare Giacomo d'Andreuccio Setajnolo per sua divozione." The figures are life size. To the right of the Virgin and child are SS. Andrew and Lawrence and the kneeling Dominick; to the left, SS. Bartholomew, James, and a kneeling king. Four small saints are in the pilasters. Some heads, that of S. Lawrence for instance, are new.

[2] The Pienza altarpiece, a gable, represents the Ascension, with SS. Pius, Agatha (part of her blue dress scraped off), Calixtus, and Catharine. It is signed: "Opus Laurentii Petri sculptoris de Senis." The colour is light and flat, and much gold or painted ornament is lavished in every part. The figures are 3/4 life size.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 308.

[4] Ib. ib.

hitherto been employed to carve the statues in the Loggia della Mercanzia,[1] was relieved of all further duty there; and the two remaining ones were allotted to Vecchietta (April 1460), "in order that he might have something to keep him busy in Sienna, which he was tempted, nay had determined, to leave".[2] He was consoled further by orders for frescos in the public Palace, and we still possess that of S. Catherine, at the side of the entrance leading from the great hall to the chapel;[3] and part of a large Virgin of Mercy, lately recovered from white-wash, in a room called "Sala dell' ajuto Bilanciere". S. Bernardino, and S. Martin on horseback, sharing his cloak with the beggar, stand in the spandrils of an arched recess, in the centre of which the Virgin holds the infant Saviour, and angels support the cloak which covers the people of Sienna. SS. Savino, Jerom, Peter, Catherine, Lawrence, Ansano, attend to the right and left. Seraphs, sixteen in number, sing in the space between SS. Martin and Bernardino, and two messengers of heaven suspend the crown over the Virgin. Her head, and dress, and other parts of the fresco are renewed, the nimbuses are stamped and cut out with the exquisite care which marks those of Simone Martini, but the defects of Vecchietta are perfectly apparent, in spite of a family likeness in some parts to Sassetta or Sano di Pietro.

In 1462, Lorenzo had completed the statues of the Loggia della Mercanzia, both of which present to the spectator the disproportioned and decrepid forms conspicuous already at an earlier time. Nor does Vecchietta fail to lay stress on the versatility of his own talents, and whilst he signs himself in the Pienza picture "sculptor", he inscribes his carved work with the words: "Opus Laurentii *pictoris* Senensis.[4] A recumbent image of

[1] Now Casino de' Nobili at Sienna.

[2] Doc. Sen. II. 311.

[3] The S. Catherine was painted in 1460 (Doc. Sen. II. 370), and is signed: "29. Junii 1461, Opus Laurentii Petri Senens." The S. Bernardino, close by at the other side of the door, only bears the mutilated date M.CCCCL...., and is more in the style of Sano di Pietro.

[4] Vecchietta received 1000 lire

Mariano Soccino (1467) at the Uffizi,[1] SS. Catherine, Bernardino, Paul, and Sebastian,[2] in silver for the Sienna cathedral, were produced at intervals up to 1478. Two years previous to this date, Vecchietta, who at last had struck a vein of prosperity, proposed to furnish a bronze Christ and a picture of the Virgin, child, and saints to the Spedale di S. M. della Scala, if the superintendents of that edifice should give him a chapel, and consecrate it with his name. Upon that consideration also he consented to leave all his property after his second wife's death to the foundation.[3] The proposal was accepted; and Vecchietta's best casting now adorns the high altar of the hospital.[4] Its broken action and coarse bony forms are not better than of old; nor is the altarpiece, which now hangs at the Sienna Academy, entitled to any additional praise.[5] Both pieces are dated 1479, and are the last efforts of the artist, who died in the middle of the following year.

The narrative of his career would be incomplete without an allusion to an occupation with which he varied his usual labours. Between 1467 and 1470, he was entrusted with the fabrication of models for the fortresses

for these two figures. Doc. Sen. II. 311.

[1] No. 394. Galerie des bronzes modernes.

[2] Years respectively 1473, 1475, 1478. Doc. Sen. II. 350. 370.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 367. 8.

[4] It is signed: "Laurentii Petri pictoris al. Vecchietta de Senis. M.CCCCLXXVI (1476) p. sua devotione fecit hoc opus." The tabernacle in which it stood was transferred in 1506 to the Duomo, where it now stands, by Pandolfo Petrucci (Vas. notes to p. 210. Vol. IV). A sketch of the tabernacle, on panel, by Vecchietta, is No. 335 in the Sienna Academy.

[5] No. 195. It represents the Virgin and child, between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, the kneeling Cosmo and Damian, with the inscription: "Opus Laurentii Petri alias Vecchietta ob suam devotionem." An altarpiece in San Niccolò di Valdorcia, signed with Vecchietta's name, is noticed by the annotators of Vasari (II. 212).

Old Sienna guides speak also of terra cottas by him. ib. The following numbers are assigned to him in Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne, No. 124—8, 164—5; but little value can be assigned to the pieces so catalogued.

A Virgin and child enthroned amongst angels between SS. Catherine and Bartholomew bears the name of Vecchietta in the Museum of Carlsruhe. It is numbered 164, and is of the older period after Lippi and Barna.

of Sarteano, Orbetello, Montacuto, and Talamone;[1] and his employment in this direction only ceased when Francesco di Giorgio abandoned all other pursuits for those of engineering and fortification.

The life of this ingenious and celebrated man would be out of place here; and it will not be necessary to do more than look back at the fruits of his early industry, and fix the limits of his acquirements as a painter. He was but twenty-four[2] when the superintendence of the conduits of the Fonte Gaia in Sienna was given to him; but he kept a shop with Nerroccio di Bartolommeo de' Landi, until the partnership was dissolved in 1475.[3] He seems to have combined most of the Siennese characteristics of his time with a fancy akin to that of Botticelli, and a fashion of drapery like that of the Pollaiuoli. He inherited defects already conspicuous in Vecchietta, such as slender, withered, and angular figures, the action of which is rendered in an awkward and often pompously affected manner. He may, therefore, have learnt the elements from that master. The strange conceits in his composition are surprising and unpleasant. Superabundance of ornament in dresses and buildings is another of his failings. His tone is cold, unrelieved, flat, and grey in shadow; but he exhibits some slight progress in the application of perspective to form. A disagreable colour overspreads an injured Nativity, originally at Monte Oliveto near the Porta Tufi at Sienna; graced with his name, and now in the Academy.[4] The strangeness of his fancy is illustrated by a Coronation of the Virgin in the same Museum, where the higher and lower spheres of a heavenly host are united by two angels resting on a cluster of three cherubs' heads.[5]

[1] Doc. Sen. II. 282. 370.

[2] Born Nov. 14. 1439, his first public appointment dates 1464. Doc. Sen. II. 337. His death took place in 1502.

[3] Ib. II. 465.

[4] No. 302, inscribed: "Francisc. Giorgii pinsit", dating from 1475 (Vas. note to p. 205. Vol. IV).

[5] No. 301. Here the figures whose character is that described, have small heads and small eyes, with a mere point for the pupil. Copious hair is curved in successions of spirals. Colours, in distinct and

His style may be further studied in seven or eight panels, unauthenticated by signatures, in the collection of his native city; in a Nativity at S. Domenico of Sienna, and in a predella at the Uffizi of Florence.[1]

Francesco di Giorgio is connected with such brilliant successes in the laying out of fortresses, and the invention of methods for the attack and reduction of such works, that his talents became widely known throughout Italy.[2] In this novel and important field he preceded by a few years, and was only surpassed by, Leonardo da Vinci, and it is on record that they both met in 1490 at Pavia, whither they had been sent by Gian Galeazzo to report on the plan of the new cathedral. Francesco di Giorgio's proposals for vaulting the cupola of the Milan Duomo were conceived at the same period, and, after they had been accepted by the "deputies" of the *Fabbrica*, they were realized in 1493 by the Lombard, Giov. Antonio da Gessate.[3]

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sharp contrasts, have a hard horny substance. The flesh lights are yellow, of thin impasto, and grey in shadow. The ornaments are copious. Every part is wrought with visible care and research.

[1] Sienna Acad. No. 303. Annunciation. The angel is in vehement and exaggerated action. The distance, architecture of fanciful form and decoration. — Same Gallery. No. 304. Virgin and child between SS. Peter and Paul. — Same Gall. No. 305. Half length Virgin and child and an angel; one may note here how the lines of the cheeks in the Virgin fall to a small chin. The colour is rosy, but flat. — Same Gallery. Nos. 184. 5. 6. Two scenes from the story of Joseph, and one of Susanna. — Same Gallery. No. 228. Half length Virgin and child between two saints. — Same Gall. No. 329. Christ about to be crucified, with features assignable to a continuator of Francesco di Giorgio's manner.

Sienna — S. Domenico, on an altar to the right. The Nativity seems composed in the spirit of F. d. G., with his type in the angels, but with more animation in the action. In the distance is a Roman arch. The name of Signorelli has been given to this piece. Its lunette belongs to another picture, and is like a work of Matteo da Sienna; whilst the predella shows the hand of Fungai. — Florence — Uffizi. No. 1304. The three predella scenes here show F. d. G.'s defects less than usual, the size of the panels being small. We note the neatness of the drawing. The colour is, however, still flat and cold. The subjects are from the legend of S. Benedict.

[2] It is certain, says Gaetano Milanesi (Discorso ub. sub. p. 69), that the invention of the mine was first practised by Francesco di Giorgio in 1495 at the siege of the Castel del Uovo at Naples.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 429. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 435—8, and Gaye Carteggio II. 288. 89. 90. 93.

In 1484, Francesco di Giorgio, passing through Gubbio, was visited by Luca Signorelli, who induced him to design the church of S. Maria del Calcinaio near Cortona,[1] and in 1491 he competed with the best of his countrymen by sending to Florence a model for the front of S. Maria del Fiore.[2] Francesco's fame as an architect thus reposes on a firm and reasonable basis; yet he did not habitually superintend the erection of edifices; and the historians of Italy causelessly heap honours or shame on his head as they attribute to his inventive genius buldings carried out by others, on principles that are at times correct, at others false and vicious.[3]

The extent of Francesco di Giorgio's ability in carving may be correctly defined by reference to the bronze angels in the Sienna Duomo, which he cast and chiselled in 1497.[4] They are hard, dry, and inelegant, of paltry type and form, and draped in vestments of broken folds.[5]

When Francesco parted from Nerroccio di Bartolommeo de' Landi in 1475, Vecchietta and Sano di Pietro were chosen to settle their differences by arbitration, and whilst Francesco almost entirely abandoned sculpture and painting, Nerroccio continued the exclusive exercise of those two branches of his profession. Nerroccio was younger by about eight years than his

[1] See antea in Signorelli.

[2] See the record of this competition in com. to Vas. VII. 243.

[3] See on this point Vasari IV. 204. with notes of the commentators. Rumohr, Forschungen. II. 177 and foll., and Doc. Sen.

[4] Doc. Sen. II. 466, 463—4. They were ordered in 1489.

[5] The following pictures, in addition to those already noticed, may be registered.

Sienna—Palazzo Pubblico. Room leading to the hall painted by Spinello. A sermon and miracle of S. Bernardino — genuine, very careful, and a pleasing work of Francesco di Giorgio.

Munich—Pinakothek. Cabinets. No. 538. Assigned to Masaccio (see antea), but by Francesco di Giorgio. Subject: a miracle of S. Anthony of Padua (wood).

Liverpool Gallery. No. 20. assigned to Pesellino (see antea), is also by Francesco di Giorgio. Subject: Sermon of S. Bernardino. — Cologne — Ramboux. The following are assigned to F. d. G. Nos. 172—3. Mr. Fuller Maitland. No. 43 at Manchester under the name of Fra Filippo. Predella: SS. Peter and John healing the lame man (wood). This piece has the impress of the Siennese school, and is by Francesco di Giorgio.

partner.[1] As a young beginner he alternately applied himself to carrying out orders for altarpieces, and to the modelling of figures in terra cotta.[2] His remaining pictures have found a final resting place in the Academy of Sienna. A Virgin and child, between SS. Michael and Bernardino, in that collection, bears his name and the date of 1476, and was probably done for Bernardino Nini of Sienna.[3] Its style varies little from that of Vecchietta or Francesco di Giorgio, except that the affected attitudes are perhaps more absolutely unnatural in their bend than theirs, and appear to caricature more markedly the action of plastic works of the olden time. Light washy colours are confined by dry outlines; and the human form, taken as a model for delineation, is coarse and vulgar.[4] A better preserved piece in the same Gallery is the Virgin and child between saints, unauthenticated by date or signature, cold in tone, but of great softness, and laboriously finished.[5]

Nerroccio designed the Hellespontic Sybil in the pavement of the Sienna Duomo (1483),[6] and carved the statue of Tommaso del Testa Piccolomini on the monument to that worthy above the door of the Campanile in the cathedral.[7] He died in 1500.[8] Of humble aims, and moderate ability, he held a secure, if not a brilliant position in his native city; such an one as Francesco di Giorgio might perhaps have risen to, had not his engineering talent carried him far ahead of his less versatile colleague.[9] His custom was of another

[1] Born in 1447. Doc. Sen. III. 8.

[2] Ib. III. 7. 8.

[3] Doc. Sen. II. 356.

[4] No. 160. Acad. Catal. Figures half length.

[5] No. 221. Acad. Catal. The remaining pictures by Nerroccio in the Academy are: No. 161. a Virgin and saints, half lengths; No. 162. arched rectangle, Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Bernardino, half lengths; No. 163. half length Virgin and child, SS. Bernardino and Catherine. No. 180. arched rectangle, Virgin and child, SS. John and Andrew.

[6] Doc. Sen. II. 379.

[7] Ib. II. 409.

[8] Ib. III. 7. For further dates respecting the artist see Doc. Sen. II. 340. 403. 415. 416—422. and III. 7. 8. 9.

[9] Mr. Ramboux's collection contains the following, assigned to Nerroccio, No. 155—6. 160—3.

kind than that of many of his countrymen, insofar that it was purely local. But at Sienna those who were able to declare that they made an honourable and sufficient livelihood exclusively within its walls, might be considered exceptionally favoured; and a cotemporary of Francesco di Giorgio, Benvenuto di Giovanni di Meo del Guasta, takes occasion to express his regret that work being scarce, and profit scarcer, he should be forced to remove outside the circuit of Sienna.

This complaint is set forth in an income-paper of 1488,[1] but seems, as regards Benvenuto, to have been true of the greater part of his career; for, though he is described in a record of 1455 as permanently employed at the Baptistery of S. Giovanni[2] at Sienna, his first extant picture (1466) is at Volterra. He is admitted by common consent as the author of a Flagellation, and Christ carrying his cross, a couple of dimmed frescos in the central apsis of the Baptistery, and two scenes from the life of S. Anthony, injured wallpaintings in the side-apsis of the same edifice.[3] These alleged fruits of his labours are so like the productions of Lorenzo di Pietro in the ceilings, that they might be taken for his, or at least for those of his assistants. Benvenuto may have acted in that capacity, but his engagement at the Baptistery dates four years after the commission of Vecchietta. On the other hand, the Annunciation in the convent-church of S. Girolamo at Volterra offers some traits reminiscent of Nerroccio, in the angular and lean figures, the reedy frames of which bend affectedly under the weight of large but narrow heads themselves inclined on slender necks. Trite drapery, cutting outlines, cold and flat tones in flesh tints, strong contrasts in the general key of harmony, and neatness of execution, increase the resemblance. But Benvenuto does not merely reflect the peculiarities of

[1] Doc. Sen. II. 240.
[2] Ib. III. 79.
[3] Apsis to the left of the high altar. The annot. of Vas. (IV. 163. comm. to life of Gentile da Fabriano) state that Benvenuto painted the frescos of the central apsis in 1453.

Vecchietta or Nerroccio. He reminds us of the Perugian Benedetto Bonfigli; and we thus trace the contact of the Umbrian school with the older one of Sienna, which, through Benvenuto runs in a clear and uninterrupted descent from Simone, Lippo, Barna, Giovanni d'Asciano, and Ceccharelli.[1] Nor is this Annunciation at Volterra an isolated one. Its counterpart by the same hand is in the sacristy of SS. Piero e Paolo at Buonconvento.[2]

The hard dry spareness of a tempera which almost places Benvenuto in direct connection with Carlo Crivelli, is marked in a Madonna and saints at S. Domenico,[3] eight years earlier in date than a darkened and damaged Ascension of Christ in the Academy of Sienna.[4] The most reasonable of Benvenuto's relics, however, is the end of a *cataletto* or bier, commissioned of him and his son Girolamo by the Compagnia della Madonna in the Hospital of S. Maria della Scala (1500—1). Its diminutive size, no doubt, conceals many of the usual failings, but the procession of S. Catherine leading the Pope and clergy to Rome, is enlivened with many figures, the draperies of which betray less than the usual lack of style, whilst the colour, though still sharply contrasted, is not without power.[5] Three small pictures

[1] The Virgin is seated, the angel kneeling. Part of the dress of the former is gone. The Eternal, with a large head, gives a blessing from out a circular glory of cherub heads, supported by four angels. To the left, S. Michael stands in armour; to the right, S. Catherine of Alexandria. The pictures are all prim, small, and angular, whilst the external outline of the heads is round. A half length patron in profile prays at the edge of the foreground, and cuts in two the inscription: "Opus Benvenuti Joannis de Senis M.CCCCLXVI." Bonfigli's picture, most like this, is one originally in the Collegio de' Notari, now belonging to Signor Vincenzo Bertelli at Perugia.

[2] The saints at the sides of this Annunciation are SS. Anthony abbot, and Francis.

[3] Ordered in 1483 (Doc. Sen. III. 79). The lunette (adoration of the Magi) belongs to a picture in the same convent of S. Domenico, by Matteo da Sienna. Benvenuto's lunette of Christ on the tomb is on Matteo da Sienna's picture.

[4] No. 356. Acad. of Arts, inscribed: "Benvenuti Joannis pictoris de Senis MCCCCLXXXXI." The colour is dark and dull, and the picture reminds one of the productions of the Venetian school of Murano.

[5] This fragment is still in the Compagnia della Madonna sotto Spedale at Sienna.

in the Siennese Academy are by Benvenuto.[1] A fresco of the Virgin's assumption in the Oratory of S: Sebastian (Borgo di Montalboli) outside Asciano;[2] the same subject in the choir; two panels, originally at its sides in S. M. de' Servi at Borgo S. Sepolcro; are also worthy of examination.

The latter are striking instances of the relationship between the Siennese and Umbrians at Borgo San Sepolcro. Passavant has attributed them to Piero della Francesca,[3] but they ought not to be so considered; for they bear the stamp of the hand of Benvenuto, and are indeed an advance on his previous works. The central Ascension is in a form which now found numerous copyists in Sienna. The Eternal, foreshortened, looks down from a prismatic glory, surrounded by seraphs and attended by prophets. The Virgin rises towards him, encircled by cherubs, accompanied by angels, who move not as of old in flight, but on clouds. The apostles below peer into the tomb. SS. John the Baptist and Dominick, Paul and Lucy, with the Virgin and the angel annunciate in medallions above them, fill the sides in the sacristy. Whilst the apostles in the central panel rival in stark stiffness those in pictures of the school of Murano, they are dressed in garments of broken folds like those of the Flemings. The angel and Virgin annunciate recall similar creations by Giovanni Santi, and reproduce to some extent his character, type, and mode of action. The remaining figures are long, lean, and bony, — the SS. Paul and Lucy, indeed, not without a claim to attention for fairness of

[1] No. 165. Half length Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Francis. No. 172. Assumption of the Virgin. No. 181. a Virgin and child.

[2] The Assumption. The Virgin is accompanied by long motionless angels, with the Saviour above between prophets; S. Thomas between SS. Sebastian and Agatha kneeling below, and the angel and Virgin annunciate in spandrils of an arch — a rude and hastily handled work, with slender and inanimate figures; and a bad example of the school of the Benvenuti.

[3] See antea P. della Francesca, and Passavant, Raphael. ub. sup. I. 433.

proportion and for some progress towards the higher talent of Matteo of Sienna.

That Benvenuto had ample time to profit by the changes which were rapidly occurring in his country at the close of the fifteenth and opening of the sixteenth centuries, is apparent. He lived till 1517, in which year he is recorded to have furnished the *baldaquin* of the Sienna Duomo on the occasion of Leo the Tenth's visit to that city.[1] There never was a class, however, so little prone to alter as that of Sienna's artists, and we must pass from Benvenuto to his son Girolamo, in order to find improvement. Yet Girolamo, born as late as 1470, and the cotemporary of Pinturicchio, Bazzi, Girolamo Genga, and Pacchia, painted in 1508 a virgin "of the snow", in the essentials not unlike the productions of his father, though perhaps more pleasing to the eye. Numerous and cornered folds deprive the draperies of nature; and the colouring exaggerates the quality of warmth.[2] An injured fresco of the Virgin amidst singing and playing angels, in a lunette above the high altar of the church of the Madonna of Fontegiusta, is a later creation, dating from 1515, in which Girolamo had enlarged his manner.[3] A S. Chiara with a kneeling pilgrim, in the convent church of the Os-

[1] Doc. Sen. III. 80. In the same volumes are records of works not now in existence: — in 1470, at S. M. della Scala; 1482, in the Duomo (miniatures); 1483, in the Duomo (drawing for sybil in the pavement); 1485, in the Duomo (drawing for the sacrifice of Jephtha); 1498, in the Company of S. Giov. Battista della Morte (painted bier); 1494, in the Company of S. Trinità (standard with Virgin of Mercy); 1499, in Comp. of S. Girolamo. II. 344. 379. 382. 387. III. 40. 79—80. Mr. Ramboux, Cologne, catalogues the foll. as by Benvenuto. No. 168.

[2] This picture is in the Oratorio di S. Caterina at S. Domenico of Sienna, and represents the Virgin with the infant in benediction, erect on her knee. Four angels with vases and snow-balls are at her sides. Right and left stand S. Jerom and S. Catherine, and two other saints kneel at the flanks of the foreground, whilst an angel sounds an instrument on the step of the throne. An inscription at the base runs: "Opus Jheronimi Benvenuti de Senis MCCCCCVIII." A lunette, affixed to the upper part, is not by Benvenuto, but is a fragment of another picture by Matteo da Sienna.

[3] Doc. Sen. III. 71. The shadows and sky are restored. The picture has been long falsely assigned to Fungai.

servanza outside Sienna; two or three small pictures in the Academy, are all that remains of this short-lived artist, who died in 1524.[1]

Before proceeding further, however, we must revert to men of the earlier period, of another stamp in many ways than that of the branch headed by Domenico di Bartolo.

Stefano di Giovanni, more commonly known as Sassetta, was a child of the fourteenth century, whose art so strikingly resembled that of a bygone time, that guides of respectable quality attribute his crucifix in S. M. de' Servi at Sienna to Ugolino. He differs from Domenico di Bartolo and others of his kindred, not merely because he preserves unimpaired the technical system of tempera, but because he imitated the formal arrangement, the patient minuteness of outline, and the soft curves of draperies which distinguish Ugolino and Segna. The link which connects him with that age, is the crucifix of the Servi, to which we may add the Saviour on the cross in Golgotha, already noticed at the Academy of Sienna,[2] and a Calvary at the Louvre.[3] In coarseness and thinness of shape, in overweight of head, his figures are no better than those of his cotemporaries, whose flatness of tone he imitates. We should for this reason hesitate to declare that his example had no influence on the later Vecchietta. The only piece positively connected with his name is the fresco of the Porta Romana at Sienna, which he left unfinished at his death; but that specimen is so characteristic that it serves as a model of his peculiarities, and shows that he, and no other, produced the Birth of the Virgin in the sacristy of the Duomo at Asciano, the Madonna and saints of 1436 in a chapel at the convent-church of the Osservanza, outside Sienna, and a similar one in the sacristy of S. Domenico of Cortona. The monumental form, the roofed

[1] Ib. III. 78. The kneeling pilgrim is attributed erroneously to Pietro di Giovanni Pucci.
The Pictures at the Sienna Academy are No. 173. 174. 273. A S. Jerom in Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne is catalogued under Girolamo's name. No. 169.

[2] No. 42. See antea II. 55.

[3] No. 212. See antea II. 55.

or gabled fronts of these altarpieces are purely Siennese; the subjects are handled in Sassetta's style. At Asciano some grace makes amends for the comparative weakness of the figures, or the flatness which results from variegated tints unrelieved by light or shadow and copious use of ornament. It is almost touching to see how Stefano clings to old compositions in episodes of which the originals by Lorenzetti are copied successively by Andrea Vanni, Bartolo di Fredi, and him.[1] A tender air still pleases in the plump, small featured Virgin at the Osservanza; and extraordinary softness pervades the rosy flesh, shadowed with the usual verde.[2] At Cortona, the saints are slender as before, but stork-like in the gravity and awkwardness of their motion.[3] Each of these three Sassettas is marked by painful minuteness of operation, a tendency to overweight of heads, festooned drapery, angular eyes, and superabundance of gold. They reveal the source from which Sano di Pietro obtained his education.[4]

Some interest attaches also to the life of Sassetta from the knowledge that Siennese art is traceable through him in a direct manner to the home of Piero della Francesca. Father della Valle quotes the con-

[1] Lorenzetti's original of 1342 is in the Sienna Duomo. Vanni's adaptation (No. 119) in the Sienna Academy of arts; Fredi's in S. Agostino at S. Gimignano. The central panel of Sassetta's altarpiece represents the nurses busy with the child; the right side, S. Anna in bed washing her hands; the left side Joachim receiving the news of the birth. Above the latter, is her death, whilst on the opposite panel flanking a central one devoted to the Virgin giving the breast to Christ, is the funeral of Mary, the whole on gold ground.

[2] The throned Virgin holds the infant erect on her knee. SS. Ambrose and Jerom attend at the sides, and the pointed gables are filled by a Christ in benediction between SS. Paul and Peter, whilst the spaces between the points contain two medallions with the Virgin and angel annunciate. On the lower border one reads the words: "Manus Orlandi fieri fecit hanc tabulam cum tota capella MCCCCXXXVI"; on gold ground.

[3] The centre represents the Virgin with the child to her breast, and two kneeling angels on the foreground, between SS. Nicolas of Bari, Michael (in armour injured by scaling) John the Baptist, and Margaret. A central medallion in the pinnacle contains the lamb, the side ones, the Annunciation.

[4] Mr. Ramboux's catalogue at Cologne, assigns to Sassetta the following panels, No. 149—53.

tract of Stefano di Giovanni with the Minorites of Sienna for a S. Francis in majesty at S. Francesco of Borgo S. Sepolcro.[1] The picture has passed into the hands of Messrs. Lombardi at Florence. Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, hovering above the glorified founder's head, are not without grace or natural motion, but the attendant saints alone would prove that the Byzantine element had not vanished from Sienna in the fifteenth century.[2]

The Coronation of the Virgin on the Roman gate is an old form of that subject, lacking neither religious feeling nor simplicity in its conception, but almost deprived of both in the execution. Lean puppets, with necks almost as long as their waists, wriggle rather than move in attitudes and costume alike grotesque. Grimace distorts the faces. Festoons, bedecked with borders, surcharge the skirts, and remind us of the time when Cimabue arose to set aside similar imperfections; and Sassetta appears dimly to us as the last of a religious class exhausted by sameness and repetition.[3] Yet, there is no depth so low

[1] Della Valle Lettere Sanese III. 44. The signature on the picture runs thus: "Cristoforus Francisci fei Andreas Johannis Tanis operarius A. MCCCCXXXXIIII." See the engraving in Rosini. Della Valle further notices a crucifix in the refectory of S. Martino at Sienna ordered of Sassetta in 1433. See Vol. III. 44.

[2] Another picture in the Lombardi collection representing the Virgin and child between six angels and two saints at the sides (injured) reminds one of the frescos of the Porta Romana.

We may also mention here again the Berlin Museum panel No. 1122. assigned to Domenico di Bartolo, see note to p. 57. with reference to its upper part being more like a production of Sassetta than one by any other Siennese that we know.

[3] The fresco is much injured. The Virgin bends in pious reverence to receive the crown from the saviour, of whose head alone there are still traces. Angels and prophets and clergy attend behind the Virgin; whilst similar groups behind the Christ are partly obliterated, partly altered by damp. In the lower foreground SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Sienna, severally head groups of saints. The whole fresco on the outside of the gate is in a recess the vaulting of which still contains a few of the angels originally painted there. The remaining notices of Sassetta's life are short: 1427. Design for the font in S. Giovanni at Sienna (Doc. Sen. II. 244). — 1428. He is free of the painter's guild (ib. I. 48). — 1433. Altarpiece for a private chapel in the Duomo (ib. II. 244). — 1440. Drawings for a glass window in the Duomo (ib. II. 198). — 1442. Colours for the Duomo (ib. II. 244). — 1444. S. Bernardino in the Hospital church of S. M. della Scala (ib. 245). — 1447. Order for the paintings of the Porta Romana

but that we find a lower, and Pietro di Giovanni Pucci is to be reckoned amongst the followers of Stefano di Giovanni.[1]

One of his better pupils was Ansano or Sano di Pietro di Mencio, whose power of multiplication seems little short of miraculous. Born in 1406,[2] buried in 1481,[3] his life offers no very great variety of incident. He worked for most of the public bodies and religious institutions of Sienna, and there are not less than forty-seven panels by him in the Academy of that city.

His style oscillates between that of Vecchietta and that of Sassetta, but he took most from the latter, rivalling the carefulness, improving the types and expression, of his predecessor. His frescos are as like arras as those of Simone or Lippo Memmi. They are variegated, richly adorned, but almost shadowless. Round heads, deficient in the frontal projections, are heavy for frames that diminish feebly to the feet. Easy curves of meandering folds form the comparative attraction of draperies; and in panels, the colour is fused, transparent, and careful; nor is it possible to find, even in Simone, more exquisite tracery or more finely cut coigns for the stamping of

at Sienna (ib. ib.). — 1450. Sassetta's death (ib. II. 274). — 1452. Arbitration for the price to be paid to Sassetta's heirs for the Porta Romana frescos (ib. ib.). — 1459. Record that the frescos still remain unfinished III. 307. — No. 102. 103. 4—5. 137. in the Sienna Acad. seem to be works of Sassetta or of his atelier.

[1] He adds to the ugly types of Sassetta, rigidity and hard outlines and he substitutes to his master's transparence of colour a disagreable opaqueness. His extant works are: a life size S. Bernardino in the Academy of Sienna (No. 145) inscribed: "Petrus Johannis pinxit." A similar figure, in the choir of the church of the Osservanza signed: "opus Petri Johanne Senis MCCCCXXXVIIII"; — a third in S. Francesco of Lucignano, where the saint tramples on three episcopal mitres with the inscription: "Petrus Johannis de Senis p. MCCCCXLVIII."; — a dull and poor Adoration of the shepherds, with S. Galgano on the right is on an altar to the left of the portal in S. Agostino of Asciano. Della Valle (Lett. San. II. 197) records two frescos painted by Pietro di Giovanni Pucci in the infirmary of the Spedale of S. M. della Scala. It is to Pietro (one should conjecture from the style) that we owe the repainted figure of the dead Emperor Barbarossa in Spinello's fresco at the Palazzo Pubblico at Sienna.

[2] Doc. Sen. II. 279.

[3] Ib. II. 388—90. His name is Sano di Pietro di Méncio, and he is not the son of Pietro Lorenzetti as Della Valle asserts (Lett. San. II. note to p. 229).

nimbuses. An agreable tenderness in the delineation of females sometimes redeems the more vulgar errors into which Sano commonly falls; and he fairly succeeds in such religious subjects as a Paradise, or a Coronation of the Virgin, and gives some greater charm to the form of an angel than to that of an attendant saint. It has been usual to call him the Angelico of Sienna, and this may be true, if the name be meant only to suggest a contrast between his productions and the coarser ones of some of his cotemporaries. An early Virgin and saints, ordered for the convent of S. Girolamo of Sienna in 1444, shows him to have been active at that time in the production of the partitioned altarpieces characteristic of the taste of his countrymen.[1] A fresco of the Coronation in the groundfloor of the Palazzo Pubblico is of the following year; and the most important of all Sano's labours.[2] Some grace in the movement of the bowing Virgin is allied to a feeling immediately akin to that of Sassetta. Finer and better preserved, however, is the Madonna, SS. Jerom and Bernardino in a chapel to the left of the portal of the convent-church dell' Osservanza.[3] Another careful work is a S. Bernardino in the sacristy of the Duomo at Sienna. The most successful of the pieces in the Academy is the Ascension of the Virgin of 1479;[4] and there are many interesting specimens of his

[1] No. 157. 158. 159. Sienna Academy, inscribed: "Opus Sani Petri de Senis MCCCCXLIIII."

[2] A long inscription at the base of this fresco exists and is given with tolerable correctness by Della Valle (Lett. San. II. note to p. 230). It concludes: "Opus Sani Petri Senis M°CCCCXLV." The two principal figures are in front of a vast throne at the back of which are numerous angels. Seraphs, prophets, and saints attend at the sides. Cherubs and other inmates of paradise play in the spandrils of the arch forming the recess; and the whole scene is guarded, as it were, by a large S. Catherine (repainted in the seventeenth century) and S. Bernardino.

[3] The Virgin and angel annunciate are in the medallions of the spandrils: The predella is removed and now stands as base to a picture of 1413 in the same church, which may be assigned to Taddeo Bartoli (See antea II. note 2 to p. 170). Some other pieces by Sano are in the Sacristy of the church.

[4] Nos. 148. 149. Academy; — inscribed: "Sani Petri pinxit — questa tavola a fata fare suoro Batista di Benedetto de' nobili da Litiano MCCCCLXXVIIII." This altarpiece was in the church of S. Petronilla. The remaining panels

manner in the sacristy of S. Francesca at Gualdo,[1] in the collegiate church of S. Quirico near Sienna,[2] in the Duomo at Pienza,[3] in SS. Pietro e Paolo of Buonconvento,[4] in many other places of the Siennese territory, and in most public and private collections in England and on the Continent.[5]

In 1428, at which date Sano was already free of his guild, his model was taken for the font in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Sienna.[6] He acted as umpire for Sassetta in 1433,[7] and as Vecchietta's assistant in 1439.[8] In 1452, he valued, and is said to have finished subsequently, the frescos of the Roman gate.[9] He was not unacquainted with Francesco di Giorgio or Nerroccio.[10] He was, in fact,

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in the Academy are Nos. 146. 147. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 156. 166. 167. 196. 197. 198. 207. 209. 213. 215. 219. 220. 223. 234. 235. 236. 240. 241. 242. 243. 249. 251. 252. 254. 257. 268. 272. 279. 280. 282. 283. 287. 288. 289. 290.

[1] This is a much damaged (by three splits) lunette under the false name of Alunno representing the coronation of the Virgin, with two monks in prayer on the foreground right and left of the principal group.

[2] Above the lateral portal of the transept. In a lunette, the Virgin and child between SS. James, Nicodemus, a kneeling female (left) and two other saints (right): above, the Resurrection and Limbo. In a predella, scenes from the Passion.

[3] The Virgin and child between the Magdalen, James the elder, James the less, and S. Anna. In a triangular pinnacle a half length Christ and angels; in the predella, a medallion of Christ and figures of the annunciate Virgin and angel: with a doubtful inscription "Sani Petri."

[4] Virgin and child. The sides, SS. Bernardino and Catherine, in the sacristy.

[5] Sienna, S. M. Maddalena: Conservatorio. Altarpiece (wood) by Sano. Subject: the Virgin and child between SS. John the Baptist, Helena, Jerom and Bernardino. — Paris Louvre. Musée Napoleon III. Ex-Campana No. 100. This is an episode from the life of S. Jerom also by Sano. — Gallery of late H. R. H. Prince Albert (Manchester. 55), Virgin, child, and saints (fom Kensington): Mr. Fuller Maitland (Manch. 56), S. Peter restoring Tabitha. — Sir J. Boileau (Manch. 59), a miracle from the legend of S. Chiara. — Rome. Museo Cristiano, press. No. VIIII. various small panels. — Dresden, Museum Nos. 2. 3. 4. 7. 8. 9. — Berlin, Museum 1068. 1120—1121. — Ramboux, Cologne, Nos. 130—2. 134—143. — Altenburg (Saxony). Lindenau collection, by Sano, No. 16. Visitation. No. 38. Virgin, child, and Baptist. No. 50. Virgin, child, four angels, and two saints; the two latter falsely assigned to Giovanni di Paolo.

[6] Doc. Sen. I. 48 and II. 388.

[7] Ib. II. 244.

[8] Ib. II. 388.

[9] Doc. Sen. II. 274. There is proof that the frescos were unfinished in 1459 (Doc. Sen. II. 307), yet, Della Valle affirms that Sano's name and the date 1429, are on them (Lett. San. II. 229). The annot. of Vasari state that Sano finished the work in 1460 (VI. 183). But no one could now trace his hand there.

[10] Doc. Sen. II. 356.

an industrious mediocre man, the number of whose productions must have gone far to make the lives of other and less rapid painters dubious and uncomfortable.[1] Amongst a mass of still less distinguished individuals who were his cotemporaries and sometimes his aids, Giovanni di Paolo, called del Poggio, and Giovanni di Pietro deserve but a passing glance. The first of these was already in practise in 1423,[2] and on the roll of Siennese art in 1428.[3] His death followed closely on that of Sano, in whose service he laboured in 1447.[4] His strange fancy in composition, and his epileptic vehemence and awkwardness in the delineation of action are betrayed in a Last Judgment of 1453 at the Siennese Academy,[5] and in many other panels abroad, such as those in Mr. Ramboux's collection at Cologne.[6] He was a miniaturist, as his style might lead one to believe, and he derived his manner apparently from that of Taddeo Bartoli's adoptive child Gregorio of Lucca; yet, it is possible to agree with Ricci,[7]

[1] See as to miniatures by Sano Doc. Sen. II. 382—3. 385. and Vas. Com. VI. 224. 236. 238. 240. 242. 348—9.

[2] Vas. com. VI. 186.

[3] Doc. Sen. I. 48.

[4] Doc. Sen. I. 375.

[5] No. 139. There are numerous pieces in the Academy besides the above, i. e. Nos. 140., inscribed with his name and the date 1453, 141. 142. 143. 144. 188. 202—4. 216. 222. 226. 230. 237. 250. 255. 266. 269—70. 285—6. 293. The commentators of Vas. ub. sup. (VI. 309 assign to Gio. di Paolo on the ground of similarity of style miniatures of an Antifoner originally in the Eremitani of Lecceto, now in the Sienna library, and of an office for the dead, in the same repository, see an illustration in Rosini (Stor. ub. sup.) III. p. I. p. 22.

[6] In this collection, one finds by him, panels as follows: 113—121. 123. 129. — In the sacristy of the church of Castiglione Fiorentino, is a picture in separate parts; subject: the Virgin and child SS. Catherine (recalling Gentile da Fabriano) female saint, and S. Michael (much injured). On the panel containing the Virgin, one reads: "opus Johannis de Senis A. D. MCCCCLVII (1457)."

A panel (small) by Gio di Paolo is (under the name of Gentile da Fabriano) in possession of Mr. Farrer in London. Subjects the Annunciation and the Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. In the same style is an Adoration of the magi, from the Northwick collection and now belonging to Mr. Fuller Maitland.

[7] Memorie, ub. sup. I. 163. This may be the place to notice anew a S. George and dragon assigned to Salvanello (note to p. 180. Vol. I. of the present work) in S. Cristoforo of Sienna. This picture is reminiscent of Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano; yet seems Siennese. It might be by Giovanni di Paolo, if it be admitted that he studied under Gentile da Fabriano.

We may mention also in con-

that he was at the school of Gentile da Fabriano. He may also be conjectured with reason to have taught another miniaturist whose vellums adorn the choral books of the cathedrals at Sienna and Pienza; and by whom a Virgin, child, and saints was preserved in latter years by Signor Toscanelli at Pisa.[1] As for Giovanni di Pietro, it will be sufficient to call attention to his Virgin of Mercy in the choir of S. M. de' Servi at Sienna. As an independent artist he scarcely deserves notice; but he was the "companion" of a master of some renown; and his humble aid was of service to Matteo di Giovanni di Bartolo.[2] Rational and staid in dealing with quiet religious scenes, Matteo was the best Siennese painter of his time. In this sense only he might claim to be called the Ghirlandaio of the rival republic. But when he ventured to diverge from the path

nexion with the name of Giovanni di Paolo, an annunciation, half lengths of SS. Peter and Paul, Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, gables of an altarpiece the sides of which, representing S. John the Baptist and S. Bernardino, are attached to a central Virgin already mentioned in Lorenzetti. These pieces are all in the sacristy of S. Martino at Sienna. The annunciation is a copy of one by Simone handled in Giovanni di Paolo's manner. In the same sacristy is a large crucifix in the old style with the pelican, and "graffiti" of angels at the sides also in the style of Giovanni di Paolo. Between the Crucifixion and the forementioned Annunciation, an Ascension in Asciano might be named. It has already been alluded to in the life of Dom. di Bartolo. A book-cover of 1444, is in the ninth Press of the Museo Cristiano at Rome, representing the Annunciation, apparently by Giovanni di Paolo. There are two pieces in the Lindenau collection at Altenburg properly assigned to our artist. No. 73. Virgin, child, and Baptist. No. 90. Virgin, child, and saints.

[1] Pellegrino Mariani's only authentic picture, above cited, is a Virgin and child between SS. John the Baptist and Bernardino, with Christ crucified between the Virgin and Evangelist, inscribed: "Pellegrino Mariani de Senis MCCCCLXXXX." The execution is inferior to, but like that of Gio. di Paolo. There are records of his industry in Sienna from 1449 to 1492 the date of his death. He painted miniatures for the Duomo and Hospital of S. M. della Scala; and copious notices of him are in Doc. Sen. (II. 379—80—2. 385—6.) and in com. to Vas. (VI. 221. 223. 227. 229. 237. 344—5).

[2] He was companion to Matteo of Sienna (Doc. Sen. II. 279), and is described as such by Matteo himself in 1453, and in records of a later date (1457, Doc. Sen. II. 373). His Virgin of Mercy at the Servi is signed "opus Johannis d. Petri MCCCCXXXVI", but this inscription is repainted probably on the old lines. The tempera is spare and grey but the panel has suffered from repainting.

in which he could hope to avoid the more glaring faults of his comrades; when, tired of delineating Virgins and angels, in which tenderness found its natural place, he chose subjects requiring dramatic power; he betrayed his education in ill-balanced and over-charged composition, in confused groups, and in violent, yet unnatural action. If he sometimes resembled Vecchietta and Benvenuto, because he gave little pliancy to the human shape, and little style to drapery; if grimace often resulted from his attempt to realize expression; he frequently displayed a softness and feeling characteristic of Sano di Pietro whose manner he may be said to have assumed and improved by modernizing it. He certainly shows that the progress of Italian art had not remained unheeded or unstudied on his part; yet when we compare Matteo with Domenico Ghirlandaio, or the Siennese of the fifteenth century with their cotemporaries at Florence, it becomes plain that scientific principles were not substituted soon enough in Sienna to the religious sentiment which gave originality and power to Duccio and some of his successors. But to say that Matteo, as chief of his class, was far behind the Florentines, is insufficient. The low level, kept by his countrymen at the close of the period at which we have arrived, was such that, whilst the Umbrians whom they had at first governed, fell off from their allegiance, the Perugians successively rivalled, distanced, and overcame them. Sienna thus persistently rejected the examples of Florence from the earliest to the latest age, and when, in a sinking state, she acknowledged a supremacy, inevitable as well as beneficial, she swore fealty to Perugia, retaining the humble position of vassal, content in the exercise of talents second to those of the great Vannucci, and as far below those of Padua in the scientific branch, as they were below those of Venice in the gift of colour. Matteo, however, was but half a Siennese, being the son of a tinman of Borgo S. Sepolcro, and perhaps a native of the town the name of which derived lustre from Piero della

Francesca.[1] He is supposed to have seen the light not later than 1435;[2] and this belief is based with some security on an income-paper of 1453, in which Matteo describes himself as a stranger with Giovanni di Pietro for his assistant at a hired lodging in the Palazzo Forteguerri.[3] Their joint labour was expended in 1457 on a chapel dedicated to S. Bernardino in the Sienna Duomo.[4] But Matteo's fame and affluence increased at a later time; and his best works are of the close of the century. His oldest authentic picture, indeed, is an enthroned Virgin attended by numerous angels, long in S. Maria de' Servi at Sienna, but now in the Academy. His signature, with the date of 1470, is still legible there;[5] but it is not upon this injured panel that we can found our judgment of Matteo's style; and the Madonna della Neve, which he finished for the Brotherhood of that name in 1477, is preferable for the symmetry of proportion, choice of type, and natural air of figures better draped than usual, and coloured in dark and flat but well fused tones. The idea of a Virgin "of the snow" is of respectable antiquity in legendary church lore; having been first suggested in the fourth century, when the patrician John and the Pope Liberius were simultaneously directed by the vision of Mary to a spot on which the church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome was to be erected, a spot easy to be recognized by the coat of snow that was found upon it. The incidents of this legend, once the subject of Gaddo Gaddi's mosaics in S. M. Maggiore at Rome, were represented by Matteo in the predella of the altarpiece under notice, separated from it later,

[1] We may refer in this place to the Virgin and saints, at S. Agostino of Asciano, and two or three other works related to that one at Borgo S. Sepolcro, for the purpose of remarking that there is a likeness between those pieces and one by Matteo, of which notice will be taken, at S. Maria della Neve in Sienna. Matteo, therefore, might pretend to the authorship.

[2] Doc. Sen. II. 372.

[3] Ib. II. 279.

[4] Ib. II. 373.

[5] No. 179 inscribed: ". . . . . Johannis de Senis. pinsit. MCCCCLXX".

and seen by Della Valle in the Casa Sozzini at Sienna, but since withdrawn from ken.[1]

A few years after (1479), when the enthroned S. Barbara, with her attendant saints, was completed for the Dominicans of Sienna, Matteo might still be distinguished for giving comeliness to female saints, an unstrained deportment to ministering angels, and richness to the adornment of vestments.[2] Yet, he still lacked power; and his careful colour remained as before unrelieved by shadow. A Madonna amongst saints, in a chapel of the church for which the S. Barbara was depicted, offers similar qualities allied to greater precision of hand.[3]

But, if we pass from these quiet holy scenes to others, in which movement is required, there Matteo is at fault. He repeated the Massacre of the Innocents several times; once in the altarpiece of a chapel at S. Agostino of Sienna, dated 1482;[4] again in S. Maria de' Servi of Sienna in 1491;[5] a third time in a picture at the Naples Museum.[6] In all these he combined incidents in a con-

[1] Della Valle (Let. San. III. 58). The altarpiece without the predella is still in its original place, in good preservation, and inscribed: "Opus Matei de Senis MCCCCLXXVII." The figures are life size. Sixteen angels are about the enthroned Virgin and child, some with flowers, others with snowballs, one of which the infant Saviour grasps. The attendant saints, kneeling and standing, are SS. Peter, Paul, Lawrence and Catherine, the two latter not without feeling in pose or expression.

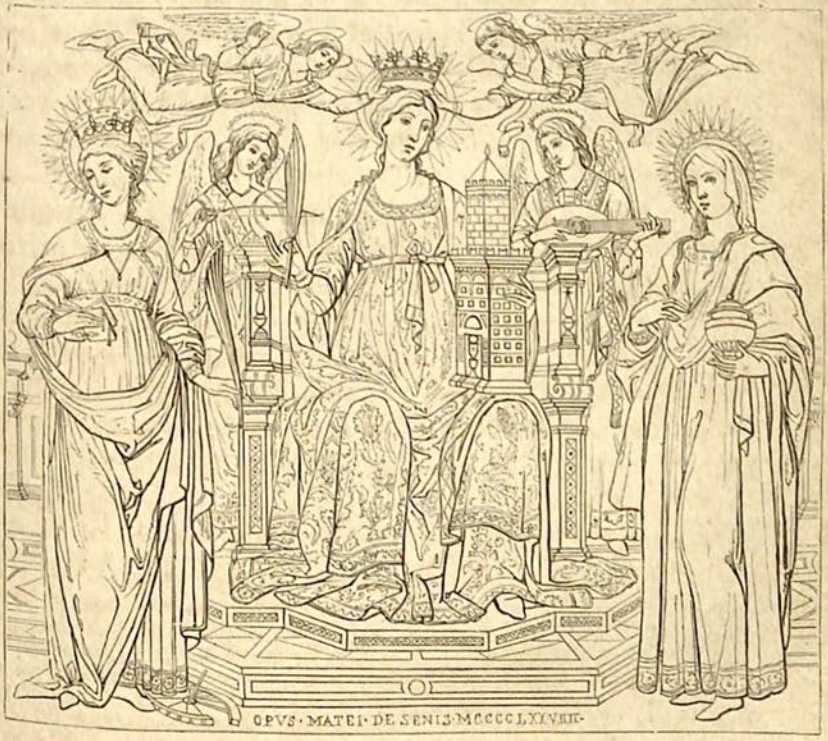
[2] See the order for this work in Nov. 1478 in Doc. Sen. II. 364. This altarpiece represents S. Barbara (lifesize), amongst angels (two of whom crown her) between SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine of Alexandria. It is in S. Domenico; its lunette, the adoration of the Magi, on a picture by Benvenuto (see antea). The S. Barbara is inscribed: "Opus Matei de Senis MCCCCLXXVIIII".

[3] This piece represents the Virgin and child adored by the kneeling SS. Jerom and Baptist. Three vertical splits are in the panel which is in the cappella Placidi of S. Domenico. The lunette is now on a picture by Girolamo di Benvenuto in the cappella S. Caterina of the same edifice.

[4] This "massacre" is signed: "Opus Matei Johannis de Senis MCCCCLXXXII".

[5] Signed on a scroll: "Opus Mattei Joannis de Senis. 1491." Here Herod sits in the centre of the picture; whereas in S. Agostino he sits at the left side. In a lunette is the adoration of the Magi.

[6] It has been supposed from the presence of this picture at Naples (before it reached the Museum, it was in S. Caterina a Formello) that Matteo was at Naples. (See



S BARBARA, Saints and Angels; an altarpiece by Matteo di Giovanni, in S. Domenico of Sienna.

fused and unsatisfactory manner. The action is unnatural; the idea grotesque; the expression grimace. Architecture, studied from old models, is applied without knowledge of perspective; and the absence of systematic acquirements in this respect is perhaps the cause why Herod appears to exceed in stature the nearer figures of soldiers and of women. Anachronisms of costume are not compensated by taste, nor is the dry bone of form animated into any sort of life.

It is a relief, indeed, to pass from these unsuccessful efforts at rendering instant motion to such religious themes as that of the adoration of the Virgin in the Sienna Academy,[1] or the Madonnas of the Palazzo Pubblico[2] and Palazzo Tolomei in the same city,[3] or of the Duomo at Pienza.[4] There is hardly a church or a brotherhood in the Siennese country that may not boast of a

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Dominici's lives.) It is also affirmed that, being in oil and dated 1418 (Dominici ap. Della Valle), Matteo is entitled to all sorts of praise, but even Della Valle suggests that the date of 1418 is wrong (Let. Sen. III. 57); and truly, repainted and tampered with as it has been, it runs: "Matteus Johanni de Senis MCCCC... XVIII". We cannot even say whether this picture be an original or a copy, and the absence of any other works of Matteo at Naples would prove that he never was there. Another copy of this massacre of the Innocents under Matteo's name is at Schleissheim, — No. 1134, a copy on canvass in oil, of a later period.

[1] No. 175. This is one of Matteo's best panels in the gallery of his native place, the nudes being careful and of Umbrian softness in movement and outline. The action is comparatively good and free, the colour a little grey and flayed. The piece may be found engraved in Rosini. The remaining pictures in the academy of Sienna are four Madonnas with saints severally numbered 176. 7. 8 and 263.

[2] The Virgin and child is attended in rear by four angels. The picture is on a pilaster of the hall painted by Spinello Aretino. The date of 1484 is on the work; but no name.

[3] This is also a Virgin, child and angels.

[4] The Virgin and child are enthroned between SS. Mathew and Catherine, Bartholomew and Luke. In the lunette is a flagellation and in the predella three medallions of the Ecce homo, Virgin, and Evangelist. On the border are the words: "Opus Mathei Johannis de Senis". Stains are on the faces of the child and of the Virgin; the blue cloak of the latter being repainted. The green drapery on the shoulders of S. Mathew is likewise renewed; the mouth of S. Luke repainted and his head stained. Another picture said to be in the Compagnia di S. Giovanni at Pienza not seen by the authors, is said to be better than the foregoing.

panel by Matteo;[1] nor is it difficult to study him abroad; for there are works of his in England.[2] Two pieces in the Museum of Berlin seem, on the other hand, less due to Matteo than to Guidoccio Cozzarelli.[3]

Of this inferior person, however, it will be unnecessary to say much, except that he was a painter of altarpieces and miniatures. His style makes a feeble approach to that of Matteo. A genuine Madonna and saints of 1486 is in Mr. Ramboux's Gallery at Cologne, besides which the Sienna Academy comprises a large but not very interesting number of his compositions.[4]

[1] In S. Domenico of Sienna there is an altarpiece of which the centre is by Francesco di Giorgio and the predella probably by Fungai. The lunette (Christ supported on the tomb by two angels, between SS. George and Mary Magdalen) is in Matteo's style. Taia (Guida ub. sup. p. 149) says indeed that the work was begun by Matteo in 1499 and completed by Signorelli, but as to the latter point — query.

[2] In the hands of Mr. Farrer in London, but exhibited under No. 64 at Manchester, is a Virgin and child between SS. John the Baptist and Michael, a very pretty little piece by Matteo.

[3] Matteo died in 1495. (Doc. Sen. II. 373.) He is author of one of the sybils in the pavement of the Sienna duomo. (1483.) (Ib. 16 and 378.9.) The pictures above alluded to are No. 1126. 7. Berlin Museum, of little interest and much repainted.

[4] He is the author of the Lybian sybil in the pavement of the Sienna duomo (1683), Doc. Sen. II. 379, and see for his miniatures Doc. Sen. II. 382—6, and Vasari VI. 184 and following. The picture alluded to in the text is No. 148 in the Ramboux collection, signed: "Opus Guidoccius Joan. . . M.CCCCLXXXVI". Further in the same gallery No. 158. 9. In the Sienna academy No. 164 (Virgin and saints) is inscribed: "Guidocius pinxit. A. D. MCCCCLXXXII. Decembris." No. 168. 170 and 264, are book-covers assigned to him. No. 171, a S. Francis; 192. 3, a S. Sebastian and a Virgin. No. 231, also a Virgin; 253, a S. Catherine. An adoration of the Magi in the Royal Palace at Stockholm (No. 633. wood, tempera), split in four places, catalogued under the name of Ghirlandaio, is really by Guidoccio. The surface is much damaged and in part totally scaled. It is a feeble and rude work even for Guidoccio; figures about a quarter of life size. This piece is to be transferred to the New Museum. — A Virgin and child between S. Anthony of Padua and another saint in the gallery of Count Paul Stroganoff at S. Petersburg (wood, tempera, half-lengths on gold ground, a third of life size) assigned to Matteo da Sienna, is handled in the feebler manner of Guidoccio.

CHAPTER IV.

OTTAVIANO NELLI.

If, retrospectively, we cast a glance upon the field over which the influence of Siennese art was felt, we shall perceive that its expanse in the fourteenth century was considerable, and that its centre was Sienna. During the subsequent period, in which some choice talents illustrated Cortona and Borgo S. Sepolcro by introducing Florentine blood into the Umbrian stock, the point of radiation was displaced. We trace an imaginary line from Gubbio over the Appennine to S. Severino and Camerino, recrossing the hills to Foligno and Gualdo. The spiral thus drawn centres in Perugia. Along that line the Umbrian school developed itself on the old Siennese basis; and, with hardly any dependence on Florence, silently and slowly grew. On the track of Palmerucci and Nuzi, Ottaviano Martini, and Gentile da Fabriano inherited and kept alive the traditions of Oderisio. Impassive, and averse from change like their cotemporaries of Sienna, following the vein of thought and technical method, opened and bequeathed to them by their precursors, they continued to neglect the scientific innovations originated in Florence, and still imagined that perfection consisted in bright contrast of colours, copiousness and delicacy of ornament, minuteness of design and tender fusion of flesh tints. Composition, perspective form, or relief by light and shade, were as nothing compared to the aim of delineating a languid tenderness or affected grace.

We shall endeavour to follow Ottaviano, Gentile, Alunno, and others of less note, whose art was the prelude to the excellence of Vanucci's. Ottaviano, son of the Gubbian Martino Nelli, whose name has already found a place in this history, was in the full swing of his career in the rise of the fifteenth century, and has left us an example of his skill at that time in a wallpainting of the Virgin amidst saints (called del Belvedere), now under glass in S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio. A gay variegated miniature, in which bright mixtures of secondary and tertiary colours form a checquered but unshaded pattern; airy unsubstantial figures in dresses of cob-web texture, thrown with flowers, fringed out into leafy borders; a simple combination of saints and angels of different sizes cast symmetrically on a blue diaper ground — such is the masterpiece of Nelli; a masterpiece in which some heads, as those of Anthony the abbot and his attendant companion, are not without calm repose, in which the Virgin and child gaze primly and prettily enough; and the whole is finished with an industry recoiling from no detail.[1] Four years before the date of this work (1403—4) Ottaviano had been busy at Perugia, on the armorial bearings of no less distinguished an employer than Gian-Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.[2] At S. M. Nuova, his patrons were the Pinoli, whose portraits are in kneeling profile at the sides of the picture. A fair repute, not only as a master, but as a citizen, seems to have been conceded to Ottaviano; and the registers of the Gubbian municipality prove that Nelli had been elected consul in 1410.[3] Whether

[1] On the edge of a striped carpet on which the groups rest, one reads: Ottavianus Martis Eugubinus pinxit año Dñi MC . . . III." (may be 1404.) The fusion of the tones shows that this was not a fresco, but a tempera on the wall. The outlines are excessively fine, the hands defective, the limbs puny. The lower part of the Virgin's dress is injured and retouched, and the gilding of the hems gone. The head of the patron to the right is damaged, and the brown mantle of S. Anthony is overpainted. A chromolithograph of a large portion of the picture is in the collection of the Arundel Society with a life of the artist by Mr. Layard.

[2] Record in Mariotti Lett. pittor. ub. sup. 44.

[3] Buonfatti (Luigi), Memorie storiche di Ottaviano Nelli. 8°. Gub. 1843. pp. 8. 21. He filled a similar

MADONNA and SAINTS: a wall-painting by Ottaviano Nelli, in S. Maria Nuova of Gubbio.

it be true or not that he then finished the Virgin of Succour in S. Agostino of Gubbio, the canvass itself does not decide; because on its restoration in 1600 by Pierangelo Basili,[1] eight new personages were introduced; and the whole piece was deprived of its original character;[2] but a wall tempera of the Madonna with saints, angels, and small souls from purgatory on the sides of the church, though a feeble effort, bears the impress of Ottaviano's school;[3] whilst the choir of the holy edifice is covered with scenes chosen from the legend of S. Augustin, in most of which, and particularly in a "death of S. Monica", the pencil of Nelli's scholars may be discerned. This series bears no date, but may be considered as of a later time than the Madonna of S. M. Nuova, whilst it betrays less practise than that of Foligno, of which the date (1424) is precisely ascertained.[4] In both places, the Siennese character is predominant in the figures and their arrangement; and the composition is reminiscent of those with which Taddeo Bartoli flooded the country generally.[5] The traditional belief, that Gentile da Fabriano

office in 1433, 1440—1444. Reposati in Mariotti, ub. sup. note to p. 46. He was also "provveditore" and inspector of the Hospitals of Gubbio in 1441. Priv. note by Sign. Buonfatti.

[1] Buonfatti, ub. sup. 9. The piece is on canvass.

[2] The same subject in a panel at S. Francesco of Montefalco has been given to Ottaviano, but reminds us of similar ones common to Umbria in the sixteenth century, ex. gr., one of 1506, seen by the authors at Rome, in the ex-Campana collection, by Giovanni di Monte Rubiano. It (the Montefalco Madonna) has, besides the Umbrian character, an inscription as follows: "Griseyda S. Bastiani f. f. pro aiabus dicti S. Bastiani Tarquini Peritei et Franceschini. A. D. M.D.X."

[3] One of the souls from purgatory is recommended by an angel to the Virgin.

[4] In the apsis bend, the subjects are: 1. Vision of S. Monica. 2. S. Augustin at Carthage. 3. Meeting of S. A. and S. Ambrose. 4. Baptism of S. A. Sides: 1. Augustin's return to Tegaste. 2. Consecration of S. A. 3. His Consecration as bishop of Hippona. 4. Death of S. Monica. 5. Dispute of S. A. with Felix. 6. Death of S. A. 7. Transfer of his body to Pavia and miracles. In this last fresco many parts are restored and much of the gold ornament is new. One of the monks in the second row of those carrying the body (profile) is new. A broader, but more hasty execution characterizes the ceiling, part of the lunettes, and the vaulting of the entrance arch; and, as Signor Buonfatti observes, these parts resemble in style and handling the work of Jacopo Bedi, who, in 1458, furnished some extant paintings in S. Secondo cemetery at Gubbio.

[5] A fresco of the Virgin and child

assisted Ottaviano in the choir of S. Agostino, rests on very insufficient grounds; for Gentile would scarcely have been subordinate to Nelli after the first years of the century. There is, however, one fresco in S. M. della Piaggiola, outside Gubbio, of the Virgin and child adored by two angels, where, in spite of serious injuries attributable to various causes, a more vigorous handling and better proportions are to be found than in the Madonna of S. Maria Nuova. It has been assigned to Ottaviano,[1] and might indicate the presence of Gentile. In any case, this production, if truly by Nelli, would be his most successful effort. That Ottaviano had changed his residence from Gubbio to Urbino in 1420 is proved by contemporary records. His long intercourse with that capital and with the rulers of the duchy is illustrated by fragmentary evidence; by a memorandum of his connection with the Brotherhood of S. Croce (1428—32),[2] and by a letter in his own hand, addressed to Catharine Colonna, wife of Guid' Antonio di Montefeltro (1434), referring to the pictorial decoration of the church of S. Erasmo, about three miles from Gubbio.[3] Time has robbed us of all marks of his passage at Urbino; and the frescos of S. Erasmo, if ever they were carried out, have ceased to exist; but Ottaviano had in 1424 been entrusted by Corrado de' Trinci with a commission to adorn the chapel of his palace in Foligno, and the series of episodes derived from the legend of the Virgin, with which he filled the walls, still attests the mediocrity of his powers.[4] Were it not, indeed, that these dim and ill-

recently recovered from whitewash in S. Agostino to the right of the portal, seems originally to have been painted at the same period as those of the choir, but by a more careful hand. It is too much damaged to warrant an express opinion.

[1] Buonfatti, ub. sup. 12.

[2] Pungileoni. Elogio stor. di Gio. Santi, ub. sup. p. 50. He hired his lodging from them.

[3] Gaye Carteggio. I. 130. 1. 2.

[4] The chapel is rectangular; the walls (in courses) and ceiling all painted. In the four lunettes are: 1. the presentation of Mary in the temple; 2. her marriage; 3. the annunciation; 4. a votive fresco of the Virgin with a crowd of figures in the costume of the time, perhaps members of the Trinci family. Lower courses, in the same order: 1. the nativity and adoration of the Magi; 2. the visit of the apostles to

conceived paintings are authenticated by his name, and are thus of interest as characterizing one who has a place in Umbrian art, they might be passed over without comment. The Virgin or angels, when, in accordance with the Virgin, her death and burial; 3. the funeral, ascension, and gift of the girdle to S. Thomas; 4. the circumcision of Christ, and an angel giving a palm to the Virgin. The lower part of the wall containing the presentation in the temple, nativity and adoration of the Magi, is filled by a vast crucifixion. In the ceiling are (facing each other in four triangular compartments), Joachim and Anna presenting the doves to the priest, the appearance of the angel to Joachim, the meeting of Joachim and Anna, and the birth of the Virgin. Each subject is divided from the other by gilt wax borders in relief, the nimbuses high in relief, and gilt likewise. On a border above the crucifixion one reads a part of an inscription preserved by historians as follows: "hoc opus fecit fieri magnificus et potens Dñs Cõradus Ugulini de Trincis Fulgineis MCCCCXXIIII die XXV feb. pinxit. M. Octavianus Martini de Gubbio". The last syllable of "Ottavianus" only now remains. The palace of the Trinci is now the Palazzo del Governo.

In a room leading to the cappella Trinci, some paintings have been recently saved from white-wash. They represent: 1. in an interior, about an altar capped with a cross, nine figures in prayer kneeling; 2. right of this, two figures meeting and embracing (all the lower part wanting and the fresco much injured); 3. to the right again, the birth of a child, as one judges from the remains. On another wall is the following: the wolf and other indistinct subjects, to the right of which, an execution and soldiers with shields, in great part abraded. Beneath, are inscriptions which Signor Guardabassi (Mariano) was able to read:

"Per pietà son' posti presso al fiume
Romulo e Remo alla fortuna dati,
Dove più Giorni sono e nutricati
Donna Lupa per human' costume."

It is supposed that the first subject is the Sposalizio, the second: the birth of Romulus and Remus, and the third: Amulius condemning Rea. These paintings are partly gone; and what remains, is much damaged; they are of Umbrian character and in the style of Ottaviano Nelli, less defective indeed than those of Nelli in the Trinci chapel.

The whole Palazzo del Governo seems to have been decorated of old. In the upper part of it, divided by a false floor from the lower, the walls, which seem to have been those of a large hall, are painted. In a series of imitated niches one sees colossal fragments of figures of old Romans. One reads the names of Mutius Scævola, Caius Marius, Publius Decius, Claudius Nero, consul, Fabius, Augustus, Tiberius &c. Fifteen in all remain. In scraping the wall below the false floor, the legs of these figures were recently found. Beneath them are inscribed lines respecting which Prof. Adamo Rossi of Perugia says, that the style of the verses is that of Petrarch. Above each figure one reads the name of "Sixtus IIII Pon. max. Sixtus IIII an. VI. Sixto Papa quarto", and other words, the meaning of which it is not easy to decipher.

The character of these paintings is neither Florentine, nor Siennese, but Umbrian of the Gubbian and Fabrianese school. One notes

the necessities of the subjects they recur, still distantly recall the tenderness which the Gubbians invariably sought to convey: but Ottaviano plainly believed that the reproduction of incidents, so often delineated, required no further stretch of imagination or ingenuity; and he merely repeated the time-honoured arrangements of the Siennese school, in a spirit distantly reminiscent of that of Taddeo Bartoli. The bright harmony of unrelieved colours which may please the beholder at S. Maria of Gubbio, in the absence of other qualities, having disappeared in the course of years, the skeleton of lean and defective forms alone remains. There is no movement in frames laid out without knowledge of anatomy; nothing but grimace in faces of a poor and sometimes even ignoble type; but coarseness in hands or feet. The draperies are at once broken and ill-cast.

Such a talent, as this of Nelli, was ill calculated to create admiration even in the local craftsmen of a petty place like Foligno; nor is it possible that it should have affected to any extent the career of Alunno.

But not alone in Foligno; in Assisi, the same level had been attained; and to the right of the entrance, on the outer wall of SS. Antonio e Jacopo, a church in which Pietro d'Antonio and Matteo of Gualdo were afterwards employed, remnants of a Virgin and child adored by groups of faithful under the patronage of SS. Anthony and James, and of a Virgin and angel annunciate, offer to the spectator traces of the manner of Nelli at the Palace of the Trinci.[1]

In the eighteenth century, a number of wallpieces by Ottaviano perished in the changes made to the church of

a system of enlarged miniature without definite shadows, and warm tones. The papacy of Sixtus IV^th would indicate a very late date for this work; there is ground for supposing that his name has been added to earlier productions. Future investigation may determine this, especially if a better light is thrown on pieces which it is now very difficult to see.

[1] One of them indeed is inscribed with a name not unlike his, i. e.: "Martinellus MCCCCXXII die XXVI mense octob." The church was of old called Sta. Caterina.

S. Piero of Gubbio. Amongst these were the subjects adorning the chapel of Agnolo dei Carnevali, the payments for which in 1439 are still preserved.[1] Nelli did not long survive; and nothing is known of him after 1444.[2]

To dwell at any length on the minor Gubbians, who were his cotemporaries or followers, would be of slight interest. His brother Tomasuccio is the author of a S. Vincent,[3] and subordinate incidents in S. Domenico of Gubbio, where better proportion, fairer outlines, and a more chastened fancy in the choice of dress indicate a nearer connection with Gentile da Fabriano than is to be found in Nelli.

Jacopo Bedi, who (1458) decorated the Cappella Panfili in the cemetery of S. Secondo, rudely continued Ottaviano's style, without attempting to rival his carefulness or gay key of tones.[4]

Equally feeble, but more true to the older models of Taddeo Bartoli, Giovanni Pintali exhibits himself in an Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin on the walls

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[1] Gualandi, Mem. ub. sup. Ser. 5. 125. 6. Buonfatti ub. sup. 24.

[2] Two little pieces, a circumcision and an allegory of S. Francis wedded to poverty, are preserved in the ninth press of the Museo Cristiano at Rome, and bear the impress of Nelli's hand; they are at all events of the Umbrian school of that time.

A public record with reference to the transfer of a tenement in 1444. includes Ottaviano's name. See Buonfatti, ub. sup. p. 24. He died leaving all his property to Marte di Pompeo, adopted in 1442, after all hope of children from his wife Baldina di Bartolello had been abandoned.

[3] This panel was ordered by one Gianniccolo di Cristoforo (Buonfatti, ub. sup. 13). The S. Vincent, erect in benediction, is attended by angels who support his cloak, with saints and angels at his sides (gold ground); whilst the Eternal amidst seraphs appears above. On the basement is a miracle in monochrome. Originally a tempera, this piece had been much repainted in oil.

A picture in oil of Christ in S. Felicissimo, outside Gubbio, is not like the S. Vincent in manner.

[4] Four doctors of the church in a ceiling, and four Evangelists in monochrome in the lunettes, the whole more feebly handled than the series of S. Augustin in S. Agostino. The architecture and ornament are bad, the draperies mechanically lined, the colour red. On a card: "In nomine Dñi amen. anno Dñi Millesimo quatrocentesimo quinquagesimo octavo. tempore Dñi Pii Papae secundi anno primo sui pontificatus die septima mensis septembris. Jacopus pinxit." A Virgin by him in S. M. dei Bianchi, at Gubbio, is gone (Buonfatti, ub. sup. 14. 25).

of the Spedaletto of Gubbio;[1] and shares the mediocrity of Domenico di Cecco di Baldi.[2] A little later, Bernardino di Nanni fills a gap in Gubbian annals, but is ill-represented by injured or renewed fragments in a chapel below the Portico del Mercato, and in the old Palazzo Municipale, at S. Croce, S. Maria Nuova, and S. Secondo.[3]

[1] These are all but gone. There remain two angels, a S. Thomas holding the girdle, a chalice and pax, and four or five apostles in prayer to the right. An inscription was legible in past years as follows: "hoc opus fecit fieri francis .... Rectorē umil .... Jioāi Pitalis 1438. die quarto Junii." It is reduced to a few words only (see Buonfatti, ub. sup. p. 15). The types are poor and repulsive, the colour of the fragments reddish, and the handling evidently rude. Besides this subject there are remains of a Massacre of the Innocents, and an alms-giving scene. Similarly executed are pieces of wall-painting, parts of a Crucifixion and an Annunciation in S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio.

[2] The articles of apprenticeship of this painter to Ottaviano, dated 1441, are preserved in Buonfatti, ub. sup. p. 27. A Pietà of 1446 in S. Maria della Piaggiola, a Virgin and saints in S. Donato, are poor remnants of his manner. A Virgin and child in S. Lucia of Gubbio is of an earlier time and has been noted in the Umbrian school (see antèa Vol. II). Domenico died in 1488. (Buonfatti, ub. sup. p. 15.)

[3] He was heir to Domenico di Cecco (1488). In the chapel below the Portico del Mercato, a Virgin and child between SS. Peter and Paul has been so repainted that the head of the latter saint alone preserves its old character. The defects are very much those of Ottaviano at Foligno, the execution is rude, the forms are wooden, and the colour is bricky. On a scroll held by an angel, an inscription closes with the date of 1473.

A standard in oil belonging to the company of S. Croce, at Gubbio, is assigned to him. It represents S. Ubaldo and S. Peter Martyr, at each side of a cross, above which are angels, and S. M. Magdalen at foot, whilst the members of the company are in the foreground at each side. This is a work of the sixteenth century, Umbrian in character and reminiscent of the manner of Sinibaldo Ibi, who was at Gubbio in 1509. It may be by Orlandi who assisted Ibi in Gubbio in that year, and who is recorded at that time in a register of the administration of the brotherhood of S. M. di Laici (notices of Signor Buonfatti, and see postea Ibi and Orlando.)

The Virgin and child on an altar to the left of the entrance to S. Secondo is different from the other works assigned to Bernardino, the style, of the fifteenth century, with broken draperies. A Virgin and child to the right of Ottaviano's fresco in S. M. Nuova, in part damaged, resembles a work of Domenico di Cecco. SS. Ubaldo and John the Baptist attending at the Virgin's side, above the Porta maggiore of the Palazzo municipale, are altogether repainted.

CHAPTER V.

GENTILE DA FABRIANO. ALUNNO AND OTHER UMBRIANS.

The fame of Gubbio, greatly increased in the fourteenth century by the honorable mention of Oderisio in Dante's Divina Commedia, was dimmed in the fifteenth by the lustre which Gentile shed upon his native town of Fabriano.

It chanced that, during a chequered and active life, this artist laboured in the same places and for the same patrons as Vittore Pisano. Vittore had first devoted his energies exclusively to painting; but towards the close of his days he displayed such extraordinary skill in casting and chiselling medallion portraits that he was eagerly sought by most of the Italian princes and chieftains of his time. At their courts he met, conversed with, and gained the friendship of, the most eminent men of the period in literature and poesy. His talents were celebrated in sonnets, or recorded in more serious prose; and, to the delight of his countrymen, his name is to be found in works of acknowledged merit, where those of his cotemporaries are entirely neglected. Amongst the cities which Vittore visited, Venice and Rome are the most important. The ducal palace in the first, the church of S. Giovanni Laterano in the second, were both adorned by his frescos. In both, Gentile da Fabriano left examples of his manner. Praise of Gentile was doubtless often on the lips of Pisano, and thus it became familiar to Facio and Biondo of Forlì.

We shall not say that he did not deserve the honour which he obtained at their hands; and whilst we refuse to admit any superiority in him over the Florentines, we may concede that he worthily closed an epoch in the pictorial development of Umbria. It is not to be denied that Gentile da Fabriano concentrated the better qualities of the Gubbians, and that he brought their peculiar art to a combination as complete as it was capable of attaining; but his masterpieces are only remarkable for their longing softness, their affectation of grace, their laborious fusion, and for a profuse ornamentation inherited from the Umbrian and Siennese schools.

Gentile di Niccolò di Giovanni Massi of Fabriano, for so a cotemporary record teaches us to call him,[1] was probably born at Fabriano between 1360 and 1370, and taught by Allegretto Nuzi.[2] In the prime of his manhood, when Ottaviano Nelli produced the Madonna of the Belvedere, he may have derived some useful lessons from one whose style seems naturally linked to his and to Nuzi's; but he quickly distanced the Gubbian as he settled into the possession of a manner, often contrasted with that of Fra Giovanni of Fiesole; and his fame speedily extended beyond the limits of Umbria proper. We shall not discuss the arguments of Vasari and his antagonists, who affirm in turn that Gentile was the pupil and the master of Angelico.[3] It would be difficult to find two men more totally divergent in aim than the Florentine monk and the painter of Fabriano. Both were noted for tenderness and finish, for the care with which they prepared and used their materials, but the results

[1] See postea.

[2] This is affirmed as a fact by Lori. MS. ap. Ricci. mem. stor. ub. sup. I. 147. 165. Vasari says (IV. 159) that Gentile died aged eighty. If we ascertain the period of his death, we shall then have a clue to the date of his birth. Biondo da Forlì who wrote his Italia illustrata in 1450, speaks of Gentile in the past tense, thus proving that he was dead at that time (Biondo, Ed. Basil. 1531. p. 337).

[3] Vasari IV. 39, and Bernasconi (Cesare) "Studi", ub. sup. p. 9.

were completely at variance with each other; and the angelic candour of the creations due to the one has no relation whatever to the *smorphia* and affectation of those produced by the other. Gentile and Fra Giovanni may have met at Florence where they dwelt at the same time; but we think that Gentile did not go there to teach; and insofar, Vasari is nearer the truth, perhaps, than his opponents.

The uninterrupted connection of Siennese and Umbrians may be considered to have had its effect on Gentile's style; nor is it extraordinary that he should have exhibited a certain relationship to Taddeo Bartoli, when we remember how frequently that artist was employed in Umbrian cittes, or sent his pictures there on commission. It is unnecessary in consequence to assume that Gentile should have made an early visit to Sienna. A distinct Siennese character is plainly to be discerned in the only fragment of wallpaintings that we possess at Orvieto; and the older Coronation of the Virgin at Val Romita, the predella of which still remains at Fabriano, whilst its centre and sides have found their way into the Brera at Milan, is powerfully stamped with a similar impress;[1] a circle of eight angels exhaling their joy as they play about the rays of a sun at the base of the picture, recalling similar passages in Taddeo Bartoli's illustrations to the "Creed" in the *opera* of the Sienna cathedral. In these figures, as well as in the principal group which is capped by the Eternal resting a hand on the shoulders of Mary and of Christ, we see the faults common to most of the men of these regions. Short and ill-grown personages, without charm in their features or action, are

[1] No. 75. Brera catal. The figures are half life size. The sides, parted from their centre, are Nos. 102. 104. 106. 108. Five panels originally formed the predella. Four of them are in possession of Signor Giuseppe Rosci at Fabriano: 1. Death of S. Peter Martyr, is split vertically into two; 2. S. John the Baptist kneeling in prayer, is damaged by scaling; 3. S. Francis receiving the stigmata, is split like No. 1; 4. S. Dominick. In all these panels (1 foot by 7½ inches) the heads are abraded (the figures full length).

wrapped in long and twining draperies, revealing nothing of the frames they clothe. Rustic size and coarseness of extremities are accompanied by incorrect design. No atmosphere permeates the space, and shadow is all but absent; but the engraved outlines and ornament are finished with the utmost care. SS. Francis, Jerom, Magdalen, and Dominick at the sides, stand on a meadow of which the grass and flowers remain untrampled by their feet; and the predella scenes, of which four remain at Fabriano, are equally imperfect.

There is every reason to believe that Gentile's first progress out of Umbria was in a northerly direction. His first patron was Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Brescia and Bergamo, who in the early part of the fifteenth century gave him a large salary to decorate a chapel.[1] From thence he proceeded to Venice, where he spent some years adorning the great hall of the ducal palace with one of the episodes derived from the legend of Barbarossa, the battle between that Emperor and the Venetians, and furnishing altarpieces to S. Giuliano and S. Felice.[2] Emulating Uccelli in the choice of a realistic subject, he succeeded, says Facio, in representing the terrors of a hurricane with such reality as to strike terror into the spectator.[3]

If we may credit records lately discovered and made public, the walls of the ducal palace at Venice, on which there were still some vacant spaces in 1411, had been finally covered with subjects in 1422;[4] and we may

[1] Before 1421, when Brescia passed under the sway of Venice. The fact is stated by Facio, ub. sup. p. 44. 5.

[2] Ib. ib. and Sansovino. Venezia descritta 4°. Venice 1663. p. 54. The picture at S. Felice represented S. Paul the Hermit and S. Anthony, ib.

[3] Facio, ub. sup. pp. 44. 45.

[4] Deliberazione del Maggiore Consiglio, 1411, April 19th (Archiv. Gen. di Venez. Vol. Leona. p. 205): "Cum alias captum fuit, quod officiales nostri super Sale et Rivoalto pro facendo reparare, et aptari picturas sale nove, possent expendere libras viginti grossorum et dicti denarii non fuerint sufficientes ad completamentum operis; vadit pars, quod committatur dictis officialibus super Sale et Rivoalto, quod, pro complendo laboreria necessaria, possint expendere alias libras viginti grossorum, de pecunia nostri communis, et abinde infra sicut facere poterunt."

Deliberazione, 1422, Luglio

infer that Gentile as well as Pisano had both been engaged in the edifice previous to the latter date. Gentile's battle piece had already shown symptoms of decay in Facio's time,[1] and gradually disappeared altogether; nor have other causes been wanting to deprive us of the examples which he left in Venice.

A solitary Virgin and child in the Venice Academy bears Gentile's name, but is altered by heavy overpainting.[2] An Adoration of the Magi, originally belonging to the noble family of Zen, and subsequently forming part of the Craglietto gallery,[3] seems to have found a final resting place in the Berlin Museum, where it is catalogued very properly under the name of Antonio Vivarini.[4] It affords conclusive evidence, at least, of the influence which Gentile wielded in the Venetian school.

If we are thus unable to cite any thing in Venice that may with certainty be assigned to Gentile da Fabriano, we are more fortunately situated as to certain incidents connected with his life.

Amongst the youths who had devoted themselves to the career of art, and who were destined to become known as men of talent, was Jacopo Bellini, who en-

(Arch. Imp. di Vienna, vol. 54, Misti del Senato): "Cum habita diligenti consideratione ad opportunam et utilem conservationem salæ novæ Nostri Majoris Consilii, quia ut est manifestum, cadunt in dies picturæ ipsius salæ cum magna deformitate ejus, sit pro laudabili et perpetua fama tanti solennissimi operis, et pro honore nostri dominii et civitatis nostræ pœnitus providendum, de tenendo ipsam salam in decenti et honorabili forma, quod, si quo casu destruitur in picturis, subito reaptetur in illis: vadit pars quod committatur nostris procuratoribus Ecclesiæ sancti Marci, quod pro facendo reaptari et teneri continue in bono et debito ordine picturas dictæ salæ, debeant accipere et tenere per tempora unum sufficientem et aptum magistrum pictorem ad ipsa opera picturarum, debendo pro salario illius expendere ducatos centum in anno, de pecunia quam percipiunt de affictibus apothecarum existentium subtus palatium." Cesare Bernasconi "Il Pisano." 8°. Verona, 1862. p. 42.

[1] Facio, ub. sup. pp. 44. 5.

[2] No. 382. Sala XI, inscribed: "Gentile Fabrianensis f." with traces of another inscription below it, now illegible. The Virgin and child are enthroned on the moon's crescent. The Virgin and the angel annunciate in the spandrils, and two "graffiti" of angels on the goldground.

[3] Ricci mem. stor. ub. sup.

[4] No. 5. Berlin Museum, according to Kugler the same that formerly was in the Craglietto collection. Handbook p. 187.

tered the atelier of Gentile as his apprentice. A charming familiarity soon united the two men; and the master sat to his pupil for a likeness which came later into the Bembo collection.[1] They afterwards lived together in Florence, and when Jacopo married, the master held the first of the children at the font.

The year in which Gentile settled at Florence is approximatively ascertained by the register of the guild of barber-surgeons, in which he matriculated in Nov. 21. 1422.[2] But his fame survived his departure from Venice; and all he did was so eagerly sought there that the demand was supplied even from Fabriano. Marc Antonio Pasqualino, whose father had been Gentile's sitter, thus obtained two portraits;[3] and we can only deplore that they should have shared the fate of so many others collected with trouble and cost in the galleries and churches of Venice.

From his shop in the Popolo S. Trinità at Florence, Gentile doubtless sent forth much that is undiscoverable at the present day. In 1423, he completed an order for the church of his adopted parish; and the Adoration of the Magi, engraved in these pages, is now the ornament of the Florentine Academy of Arts.[4] He enriched the foreground of the composition by the introduction of a copious retinue of followers, grooms, and huntsmen, ac-

[1] Anonimo, ed. Morelli, ub. sup. p. 18. Jacopo remained with Gentile till 1424. In a record of that year he is called Jacopo da Venezia, olim famulo magistri Gentili pittoris de Fabriano (com. to Vas. IV. 165). But he called himself Gentile's pupil also on a crucifixion at Verona the inscription of which is copied in Ricci; Mem. ub. sup. I. 173.

[2] Tavola alfabetica, ub. sup. It is from this register that we know the name of Gentile's father which as stated in the text ant. was : Niccolo di Giovanni Massi. The date as given by Moreni, apud Ricci, Memorie ub. sup. pp. 149 and 165, is incorrect.

[3] Anonimo, ub. sup. p. 57.

[4] No. 32. Gal. des gr. tableaux. One part of the predella, the presentation in the temple, is in the Louvre, No. 202; an inscription at the base of the adoration runs as follows: "Opus Gentilis de Fabriano MCCCCXXIII mensis Maii." The front face of a turbaned man immediately behind the last of the kings is engraved by Vasari as Gentile's portrait. This picture is noticed by Albertini, Memoriale, ub. sup p. 14.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, an altarpiece by Gentile da Fabriano, in the Academy of Arts at Florence

companied by dogs and monkeys, filling the distance with well arranged episodes and groups. The Saviour, the Virgin, and the angel annunciate appear in the medallions of the gables, whilst the predella comprises the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, and the Presentation in the Temple. Grace in the shape of the females attendant on the Virgin, ease in the motion of the King whose spurs a page removes, are combined with individuality in heads, which seem portrayed from nature; the harmonies of colour are Umbrian in their gaiety, but there is no aerial perspective, and gilt-relief ornament is luxuriously applied. The profile of a female to the left of the Virgin recalls the types of the old Siennese period, whilst the turbaned king seems impressed with that softness which becomes a more charming feature in Perugino. The gable figures are pretty and in fair condition, whilst the principal subject is not free from injury. This is Gentile's best extant effort proving that his stay in Florence had taught him something more than he had learnt at home, yet that, like his precursor Nuzi, he could not alter his Umbrian nature, nor forget his primitive education so far as to adopt any of the innovations due to Uccelli, Brunelleschi, Masaccio, or Donatello. He may have been struck by a miniaturist like Lorenzo Monaco. He may have admired the creations of Angelico, but he remained inferior to the first and *a fortiori* at a respectful distance from the second.

A Virgin and child between four saints, described and praised by Facius, long adorned the office of the Notaries at Sienna, and is variously stated to have been painted in 1424—5.[1] But Vasari adds that Gentile worked in S. Giovanni at Sienna.[2] It is, however, not as yet distinctly

[1] Ricci says 1425, ub. sup. I. 167. Vasari's commentators say it was commenced in 1424, finished in 1425 (IV. 162). See also Facius (B.) de Viris Illustribus, 4°. Flor. 1715. p. 44. 5, from whom we learn that the saints at the Virgin's side were SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Christopher. The Virgin he describes as striving to cover the infant on her lap with a transparent veil. The comm. of Vasari add that beneath the principal panel was a round of the Pietà.

[2] Vasari. IV. 153.

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proved that Sienna was ever visited by him.[1] Gentile still inhabited Florence in 1425. An inscription, printed by many authors, long authenticated a Virgin and child attended by saints, the centre of which has disappeared from the church of S. Niccolò di là d'Arno.[2] It was ordered by one of the family of Quaratesi,[3] and extorted from Vasari an opinion that of all things he had seen by Gentile, that was the best, not only because the Virgin and saints were well done, but because the predella,[4] with incidents from the life of S. Nicholas, could not have been better or neater. The side panels of this votive piece, are still at S. Niccolò, filled with a pretty and graceful Magdalen in profile; a S. Nicholas, on whose cope scenes from the Passion are given with exquisite minuteness; a fine S. George, and a Baptist more in the old Siennese antique style; the whole ornamented with profusion, flat and fused in tone, and with a rosy flesh tint shadowed in cool grey.[5]

But this was not a solitary commission undertaken for patrons having family chapels in S. Niccolò. A panel, lately discovered in that church, is now in the sacristy. It represents, the Eternal, surrounded by a glory of cherubim of Umbrian type, sending down the dove of the Holy Ghost to the Virgin and Christ, both of whom kneel on a rainbow spanning a golden heaven lighted by a sun in relief. The resurrection of Lazarus, in the foreground of a landscape, and S. Louis of Toulouse form the subjects of one side, whilst on the

[1] The comm. of Vassari do not believe that Gentile laboured at S. Giov. of Sienna (IV. 162. 3).

The Sienna guide by Faluschi, 12°. 1784. pag. 229, notices the tradition of the existence of a picture by Gentile da Fabriano, in S. Cristoforo of Sienna.

[2] The inscription is given as follows by Richa (Chiese; X. 270): "Opus Gentilis de Fabriano 1425, mense Maii."

[3] Vas. IV. 153.

[4] Not to be found at this day.

[5] In the gables of these panels are figures of canonized friars between angels. Part of the predella is said to have been preserved by the heirs of the late Tommaso Puccini of Pistoia (Vas. com. IV. 153. 4), but all that we have seen there in the shape of incidents from the legend of S. Nicholas, are two panels of another period and school from those of Gentile.

other are SS. Cosmo, Damian, and a third saint together, and S. Benedict with a chained devil. It is more hasty than the Virgin of the Quaratesi, and more strongly impressed with the defects of the Umbrian and Gubbian schools.

Of the same period, no doubt, is a Virgin supporting the infant Christ erect on a balustrade before her, with remnants of Gentile's signature, and curiously like a later Virgin by Jacopo Bellini, all but life size and injured by restoring, in possession of Mr. Jarves.[1]

In 1419, Pope Martin the Fifth entered Rome, on his way from Constance. He found the capital (1421) in ruins; its churches crumbling; its houses depopulated. After he had settled some of the more important quarrels that raged in Italy, and was able to afford leisure for less important duties, he patched up the roof and floor of S. Giovanni Laterano, and casting about for some one to adorn that edifice, he chose Gentile, whom he might have had occasion to admire at Florence or at Orvieto.

Gentile had indeed been called to the latter place from Florence in 1425,[2] and finished a Virgin and child on the wall to the left of the cathedral portal. Its mutilated remnants show how conscientiously he applied to wallpainting, the practice usual to him in panels. The group is pleasing in its Umbrian nature; the Virgin's head is of a regular oval, the features kindly, the mouth pouting, the action graceful, the hands slim and refined. We see the qualities of Simone Martini, with increased perfection in technical execution

[1] Mr. Jarves is an American gentleman who till lately lived at Florence. In the distance of this picture is a landscape with roses and other flowers creeping up the balustrade; the child on tiptoe like one by Benozzo; — signed: "Gent. . . . . briano.

[2] Della Valle, Stor. del Duomo di Orvieto, ub. sup. 123. The record referring to his wall-painting in the Duomo is dated: Dec. 9. 1425; and in it the artist is called as Angelico was later: "egregium magister magistrorum". See also Facio, ub. sup. pp. 44. 5.

and draperies reminiscent of those in Taddeo Bartoli; we note the finish and flatness, the copious ornament, of a miniature, and an adventitious splendour derived from a modern crown in silver relief on the Virgin's head, and original gilt embroidery on the hems.[1]

It is not possible at present to determine when Gentile da Fabriano came to Rome. It is certain, however, that he had done something for Martin the Fifth before the Pope's death in 1431. He painted the pontiff's likeness with portraits of ten attendant cardinals on one panel.[2] In S. Maria Nuova, now S. Francesca Romana, he designed a Virgin and child between SS. Benedict and Joseph,[3] and, in S. Giovanni Laterano, he began a series of subjects from the legend of S. John the Baptist. On the accession of Eugenius the Fourth he continued the work,[4] and his own decease prevented the completion of the Prophets in monochrome above the incidents of the Precursor.[5] Here, however, as at Venice, the masterpieces of Gentile have all perished. But one of them, that of S. Francesca Romana, still existed in the sixteenth century; and Vasari relates that Michael Angelo used to say of its author: "Aveva la mano simile al nome";[6] whilst a disciple of a different school, Van der Weyden, having had occasion to see the frescos in S. Giovanni Laterano, declared Gentile to have been the greatest man in Italy.[7] We know what Michael Angelo thought of Flemish art. He considered it to lack grandeur, selection, proportion, and symmetry. He objected to the numerous episodes which filled the distances of pictures; he deprecated the use of landscapes in which the eye should be solely flattered by huts, green fields, trees, rivers, and

[1] The ground of this mutilated piece is newly tinged; the blue mantle of the Virgin is repainted, and its green lining pointed with gold.

[2] Facio, ub. sup. p. 44. 5.

[3] Vasari. IV. 154.

[4] Platina says: he (Martin the V^th) "picturamque Gentilis, opus pictoris egregii, inchoavit." Platina (ed. Sacchi), 8°. Paris, p. 294.

[5] Facio, ub. sup. pp. 44. 5.

[6] Vasari, IV, 154.

[7] Facio, ub. sup. p. 45.

bridges.[1] Van der Weyden, who was the true representative of an art so despised, thus appears to have been favorably struck by a form of pictorial attainment in which Michael Angelo, his antagonist in every sense, also found something to prize. We may read this puzzle, by assuming that the great Florentine was in a vein of sarcasm and pleasantry when Vasari overheard the pun on Gentile's name. Van der Weyden visited the peninsula, spent days, no doubt, in seeing the creations of the best men of the time, and declared himself most pleased with those of one who held a subordinate rank in the annals of his country. The reason of this is obvious; he discovered in Gentile qualities akin to his own; great minuteness, careful fusion of tone, absence of shadow, and bright contrasts of colour.

It is probable that Gentile at some period of his life dwelt at Perugia, where parts of a Virgin and child between two angels are preserved in S. Domenico; a mere relic, so damaged are the remains.[2]

In Città de Castello, for which, if Vasari was correctly informed, Gentile finished more than one of his productions, those assigned to him in the Spedale are of doubtful origin.[3] A Martyrdom, and scenes from the legend of S. Victorinus, once in the cathedral of S. Severino, have perished.[4]

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[1] See this opinon expressed in a conversation between Michael Angelo and Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, in Raczynski "les arts en Portugal" 8°. Paris, 1846; or the extr. in Grimm's Leben Michel Angelo's. 8°. Hanover. 1863. Zweiter Theil, p. 370. 1.

[2] The adoration of the Magi in the same church assigned to Gentile by Mariotti (Lett. pitt. p. 67), and engraved by Rosini, is by Benedetto Bonfigli. Below the principal group of the piece noticed in the text, are traces of angels with scrolls on which are musical notes. The whole on gold ground. The Virgin and child is now No. 165 in the galleria com. at Perugia.

[3] In the "amministrazione dello spedale of Città di Castello, two panels are shown as by Gentile da Fabriano. One much restored representing the Virgin enthroned holding the infant erect on her knee, revealing the Umbrian manner of a man in Gentile's school; the other, a Virgin and child, the latter holding a bird, reminiscent of Allegretto Nuzi's style, but of a date later than his.

[4] See the authorities in Ricci ub. sup. I. 155. 170. We are informed

In Fabriano, the only remnant entitled to consideration, is a Coronation of the Virgin between six angels playing instruments, of old in the Casa Bufera, now in Casa Morichi, in which much of the master's manner may yet be traced. It was in former times the front of a standard, on the obverse of which a S. Francis receiving the stigmata, of the same size and form, was depicted. This obverse is also in Casa Morichi, but it bears the inscription: "Ano dñi 1452 . die 25 de Martio." Related as to style with the Coronation, though of ruder aspect, it may be of a later date and by some pupil.

Gentile, it is said, died at Rome, and was buried at S. Francesca Romana, in Campo Vaccino.[1]

The pieces not alluded to in the text are not numerous:

Pisa — Pia Casa della Misericordia. A small and pretty Virgin, seated on a cushion, with her arms crossed on her bosom adoring the infant Christ outstretched on its back on her lap, and grasping her dress (blue and repainted). The flesh tints are now opaque.

Pisa — Academy of Arts. A coronation of the Virgin by another hand, and not unlike a Neri di Bicci.

Berlin Museum. No. 1130. Throned Virgin and child, S. Catherine and Nicholas at the sides, the patroness in prayer in front, inscribed on a frame of the period: "Gentilis de Fabriano pinxit", gold ground, small red seraphs play on the trees. The colour of this work is altered by time and oil varnishes.[2]

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too late, unfortunately, by Marchese Carlo Luzi of S. Severino that there is an altarpiece by Gentile on the high altar in the parish church of Serra Patrona, near Camerino. In Urbino nothing by Gentile exists, and Santi only notices him in the rhyme chron. as: "il degno Gentil da Fabriano", lib. XXII. cap. 91, in Pungileoni, ub. sup.

[1] Facio, ub. sup. pp. 44. 5. We need hardly point out the error of the comm. of the last edition of Vasari who infer from Facio's text that Roger v. d. Weyden met Gentile at Rome. Facio merely says referring to the wall-paintings of S. Giov. Laterano: "auctore requisito cum multa laude cumulatum ceteris Italicis pictoribus anteposuisse". Van der Weyden clearly asked for the painter's name only, and we believe Gentile to have been dead some years at that time. See antea note to p. 96.

[2] This piece is described by Ricci. It was originally in S. Niccolo of Fabriano, and successively at Osimo, Matellica, and Rome. See Ricci, ub. sup. I. 155.

Berlin Gallery. Six subjects in one frame (No. 1058) "School of Gentile", in the style of Antonio da Murano,

Munich Gallery. No. 551. Cabinets. An assumption falsely catalogued under Gentile's name. (See antea Naddus Ceccharelli Vol. II. p. 99.)

Paris — Mr. O. Mündler. A small panel originally at Milan representing the Virgin and the infant erect on her knee with a kneeling patron supposed to be Lionel d'Este. This is a graceful (partially retouched) picture, with little figures in a landscape distance, and quite in Gentile's character.

Bari — S. Agostino. Here is a crucifix, of which Vasari speaks,[1] not seen by the authors, but described by Schulz,[2]

London — Lord Taunton. A panel in tempera representing a naval episode (a king in his galley, and a convoy of ships, with a friar in a grotto, and four persons with a dog on the land to the right) bears the name of Gentile da Fabriano. But the manner is that of Fra Giovanni Angelico, the drawing, action, types, drapery being like those of his school. A heavy varnish dims the surface and leaves a doubt as to the authorship by the Fra, or by Gozzoli, or perhaps by Pesellino.

Liverpool Institution. No. 13. A saint on a throne between four others. This picture is Umbrian and shows the influence of the Siennese Taddeo di Bartolo, but is by one bred in the school of Gentile da Fabriano, and besides (as we have reason to judge from a recent visit) is injured by time and old restoring.

Corsham Court — Methuen Gallery. Adoration of the Magi. (Waagen treasures, supp. 397.)

Paris — Hotel Cluny. A panel in this collection assigned to Gentile and dated 1408, is by Lorenzo Monaco. See antea Vol. I. p. 552.

A follower, some say the son, of Gentile, belongs to this period. He calls himself "Franciscus Gentilis"; and we are acquainted with three panels on which this name is inscribed. One is in the Museum of the Vatican,[3] another in Fermo;[4] a third belongs to Mr.

[1] IV. 154.

[2] Denkmäler, ub. sup. Vol. III, p. 174.

[3] Press X. Virgin and child signed: "Franciscus Gentilis" with the monogram: *F.* The types are repulsive, the tempera dark and dim (the Virgin's blue mantle new).

[4] In the house of the advocate Deminici. Subject,—the Salutation, with the infants on the dresses of the figures; the Saviour already in benediction. This is a picture devoid of all feeling; colour stippled as in Crivelli; draperies broken and angular, inscribed: "Franciscus Gētilis de Fabriano" (panel).

Barker in London.[1] They are the wretched efforts of an artist who was formed not so much on the models of Gentile, as on those of Antonio da Fabriano, Giovanni Boccati of Camerino, and Lorenzo of Sanseverino. The Umbrian style, in a worse form than that which they evolved, is mingled in Franciscus with a method of stippling akin to that of Crivelli. A closer but equally defective imitator of Gentile is Lellus of Velletri, whose Madonna in S. Agostino of Perugia is a cento of the technical methods apparent in the Virgin at Orvieto, and the least praiseworthy characteristics of Taddeo and Domenico di Bartolo.[2]

Antonio di Agostino di Ser Giovanni da Fabriano was a less contemptible, but still feeble assistant of Gentile da Fabriano. It is to him, indeed, that the Marchese Ricci assigns the Coronation of the Virgin, and S. Francis receiving the stigmata, in the Casa Morichi,[3] adding that, according to tradition, Antonio had tried there how well he could imitate his master. He may be seen in his native ugliness in a S. Jerom of the Fornari Gallery at Fabriano, in which, like Giovanni Boccati, he exaggerates the defect of unwrought extremities visible in Piero della Francesca, and he paints in a system of mixed tempera of a raw dull tone very different from that of Gentile.[4] His nude is fairly proportioned, but is also dry and withered; and his drapery sins commonly by angularity. The frescos in the old refectory of S. Do-

[1] Panel portrait, mistaken by Ricci for that of Gentile, commingling the Umbrian and new Perugian manner with the style of Lorenzo di S. Severino as exhibited in the picture of the National gallery and in Crivelli. The person represented is youthful, but lean and of an angular outline; at a balcony, long hair falls out of a red cap; background green, inscribed on the parapet: "Franciscus Gentilis de Fabriano pinsit. Character as above.

[2] The Virgin and child enthroned (two angels in front) between SS. John the Baptist and Augustin; Agata and Liberatore, signed on a twined scroll: "Lellus de Velletri pinsit,,, now in the Galleria comm. at Perugia. No. 68.

[3] Ricci, I, 176.

[4] The Saint is seated writing, in cardinal's dress, in a cell filled with books, accompanied by the lion. The vehicle with which the colours are impregnated seems a sort of red oil of a viscous nature. On the desk is the date "1451" and below on the frame: "Antonius d̄ Fabri".

menico at Fabriano may be assigned to him,[1] and there are other authentic subjects by him in the Palazzo Piersanti at Matellica,[2] in the parish church of La Genga,[3] and even perhaps in S. Croce near Sassoferrato.[4]

Antonio's cotemporary Onofrio is said to have done the fragments of frescos illustrating the life of S. Benedict in one of the cloisters of S. Michele in Bosco at Bologna.[5] These differ in no respect from the rude ones of the third-rates of the fifteenth century in Umbria and the Marches.

The older craftsmen of S. Severino are of more interest to the historian. They were the neighbours of Ottaviano Nelli and Gentile da Fabriano; and one of them, by name Lorenzo, is the author of works which form an intermediate link between those of the two painters just mentioned. The earliest notice of Lorenzo is to be found in a triptych, of which the principal subject is the Marriage

[1] See antea, note to p. 109. Vol. II. The place is now a granary; the subject filling the whole wall, a crucifixion and many saints kneeling on each hand. In a niche on one side is S. Lucy, on the other S. Catherine, all in a feigned frame with fair ornaments in it; The colour is injured. On the frame one reads: "1480, die 25 Februarii".

[2] Here is a crucifix in which the Saviour, of good proportion, is not unlike the foregoing in character and proportion, though it is injured. An inscription runs: ". . . tonius . . brianen. S. P. 1452 (may be 72).

[3] This place is about five miles from Fabriano. The principal picture is a Virgin and child surrounded by angels on the high altar. The Eternal, above, has sent down the dove of the holy ghost. SS. Clement and John the Baptist attend at the sides. The infant is round backed, a defect noticeable in the works of the painters of Camerino. The dry and not well proportioned forms recall Gentile and the Siennese. On a scroll: "Antonius de Fabiâo pinxit." Two standards by the same hand are also preserved here. The first represents a Virgin and child with the Eternal above, signed: "Antonius...." with SS. Clement and John the Baptist on the obverse and four brethren kneeling below; in the second, the Virgin, child, and patron, with a crucifixion between two saints on the obverse, all but ruined.

[4] Here is a large composite altar piece of the Virgin and child between SS. Joachim, Benedict, Stephen and Clara, with a crucifixion in an upper course at the sides of which are SS. Peter, Paul, and two other saints, an Eternal and the four evangelists in pinnacles, and six incidents (one of them the resurrection of Christ), in the predella. The figures are thin and slender, the execution is careful, and the colour dry. It is like a work by Antonio.

[5] Ricci, ub. sup. I. 193. The date of these paintings is given as circa 1460.

of S. Catherine, a piece so injured as to possess no value. It belongs to the Cistercians of S. Severino, and is remarkable for the following inscription: "nelli mei anni XXVI io Lorenzo fe... quisto laurro". The date: "Año domini MCCCC" beneath a Pietà on the outer side, settles the period of Lorenzo's birth.[1] He was an illiterate youth of 26 at S. Severino in 1400.

Sixteen years later, and in company of his brother Jacopo, Lorenzo decorated the whole of the oratory of S. Giovanni Battista at Urbino with incidents from the life of the Precursor, a crucifix, and other episodes, which do not fail to create an impression when taken in combination with the arrangement of the chapel and its groined ceiling. The Crucifixion fills the side against which the altar stands. It is crowded with ill-distributed groups after the Siennese fashion. The nudes are so lean that the human frame seems reduced to a mere carcass; the angels, women, soldiers are in violent contorsions, mouthing, shrieking, and shouting. Everything is exaggerated. The horses of the escort are caricatures. Amongst the incidents of the Baptist's life, however, one or more reveal an embryo of happy thought; females now and then exhibit a feminine nature in their movements, albeit affected; and some portraits, those of two men in black dresses and caps in the interview with Herod, are fairly

[1] As far back as the time of Ricci, this triptych was much dilapidated (Mem. ub. sup. I. 186). Subject: Open triptych, centre: marriage of S. Catherine; left wing: S. Jerom; right wing: S. Thaddeus, as is shown by the characters on the gilt relief nimbuses. On the upper part of the picture: "hoc opus fecit fieri Fr. Antonius Petroni. On the lower edge of the frame the signature in the text. Closed triptych.: Christ in the arms of the Virgin (monochrome), and a subject, all but effaced. Beneath this last, according to Ricci, were the words: "nel Mese di Gennaro" (Mem. I. 198). The colour is darkened by time where it has not scaled away.

Frescos in the crypt of the Cistercians at S. Severino representing scenes from the legend of S. Andrew, are supposed by Ricci (ib. ib. 187) to be Lorenzo's, but from what remains of them, they appear to have no exact resemblance to those of Urbino. Ricci further mentions lost frescos by our artist in S. M. della Pieve at S. Severino (ib. ib. 198).

and even smoothly coloured. But better still, on the wall to the left of the entrance, a Virgin, of slender shape, sits on a cushion, and raises with a delicate hand the veil which covers the child, slumbering on her lap, — a graceful idea, spoiled in part by the ugly type of the infant, but in the spirit of the Gubbians. The Virgin's oblong head, and thin pinched features, her waving hair, and gold-embroidered veil recall at once those in panels which tradition assigns to Angioletto, and brings to mind Gentile da Fabriano; whilst the soft and brightly harmonized colour, the minute and precise contours, and laboriously finished details surpass those of Ottaviano Nelli.[1]

Lorenzo and Jacopo[2] are fair Umbrian workmen, following the custom of their country, and heedless of modern improvements, untaught in the essential laws of pure

[1] On the border beneath the crucifixion, one still reads: "Anno domini MCCCCXVI de XVIII Julii Laurentius de Santo Severino et Jacobus frater ejus hoc opus fecerunt." The figures in the crucifixion are of life size. The wall to the right as you enter, is divided into a double course, in the highest of which are the vision of the angel to Zacharias; the salutation; the birth of S. John; Zacharias writing the name; the circumcision, and a scene in which Zacharias takes the hand of the Virgin in the presence of the kneeling Anna. This last piece is not without feeling, but the Virgin's head is restored. Some grace may be conceded to the figures in the salutation, and the dresses are in the style of Gentile da Fabriano. The infant precursor in the circumcision is deformed and without any neck. In the lower course, S. John meeting Herod on horseback, and reproaching him, is a much injured fresco, where the feeble form of the Baptist is contrasted with better ones of the bystanders some of which, as stated in the text, are portraits less ugly in type than the more fanciful faces of others. These portrait figures too are softly and truthfully coloured. Next we name the Baptism which is marked by very poor forms of nude. An Eternal looking down is a caricature, and a curious fancy is shown in leaves of trees shaped like conchs with heads of cherubs issuing from them. In the sermon of S. John there is again an approach to the style of Gentile da Fabriano. The subjects on the wall pierced by the door, are in part gone, in part concealed by a gallery. On the side to the left most of the incidents are much injured by restoring, and others are entirely repainted.

[2] We know no more of Jacopo than is here stated. In the sacristy of the oratory are two standards, in one of which the Sermon of S. John is almost all repainted, but which still betrays a style like that of the frescos, whilst in the other is the crucified Saviour, in the same state, suggesting similar remarks.

art, but not entirely devoid of feeling. What their immediate influence may have been at Urbino it is difficult to say. The grace, of which they were not entirely deprived, may have been appreciated by Giovanni Santi, but we seek in vain for the impression they may have made upon him.[1]

A continuation of this imperfect development of pictorial qualities in Umbria may be found in the works of a second Lorenzo, also of S. Severino, who discloses a change produced by the lapse of years, first of all in the expression of form, next in the style of drawing, the character, the drapery, and above all, the technical method of tempera. This artist is the author of three inscribed pictures, two of which bear his name and the dates 1481, 1483; and the third is certified by the name only. The first of these is in the sacristy of a church at Pausola near Macerata;[2] the second, a fresco, in the collegiate church of Sarnano.[3] The third, a panel, originally in S. Lucia at Fabriano, is in the National Gallery.[4] They are all handled on the system of

[1] Pungileoni, elogio stor. di Gio. Santi p. 4.

[2] All' Amatrice di S. Pietro e Paulo, sacristy. The altarpiece is a triple gable, with the Virgin and child in the centre, and four angels above her, between SS. John the Baptist and Mary Magdalen. In the points are the Ecce Homo between a male and female saint, on the step of the Virgin's throne the words: Opus Laurentii de S. Severino. 1481", and below, an inscription stating that the picture was ordered by Gentilis and Giovanni Marinus. The tempera is spare, hard and stippled, and fairly preserved.

[3] This is a sort of tabernacle in the arch of which the Virgin enthroned holds the child between SS. Martin and John the Baptist, with a kneeling abbot near the latter. Above, the Eternal is attended by three angels on each hand; and six similar figures are above the Madonna. In the spandrils are the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the sides, S. Sebastian, with a kneeling brother at his feet, and S. Roch. Above each figure, an angel. This piece is inscribed: "hoc opus fec fieri Antonino Botius ab as de Sarnano pro ejus anima, et domini Guglielmi Franciga sub anno domini 1483. Laurentius Severinas pinxit." In the sacristy of the same church are the sides of an altarpiece, double-pointed arches, in which are SS. Peter, Paul, Benedict and Blasius, much injured and like a caricature of Alunno.

[4] This picture (No. 249. Nat. gal. catal.) is a Marriage of S. Catherine of Sienna, with S. Demetrius of Spoleto kneeling on the left, inscribed: "Laurentius II. Severinas pisit."

Crivelli, whose productions, indeed, fill most of the cities in this part of the peninsula, and, in spite of their shortcomings, they embody some of the religious sentiment of Alunno. In other examples of the manner of Lorenzo "the Second", as the signature on the "Marriage" at the National Gallery authorizes us to call him, we find Alunno not only imitated, but caricatured; and this is the case in a Virgin and child at S. Agostino of S. Severino,[1] a Conception in the Brotherhood of S. Francesco at Matellica,[2] a Madonna and holy attendants in the church of S. Francesco,[3] and in two couples of saints at S. Theresa of the same place.[4] The worst thing of this kind is a grotesque Meeting of Anna and Joachim in the Duomo at Nocera.[5] This list of third-rates may be considered unnecessarily complete if we add to it a Madonna of the most repulsive aspect

[1] This picture on gold ground is in the vestibule of the church named in the text. Its figures are life size. It represents the throned Virgin and child attended by angels, between S. John the Baptist and a bishop (the Virgin's blue dress damaged). The whole is painted in a slight water colour, recalling the manner of Alunno.

[2] S. Anna holds two puppets on her knees intended for the infant Virgin, and Christ. At her sides are SS. Sebastian and Roch; above, the Ecce Homo between half lengths of SS. Michael and Dominick, very much injured and split vertically, much colour scaled and the Virgin's dress new.

[3] The Virgin and child with four angels, one of whom gives flowers to the babe, between SS. Francis and Bernardino. In each pilaster at the sides are two half-lengths of saints and an angel. Four incidents are depicted in the predella the outside panels of which each contain a half length figure in prayer. This piece is a mixture of the manner of Lorenzo and Alunno, better preserved than the foregoing.

[4] Here are SS. Severino and Catherine with the prophet Daniel above. The Baptist conversing with a spectacled monk and Elijah (gold ground, all but life size).

[5] Meeting of Anna and Joachim. Above, the Eternal, the Virgin and two angels. In the frame are half lengths of saints.

There are records proving that Lorenzo of S. Severino painted an altarpiece at Monte Milone in 1496. The picture, according to Ricci, represented S. Anthony of Padua, the Virgin and child, and angels. It was signed: Lauret Sevæi A. S. and was dated as above (Ricci, Mem. ub. sup. I. 202). A note in the same author refers to a damaged Virgin between two saints in episcopals in S. Francesco delle Scale in Ancona signed with the fragmentary words: ". . . enzo Severin . . . . feci . . . M. . . . 81." Records also exist which show that Lorenzo painted a "Justice" in the town Hall of S. Severino in 1478, arms at the Mercato gate in 1481, and a figure of the Beato Jacopo della Marca in 1482 (Ricci mem. II. 130).

now in the sacristy of the Duomo at Recanati, by Lodovico de Urbanis of S. Severino,[1] and a Virgin, child, and attendant martyrs in the church of the Zoccolanti of S. Ginesio, by Stephano di S. Ginesio.[2]

Still following the Eastern slope of the Appennine to the Southward, we come upon Camerino, which gave birth to Giovanni Boccati, and to Girolamo di Giovanni; two men of more worth perhaps than those of S. Severino. Camerino offered but a slight field for exertion; and Giovanni did not long remain in his native place, but we judge from certain authentic examples of his skill, dating from the middle of the century, that he may be the author of an enthroned Virgin with angels holding flowers, and a S. Bernardino preaching from a pulpit; both in the monastery of S. Francesco at Camerino.[3] His petition, to be admitted to the freedom of Perugia in 1445, is extant;[4] but his success seems to have been only partial. A citizen of the town had ordered a Madonna of him in 1446, which was purchased for the Brotherhood of the *disciplinati* of S. Domenico,[5] and is still there. It is

[1] The centre of this piece is the Virgin and child with ten angels; at the sides, SS. Benedict and Sebastian. Lozenge-shaped pinnacles contain the Ecce homo between the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the pilasters, two angels and four half length saints. In the predellas, the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian and two other incidents, with four prophets in the intermediate pilasters. This hideous cross between the San Severini, Alunno, and Crivelli is signed: "Opus Ludovici de Urbanis de Sãto Severino." Ricci gives copious notices of this painter who was consul at S. Severino in 1488 and 1493, and of whom there is a record that he was in litigation with a brother painter in 1466 (Mem. ub. sup. I. 221). Ricci also describes an altarpiece of 1463 by the same hand in S. M. delle Grazie at S. Severino (Ib. I. 222).

[2] The same cross is visible in this artist as in Lodovico. The altarpiece represents the Virgin and child (the latter copied from Crivelli) between two saints in episcopals and the kneeling saints Roch and Sebastian. The outlines are angular and the ornamentation after Crivelli. On the step of the throne the words: "Hoc opus factum fuit tempore dñi Johannis abatis, año dñi 1492. Stephanus d. Sčo Ginesio p."

[3] This is a panel injured by a split. The subject on gold ground.

[4] Ricci publishes it in full (Mem. ub. sup. I. 199—200), giving us Boccati's name which is Gio. Pier Matteo Antonio Annutii Boccati.

[5] Mariotti, Lett. Pitt. ub. sup. p. 68. This picture has been removed since these lines were writ-

a warm tempera, with tones of body and polish like enamel, in which the Virgin and child are enthroned, between two playing angels within a screened receptacle of stone, round which seraphs stand. S. Dominick and S. Francis each present two kneeling members of the Brotherhood; and they are accompanied by SS. Ambrose and Jerom, Gregory and Augustin. A garland of roses is above the Virgin's head; the infant allows his hand to be licked by an eager dog which he holds by a leash; and in the distance at the sides, angels are placed in a decoration of vases and festoons, in rear of which trees and flowers show their leaves and blossoms. In a predella are scenes from the Passion.[1] The long-necked, slender waisted figure of Mary with its small hands, all contoured with hair lines at sharp angles, — the angels, are Umbrian in character, and prove the education of Boccati to have been derived from the models of Gubbio and Fabriano, and to have embodied many Siennese habits. They also recall another kind of art, that of Bartolommeo di Tommaso and Alunno, the representatives of the school of Foligno which, by the industry of the latter, assumed an independent position towards the close of the fifteenth century, and took the place of the older ones.

This school was remarkable for its absorption of peculiarities obtained from Benozzo Gozzoli, who thus, though more humbly, shares with Piero della Francesca the honour of introducing the Florentine element into Umbria.

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ten, to the gall. comm. of Perugia under No. 4.

[1] This altarpiece is much injured. The S. Ambrose, part of S. Jerom, and the whole distance behind them, are repainted. The Virgin's blue mantle and parts of the vestments of other figures are likewise new. The colour is dimmed by restoring. The predella, detached from the altarpiece, represents the Capture (reminiscent of Domenico Bartoli), the Crucifixion (recalling P. della Francesca in some figures), SS. Thomas Aquinas and Peter martyr. A procession to Calvary is quite in a Siennese character. On the border one reads: "Opus Johis Bochatis de Chamerono." On the step of the Virgin's throne, the date 1437. The central panel three feet one inch high. The predella has also been removed to the gal. com. of Perugia, numb[d] No. 5.

But Giovanni Boccati did not merely receive this Florentine bias at second hand from Benozzo. He also shared some of the errors of the master of Borgo S. Sepolcro; and in the altarpiece of S. Domenico his infant Christ wears an aged look, and presents hard wooden forms like those of Francesca.[1] Yet Boccati is but a second-rate in whom the varied influences of Sienna, Umbria, and Florence do not yield anything like perfection. The grace of the Umbrians verges in him upon vulgar exaggeration; the singularity of the Siennese in costume becomes almost grotesque in his person; the accurate drawing of the Florentines is unknown to him, and he has not an inkling of the science of perspective. Yet, he had a moderately successful career at Perugia, in the public Gallery of which he has, we think, left at least two Madonnas attended by angels;[2] whilst some of his panels have found their way to Orvieto[3] and to Rome.[4]

In Girolamo di Giovanni of Camerino, who has been generally taken for the son of Giovanni Boccati, we trace other tendencies; and the solitary specimen which bears his name, at S. M. del Pozzo in Monte S. Martino

[1] Note his short frizzled hair and protruding belly, the thin lipped open mouth showing the teeth; the grotesque short waisted dress of the angels and their long thin necks, and generally, the wrinkled faces. The drapery too is remarkable for straight and broken lines of excessive frequency.

[2] One of these (No. 21) is in prayer adoring the infant, stretched on her lap in a tabernacled throne attended by six angels playing and singing; an angel with a lute on the left, another beating a drum on the right foreground, others picking flowers. The Saviour plays with a bird. His shape is long, angular, and lean. The colour is softly fused, but flat and reddish in the flesh tints which are altered by varnishes.

The second of these (No. 70) is a Virgin giving the breast to the infant, with angels offering flowers, others in front seated and playing. Much ornament is lavished on the dresses.

[3] Private chapel of the Casa Pietrangeli at Orvieto. A Virgin and child between SS. Savino, Juvenale, Augustin and Jerom, angels with flowers, and two seated in front playing. This is a somewhat injured panel (Virgin's head new), on gold ground, without the painter's name, but dated 1473.

[4] Rome, belonging to Monsignor Badia, S. Paul the Hermit, and S. Christopher, two oblong panels of high enamel surface colour. They are assigned to Piero della Francesca, but are, probably, by Gio. Boccati, — would, indeed, be his best, if authentically shown to be his.

near Fermo, bears the impress of Boccati, of Matteo da Gualdo, and of Vivarini. Moschini found him registered in the guild at Padua under the date of 1450;[1] but Girolamo clung to the traditions of his country, and displays only so much of Paduan character as may be conceded to the Vivarini, a Venetian family the pictures of which are by no means scarce on the seaboard of the Marches, and which competed in these regions with the long-lived and numerous one of the Crivelli.

The altarpiece at Monte S. Martino is signed. It was completed in 1473, and represents the Madonna, the child, and four angels, between SS. Thomas and Cyprian. The defects, which disfigure Giovanni Boccati and Matteo of Gualdo, clearly exist in Girolamo, whose Virgin has a round soft head resting on a slender neck. The child lacks all comeliness. A crucified Saviour, mourned by his mother and the Evangelist, ornament of the central pinnacle, is bony and aged, though fairly proportioned, but the method of the Vivarini is apparent in the low, flat, and somewhat dry tempera, in the outlines, and in the general mode of rendering form and folds of drapery.[2]

More of the Paduan stamp would be admitted in Girolamo, if we could certainly assign to him a S. Jerom penitent, belonging to the Cavaliere Vinci at Fermo, a careful figure, hastily laid in with a plenteous touch of pigment of a reddish flesh tint, reminiscent of Matteo da Sienna and of Bono Ferrarese, a Mantegnesque pupil of Pisanello.[3]

[1] Moschini dell' Origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova. MDCCCXXVI. Tipografia Crescini, pág. 24.

[2] In medallions on the spandrils of the central panel are the Virgin and angel annunciate. S. Thomas holds the girdle and reads. Beneath the Virgin are the words: "Jeronimus Johañis de Camerino depinsit MCCCCLXXIII". On the side pinnacles are an Archangel Michael weighing the souls, a characteristic figure like one by the Vivarini, and S. Martin sharing his cloak, with SS. Peter and Paul in medallions in the points. The Virgin's mantle is injured, likewise the neck of S Thomas.

[3] S. Jerome kneels and beats his breast before the crucifix. The cardinal's hat, the lion are by him,

We do not pretend to guess at the connection between Boccati and Girolamo; but the latter continued the art of Giovanni; and that art, if not in itself attractive, is still interesting as we follow it from Camerino through the Marches towards Ascoli, and see it mingling with that of Padua and Venice. The reader's attention might still be arrested by fragments in the sacristy of S. Agostino at Monte S. Martino,[1] and by a church standard, with subjects on both sides, in the crypt of the church of Sarnano;[2] but the course of the narrative leads us onwards upon the spiral route described at the outset of these notices.

We thus reach Gualdo Tadino on the Mediterranean side of the Appennine, and find there Matteo, who is a partner in Giovanni Boccati's modes of thought and execution; but who, at the same time, tends more faithfully to maintain the Umbrian style which was to culminate in Perugino. That he was a feeble artist notwithstanding, modernizing, though perhaps hardly surpassing, the Lorenzos of S. Severino, may not be denied; but he naturally inclined towards the neighbouring draughtsmen of Foligno. There are no authentic panels by him in the town in which he was born, though one, dated 1462, is said to have existed there. His manner is apparent in a S. Anna teaching the Virgin to read, a Virgin and saints, an Annunciation in S. Francesco,[3] and a Madonna in the Duomo, of Gualdo;[4] but a genuine

and his sandals are loose on the ground. A bear licks his paw behind the saint to the right. The distance is a rock in which a cave opens, and on the left, the distance recedes to a city and far horizon.

[1] Here is a pinnacle with the crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist in the same style as the altarpiece already described.

[2] On one side, the Annunciation with the Virgin's head partly obliterated, on the other Christ crucified between the Virgin and S. John, much scaled. Panel, on gold ground.

[3] These are all in the choir and of very little importance.

[4] This is in an elevated position on the high altar. A triptych much injured, assigned to Matteo, is said to exist at Nociano, two miles from Gualdo, and a Virgin between S. Roch and Sebastian in S. Pellegrino, three miles from the same town. The head of the Virgin in this last piece is said to be injured

fresco will be found in a solitary chapel on the hills outside Gubbio, S. M. della Circa near Sigillo, on the inner walls of which a Virgin and child with a dog in its arms, and a Virgin of Mercy, are depicted; and on a pilaster near the latter are syllables of his name.[1]

A light reddish water-colour, on a ground of green, shadowed consequently in verde, and stippled up in lights, forms the flesh-tone of the first of these Virgins, whose square oblong face seems cast in the mould of the Sanseverini, whilst the usual affectation of grace, involved draperies, tenuous outline, profuse pattern ornament, and positive tints prove the painter's Umbrian nature. In the second Virgin, the frame rivals in length and slenderness those of Giovanni Boccati, whilst the angels, who loop the cloak, might be confounded with those of the Fulginese, Bartolommeo di Tommaso, or Alunno. Pleasing heads, and pretty coifs comparatively set off a few of the females beneath the mantle, and distantly resemble those of Piero della Francesca in the Virgin of Mercy at Arezzo. We are struck in both men by a common Umbrian origin and a diligent hand, however wide we may find the distance between them as regards merit. But Matteo's pictorial career offers a further similarity with that of Giovanni Boccati insofar that we may trace his pencil south of Gualdo, as we have traced it here north of that place, in a chapel called S. Maria in Campis near Foligno, in which the decorations are by two or three hands, affected by the vicinity of Benozzo Gozzoli at Montefalco. If there, however, some obscurity and doubt may exist as to the part taken by Matteo, his signature authenticates a fresco in S. Caterina, or as it is more commonly called, SS. Antonio e Jacopo, of Assisi,

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by tapers, but certain pinnacle figures are described as worthy of preservation.

[1] "Ma . . eu. pin . . . su. . . . MD. . . . ." probably "Matteus pinxit sub anno &c."

On the same wall is a Conception, the most defective of all these paintings; the infant a caricature of that which Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno repeated.

a chapel the greater part of which was covered with frescos by Benozzo's assistant Pietro Antonio.

The whole wall facing the entrance simulates an intercolumniated space, in the centre of which the Virgin is enthroned, and accompanied by angels. Two of the heavenly messengers sit in front playing instruments. S. James and S. Anthony stand at the sides, each gravely escorted by an angel holding a candlestick. Above a frieze of festoons pinned with cherubs' heads, the Virgin and angel annunciate face each other, parted by a window; and a dog, emblematic perhaps of fidelity, is near the former.

A striking relation between this and old Gubbian art is evident; and the S. Anthony is but an ugly adaptation of that of Guido Palmerucci; but the paltry masks and defective shapes, clothed in straight or broken drapery, imitate the humble works of Giovanni Boccati, whilst the Annunciation distantly reminds one of that of Piero della Francesca in the Gallery of Perugia. The bricky flesh-colour, bounded by wiry lines, is singularly unattractive; and the date of 1468 preceding the artist's signature, on a card wafered to one of the pillars, tells when and by whom this poor creation was carried out.[1] Nor is this all that Matteo da Gualdo did to adorn this chapel. The angels in the panel-spaces, below the roof which protects the façade, are his, as well as the fragments of a Saviour in glory above, and SS. James and Anthony by, the portal.[2] A Virgin and child in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Perugia; a S. Jerom and a S. Paul, belonging to it in the Gallery of that city, are the only additional pieces that can be given to Matteo.[3]

[1] The inscription runs: "hoc opus factũ fuit sub año dñi mlc quatrigẽtesimo sesagesimo octavo die primo junij. Macteus de Gualdo pinsit."

[2] These paintings are all much damaged, and the colour, as far as one can see, is dark and positive in tone. The figures are mere mummies.

[3] On the step of the Virgin's throne one reads: "hoc opus fecit fieri Lucas Albertus domi Francisci p aĩa Michaline." The gold ground of the centre and of the side panels in the academy has been

We have seen how nearly related he was to Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno. This was a man of Umbro-Siennese education, who flourished in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, interesting less for his merit than for a clue which he affords for ascertaining the source of Alunno's style.

"Messer Rinaldo di Corrado Trinci, ultimo Signor di Foligno, creato priore di questa colligata l'anno 1430 fece dipingere la presente tavola colla sua immagine posta a piè della Sedia di M. V. da Bartolommeo di Tommaso pittore della stessa Città."

This modern inscription is on the frame of a picture in S. Salvadore of Foligno, representing the Virgin and child in a wide throne surrounded by little angels, and adored by a half length miniature of the last of the Trinci. S. John the Baptist and another saint are at the sides; and two smaller canonized personages of the two sexes are in two pinnacles removed from their original place.[1] We accept the tenor of this statement as a copy of the genuine one formerly on the frame; and we conceive that this otherwise unknown Umbrian is a man of no great renown, whose instincts taught him to follow the wide-spread lessons afforded by his earlier countrymen and such Siennese as were affected by the models of Taddeo Bartoli and Domenico di Bartolo. In the full face and arched brows of a short-waisted but long, stiff Virgin, whose arm and hand are filed to a reedy thinness, we notice the origin of the Umbrian softness remarkable at a later period in Alunno, the longing for grace of Boccati and Matteo of Gualdo, and their ill-chosen features and drapery. The angels, of the same class, are yet nearer to those of Alunno, whilst the awkwardness

repainted yellow. These two pieces are now united in the galleria communale of Perugia. No. 91. 2. 3.

We may add to the list a tavola, No. 122. in the Perugia gallery, representing the Virgin and child, and Baptist which may, possibly, be due to Matteo, and two scenes from the life of S. Francis, No. 565 cabts. in the gallery of Munich, on gold ground, assigned to Antonio Pollaiuolo.

[1] There is an outline of this Virgin in Rosini (ub. sup. III. 34).

of the infant, the square forms, wrinkled flesh, and small features of the saints equally prove the tenacity with which the old Siennese types were preserved in the smaller cities of this part of Italy. The dim grey tones, resulting from time and neglect, preclude criticism, but the whole piece is marked enough to serve as a test of the authorship in others; and we are thus enabled to ascribe to Bartolommeo the Flight into Egypt, on the front of S. Salvadore, near the portal, a mutilated Virgin, child and saints in S. Domenico,[1] and a rude fresco illustrating an incident in the life of S. Barbara in S. Caterina, of Foligno.[2]

In the meanwhile, Benozzo Gozzoli had settled at Montefalco, and his dexterity soon roused the spirit and excited the rivalry of men following his profession in Umbria. In 1452, a chapel was built by a pious gentleman of Foligno, at a short distance on the road to Spoleto, and it afterwards bore the name of S. M. in Campis.[3] Its walls were covered with frescos, of which large portions remain; an Annunciation, with two saints beneath it; Peter rescued from the waves, with a kneeling patron by its right-hand corner; and a large Crucifixion, with attendant groups, on the face behind the altar.[4] They are hardly of respectable talent; possibly by

[1] The infant holds a bird and a scroll towards which the Virgin points; the whole under a feigned arch. Remains of the nimbuses of saints lower down on the wall are visible. What still meets the eye, is injured. Since the above was written, the fresco has been detached and placed in the municipio of Foligno.

[2] A long inscription closes with the date of 1449, but does not give the painter's name. The persons who ordered this fresco, were the nuns of the convent who did so in remembrance of one of their number. Beneath the scene from the legend of S. Barbara is a Virgin and child, with two angels leaning against the pillars that support the niche; and further on, a S. Anthony with a nun in prayer before him.

[3] This is proved by an inscription outside the chapel, on a stone near the door which has been walled up since the place ceased to be used for worship. On this stone one reads: "Pietri de Cola dalle Casse la fe fare questa cappella. MCCCCLII."

[4] Amongst the subjects on the remaining wall is a S. Christopher and four figures almost gone. The ceiling was originally blue and bestarred. The Christ of the Cruci-

Matteo da Gualdo, and Pietro Antonio, assisted perhaps by Alunno himself. The name of Pietro Antonio is suggested because he is a native of Foligno, because we know that he studied under Benozzo; and we see the imitation of this prolific Florentine in the subjects above enumerated. There is no doubt that the Annunciation is a counterpart of Gozzoli's at S. Fortunato, tinted in his usual reddish water-colour, outlined in his wiry fashion, and copiously stippled; whilst the saints, especially the more Umbrian ones below, have the slenderness and length, with less of the defects of those by Bartolommeo di Tommaso. The Rescue of S. Peter is taken from that of Giotto in the mosaic of Rome, including the winds blowing at the upper corners, and the fisherman angling at the side. We can understand such an imitation being derived from one who should, like Benozzo, have just left the capital. But the Crucifixion also is taken from that in S. Francesco at Montefalco, though the attendant figures are drawn in the weedy and feeble forms, and with the grimace of those by Boccati, Matteo, and even Alunno.

It is not rare to find this compound style in the proportions just noticed at Foligno. It is apparent in an imperfect fresco of the Annunciation, outside the monastery del Popolo near the Ancona gate,[1] in remnants of a Virgin, child, and saints above the door of the Convent of S. Anna,[2] inside of which Pietro Antonio left a S. Francis receiving the stigmata. The type, originally fine in Angelico, shorn of some beauty by Benozzo, is

fixion and the Peter rescued from the waves, are feebler than the remainder.

[1] The lower part of the principal figures is gone. The upper half of S. Rosa attending to the right, is obliterated; but what is left, is an imitation of the manner of Benozzo.

[2] The lower part of this piece is also obliterated. The Virgin supports the child in a standing position on her knee. He gives the benediction and holds the orb; two angels supporting a dais; two others and two saints in waiting at the sides. The distance is an ornamented balustrade on which small wooden figures of seraphs pick flowers. The figures are rigid and motionless, round eyed as in Sassetta's pictures, the outlines are marked, but the colour is clear and rosy.

still further debased by subsequent transmission; and this is as true of the foregoing examples, as it is of similar ones to which the name of Pietro Antonio is attached; such as the Virgin and child amongst saints above the portal of the monastery of S. Lucia, dated 1471;[1] the same subject in the same position in the monastery of S. Francesco at Foligno, dated 1499;[2] and the scenes from the life of S. James in SS. Antonio e Jacopo at Assisi.[3]

The latter, no doubt cotemporary with those of Matteo da Gualdo (1468), are less devoid of power than later ones, but they prove, as indeed all the frescos of Pietro Antonio prove, that he was an Umbrian on whose stock the Florentine character was engrafted by the teaching of Gozzoli; for he not only took the conceptions and the types of the latter; he used a thin bodied water-colour, within engraved and continuous contours; he conscientiously and carefully employed materials familiar to the followers of Angelico, and courageously cropped the excessive luxuriance of Umbrian ornament; but he exaggerated also the rigidity observable in Benozzo and, as was but too natural

[1] A modern inscription, but copied on the lines of an older, runs as follows: "Opus Petrus Antonius Mesastris de Fulginei pinsit. MCCCCLXXI." The Virgin and child are reminiscent of those of Benozzo. The attendant saints are SS. Lucy and Clara. The vaulting of the arch of the lunette is full of ornament, interspersed with heads of monks and figures. The nimbuses are finely engraved like those of Angelico.

[2] These are life size figures. At the Virgin's sides are SS. Francis and John the Baptist; and two angels support a drapery in rear. But half of the one to the right is wanting, and the colour in other parts is scaled. It is a dull and rude work of Pietro Antonio's later years, inscribed with the following words which will not long be legible: "Piet. . Antonio pinsit 1499".

[3] The subjects here painted are the same we have noticed in S. Biagio di S. Girolamo at Forli by Palmezzano. They are taken from the legend of S. James. On the oven where the roasted fowl are made to revive by the saint, are the words: "Petrus Antonius de Fuligno pinsit". In the scene to the right of this, where S. James restores the hanging youth to life, two figures have been added by a later artist to whom we may also assign a S. James and a S. Ansano on the next lower course, in the lunette of which an Eternal appears in a glory of cherubim, and attended by angels. By the side of S. Ansano is a S. Anthony by Pier Antonio. On the fourth wall are scenes from the life of the latter saint, and the four Evangelists fill the triangular spaces of the ceiling.

for one of his inferior talents, introduced no life into wooden figures, which were but mechanical and imperfect copies of conventional forms. Pietro Antonio lived to the close of the fifteenth century, and perhaps longer; and his industry, not confined to the circuit of Foligno or Assisi, took him as we believe to Narni, Trevi, and to other cities of this part of Italy.[1]

Pier Antonio, however, was surpassed in ability by his cotemporary and fellow-townsman Niccolò Alunno of Foligno, whose earliest attempt discloses a certain ripeness of power in 1458. Six years before this, S. Maria in Campis had been decorated in the manner previously described; and we should think that Alunno was engaged there, because the influence of Benozzo, which had clearly extended to the painters of that chapel, is equally evident in the composition and spirit of Niccolò at a later time.

Benozzo had inherited in some measure the mystic tenderness and softness, the kindly religious feeling of Angelico. When he appeared in the neighbourhood of Foligno, he found an art there in which expression of sweet melancholy, purity and resignation was the principal object aimed at. Between this Umbrian feature and the sentiment of Fra Giovanni there was so natural an affinity that their combination might have been foretold.

Alunno embodied, and gave a more rational form to the manifestation of modest composure and maternal affection in the Virgin, or of veneration and sympathy in an-

[1] In a room, of old the refectory of S. Francesco of Foligno, is a life size Virgin with the child attended by seven angels, much injured, but in the style of Piero Antonio, and dated 1486. A mutilated Virgin and child, angels, Baptist and another saint of the same character may be seen in S. Domenico of Foligno.

A Virgin and child between SS. Francis and Jerom attributed to Spagna, but doubtless by Pier Antonio fills the lunette of the portal at S. Girolamo of Narni. In the same style above one of the altars in S. Martino of Trevi is a much damaged fresco representing the Virgin and child, SS. Francis and another friar, and six angels; further, on another altar, the Charity of S. Martin, much injured fresco, slightly reminiscent of Tiberio d'Assisi.

In the same manner one sees at S. Girolamo, near Spello, above the door, a S. Francis receiving the stigmata.

gels. In exceptional cases he imparted energy and life to saints; he tried to assimilate some of the qualities hitherto denied to his countrymen, in foreshortening the human body; he drew minutely and carefully. His Umbrian frame was thus changed and improved by contact with Benozzo; but this Florentine was not calculated to raise the standard of taste in any sense; his trite conceptions suggested nothing grandiose, his vulgarity prepared nothing refined, his imitative fibre was plastic to receive, not strung to convey. Alunno therefore did not excel any more than his predecessors in balance of composition, in correctness of drawing, or in flexibility of flesh. His figures, on the contrary, are often rigid, wooden and vicious in form; his faces are frequently repulsive; they abound in coarseness and grimace. A marked feature in him is the brown tinge of his colour, verde or reddish in shadow, ruddy in light; Siennese in fact in appearance, as it is in the method by which its peculiar stamp is attained; but withal in keeping as regards the general harmony.

Tradition assigns to Bartolommeo di Tommaso the title of Alunno's first teacher, and a comparison of the two men confirms the common belief. Educated in a local atelier, imbibing as an alterative something of Benozzo, Niccolò is an Umbro-Florentine, and the true representative of the art of Foligno. Without attributing to him the exaggerated importance which he is made to bear, history may admit that he was one of those who prepared the way for others of more note. His types, impressed by Vannucci with a new elegance, were of influence in the rise of the Perugian school which received its finish from Raphael.

Alunno's first altarpiece at Diruta has been deprived of its sides and predella, but the Virgin, attended by SS. Francis and Bernardino, has already the character common to the complex of the master's works. The whole piece, when perfect, was no doubt an improvement on previous ones at Foligno, and we may con-

cede to the principal group a fair amount of composure and affectionate feeling, a feeling kindly and maternal rather than refined to religious mysticism. Its date (1458) tells us the time when Alunno lived at or laboured for Diruta, and completed not merely this for the church of S. Francesco, but the more rudely handled subjects of a standard in the Brotherhood of S. Antonio Abate.[1]

At Assisi he did much and variously; the whole front of S. Maria degli Angeli, says Vasari,[2] besides panels and flags. A mutilated Crucifixion on canvass on the high altar of S. Crispino,[3] a Virgin of Mercy, S. Rufinus, and scenes from his legend in the Brotherhood of the same name, are weak or injured specimens of his industry.[4] A banner, called the banner of the plague, in which the patrons of Assisi pray to the Virgin who, in obedience to their entreaty, implores the Saviour's intercession, once in S. Francesco, now in the Ramboux collection at Cologne, poorly illustrates Alunno's manner, and shows how Benozzo's forms of subject, become extended;[5] but the best thing at Assisi

[1] This panel is so damaged that its value is much impaired. The Virgin sits on a marble throne with angels in adoration at each side. The saints kneel in front, S. Francis introducing a small kneeling patron with a scroll in his hand on which is written: "Jacobus Rubei de Deructi hoc opus ... p. a." (the syllables "ructi" new). On the base of the Virgin's throne is the following: "Nicolaus Fulg... pinxit MCCCCLVIII. die ..." The standard is painted on both sides with subjects, now much injured, on gold ground: on one face S. Anthony enthroned with two angels supporting the mitre, above his head (S. A.'s black dress repainted and scaled in parts), in front, kneeling brethren, and above, a Christ crucified and angels; on the other face, a very ugly Flagellation, beneath which SS. Egidio and Bernardino. In the Crucifixion we trace the imitation of Benozzo, in the angels, a reminiscence of Bartolommeo di Tommaso. The Saviour in the Flagellation herculean and coarse.

[2] V. 278.

[3] Christ crucified and half of a Virgin and Evangelist on canvass.

[4] This standard is in a bad state. SS. Francis and Chiara, under the mantle, introduce a number of the brethren. Two angels support a crown above the Virgin's head. All the heads except that of S. Chiara are retouched. On the opposite side of the standard, S. Rufinus enthroned between SS. Vittorio and Louis, both in episcopals. Two incidents from the legend of S. R. on the lower part. This side is all but obliterated.

[5] No. 202 of that collection.

is the Madonna in the Duomo, the centre of which, reduced to a circular shape, and let into a modern panelling, contains the Virgin, child, and angels reminiscent of similar ones by Gozzoli, whilst the saints in the sides, and the three little incidents of the predella demonstrate how it might chance that a well posed figure of regular features should be found by the side of others less worthy of praise.[1]

As if it were the fate of Alunno's altarpieces to be dismembered, one of 1465 hangs in separate portions at the Brera of Milan; a Madonna with saints, the sides and pinnacles of which are but partially catalogued, yet seem as if they might easily have been put together again. Rigidity and grimace, sharp positive colour render this piece peculiarly unattractive [2] A more genuine, and happier combination of grace and nature justly claim more indulgence for the canvass at S. Maria Nuova of Perugia. It was ordered for the Brotherhood of the S. Annunziata in 1466, and is now framed on an altar, presenting to the spectator an angel turning with an air of veneration towards a modest and composed Virgin; whilst the Eternal in the usual glory sends down the dove of the Holy Ghost; and

[1] On the base of the Virgin's throne one reads: ". pus Nicolai de Fuli . . o MCCCCL . . .

S. Pietro Damasio standing writing occupies a niche in one of the sides to the right of S. Cassiano holding an inkhorn and scroll and dictating. In the pinnacle a Virgin and three seraphs.

The S. Pietro a fine figure of regular type and naturally posed, S. Cassiano weaker, but still not without feeling. In the other side are S. Lawrence and a bishop, with the angel annunciate between two seraphs in the pinnacle; the two saints injured and the colour scaled. Predella 1.: the body of S. Rufinus on a car drawn by oxen, accompanied by clergy, soldiers and people; 2.: the martyrdom of S. R.; 3.: the recovery of his body. As for the Pietà and angels in lament spoken of by Vasari V. 278., it is said that such a picture on canvass existed, but was, probably, sold in past times. Nothing is known of a panel by Alunno in S. Francesco.

[2] Of this dismembered altarpiece three parts are catalogued. No. 77. Virgin, child and angels, inscribed:

"Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit
MCCCCLV."

the Virgin's dress new and the rest somewhat damaged; No. 100. S. Francis; No. 110. S. Bernardino. Besides this exist No. 439. S. Louis, a S. Sebastian, not numbered, and pinnacles, representing "Christ crucified and four angels", half length: "S. Jerom", "S. Anthony", "S. John the Baptist", "a Saint", all by Alunno, and doubtless parts of the same picture.

SS. Philip and Juliana recommend the kneeling members of the Brotherhood.[1] Alunno never drew a more graceful form than that of Gabriel with his crisp wavy hair bound in a crimson cincture; he seldom more completely shows how the Umbrian type could be improved by the adaptation of that peculiar sprightliness which Benozzo introduced under Angelico's influence. The very border of seraphs and festoons, which parts the upper from the lower groups, is on the model of Gozzoli.

The Vatican Museum now shelters the altarpiece of Montelpare dated in the year 1466,[2] with its numerous pinnacles, pilasters, and double predella, and a less complicated one with the Crucifixion for its centre, the original place of which is not ascertainable,[3] both to be classed amongst the inferior productions of Alunno. The Colonna Gallery in the same capital owns a "Madonna del Soccorso" by the same hand,[4] and the Monte di Pietà a Virgin, child, and saints;[5] all of these much like a vast series, monumental in shape, finished in 1468 for the Chiesa del Castello at S. Severino.[6]

[1] This is a tempera with life size figures, on an altar to the left of the portal with an inscription half hidden in white-wash as follows: "Sotietas SS. Añuntiatẽ fecit fieri hoc opus. A. D. MCCCCLVI". Since the above was written, this picture has been placed in the galleria communale at Perugia.

[2] See Ricci I, 201. The central panel is empty. Six saints erect form the sides with the addition of a second and higher course containing six half lengths. A Pietà in the central, saints and angels in the side, pinnacles. Fourteen half lengths form one predella, beneath which is another in which are seventeen half-figures of females. On the border are the words: "Nicholaus Fulginas MCCCCLIIIIII."

[3] In the side panels of this piece are SS. John the Baptist and three other saints. In the central pinnacle a Resurrection, in those at the side, a Prophet in a medallion surrounded by three seraphs in rounds.

[4] Canvass, half life size.

[5] Centre, the Virgin and child (life size). At the sides in niches are SS. Francis, John the Baptist, Jerom and ? Chiara. Medallions six in number, in the spandrils, are filled each with a cherub's head. This piece is on canvass, partly scaled and partly restored.

[6] Centre. The Virgin, child, and angels, between SS. James, Severino, Francis and youthful Hubert (profile). Pinnacles; centre; — the Saviour and seraphs, Daniel, Jeremiah, and the Virgin and angel annunciate. Predella (eight feet long). Centre: Christ in a circular glory embossed with cherubs in relief, between twelve apostles in relief in niches. The dress of the vulgar S. James is repainted. The cope of S. Severino is in part renewed. The same may be said

Alunno was now modifying to a certain extent the earlier impress of Benozzo; and beginning to infuse new elements into his great composite pictures. Of these he completed one in 1471 for the church at Gualdo, where we already find some of the grimace of Crivelli; one at Nocera (1483), at Aquila (1486), at S. Niccolò of Foligno (1492), and La Bastia (1499). The majority of these may be catalogued together with others of less authenticity; but that of S. Niccolò deserves more than a passing notice. It is one of those collections of panels within an architectural frame, of which we possess so many by Siennese, Umbrian, and Venetian artists. Its chief subject is a Nativity, in which the Virgin's tender action somewhat compensates for defect of form, in which S. Joseph is drawn in classic attitude, but with repulsive face. The infant on the ground before his mother is a stuffed doll; and a crowded landscape recalls the Venetian school, and even Palmezzano. Amongst the saints in a triple course above and at the sides of the Nativity, some are almost caricatures; more are vulgar, grim, mouthing or affected; but the Resurrection of Christ in the gable is one of Alunno's most successful efforts. The movement of the Redeemer, as he steps out of the tomb, reminds one of Benozzo's creations, and at the same time of the Mantegnesque in Crivelli; and this not only as regards character and drawing, but as regards mould which remains, at the same time, Umbrian and almost a counterpart of that usual in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. The Saviour's naked body is dry in bone and muscle, the head regular. The guard sleeping by the tomb is boldly foreshortened in imitation of the Mantegnesques, after the fashion adopted by Giovanni Santi at Cagli; nor would it be presumptuous to suppose that Niccolò had had oc-

of the mantle and tunic of the Virgin, and of the veil on the infant. S. Francis is the best figure of the series, but the altarpiece as a whole is of an inferior quality, even for Alunno. On the border, above the predella, are the words:

"Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit. MCCCCLXVIII."

casion, ere he carried out this work, to analyse Signorelli's fresco in the Duomo of Orvieto. Yet whilst he thus attempts to adapt his style to the bolder one of a far greater master, his better proportioned figures are still feeble. The predella which was kept in France when the chief portion of the altarpiece was restored to its original place after the peace of 1815, is marked by similar features to those above enumerated; whilst its colour is dull and brown in shadow.[1]

The following is an additional catalogue of Alunno's extant works:

Gualdo. Duomo. — The Virgin, attended by angels, holds the infant erect on her knee and receives from one of the messengers of heaven a basket of cherries. A vertical split damages the panel which is capped by a crucifixion, between Mary, and John Evangelist. The contorsion of the Virgin's face as she embraces the body of Christ, is worthy of Crivelli. A star at the pinnacle point contains the Saviour in benediction. A double course of full and half length saints occupies the sides, SS. Paul, Peter (his yellow dress in part new), Francis (grimacing as in Crivelli), Bernardino (full length part new, part scaled); Sebastian, Diego, Louis, Michael, (half lengths). The side pinnacles are filled with half lengths of SS. Christopher, Clara, Stephen and another. On the base of the Virgin's throne are the words: "Nicolaus Fulginas pinxit MCCCCLXXI". At each side of a receptacle for the wafers of the host in the predella are angels with festoons of flowers, and eight saints in niches; — others in the pillars parting the niches (which are double), six figures in the pilasters of the altarpiece, and an angel on each of the plinths. The S. Paul is an instance of Alunno's occasional success in the production of a good form, erect, stepping out, broad and easy in drapery, natural and flexible. The colour is powerful and harmonious. A trivial realism marks a monk, with goggles, in the predella. The whole is on gold ground.

[1] At the sides S. Sebastian in an affected attitude, S. Nicholas very exaggerated, SS. Michael, and John the Evangelist, are placed. In the upper course of the sides are half-lengths of SS. Monica, the Baptist (vulgar and grim), Jerom (coarse mouthing and cramped in action), a bishop. At the sides of the central pinnacle are four, in each of the pilasters five, saints. The predella at the Louvre is numbered 31, and represents Christ on the mount, the Flagellation, Christ led to Calvary, the Crucifixion, Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus on the road to Calvary. A long inscription names the author and gives the date (1492).

Arcevia. Spedale. — Ricci notices here an altarpiece of 1481. (Mem. I. 201.) According to Gaye (Kunstblatt 1837, No. 85) the Virgin and child are enthroned between SS. Francis and Sebastian; on the obverse is the Annunciation; and the date is 1482. Besides the name and the year, a scroll in the hands of the infant Christ is said to read thus: "Per li dulgi pregi della mia diletta matre e del martiro Sebastiano et del Divoto Francesco io benedico questi miei confrati 1482."

Nocera. Duomo Sacristy. — The Nativity, the Virgin, on her knees, adoring the infant Saviour, angels, under a dais; between: SS. Lawrence, Rainaldus, Felician and Francis, above which are SS. Sebastian, John the Baptist, Paul and Catherine. A Coronation of the Virgin and four half length doctors of the church are in the five gables. Six half saints are in each of two high pilasters capped by an open hand carved in wood, with a hole at the wrist for relics. A series of recesses parts the body of the piece from the predella in which there are twelve half lengths of apostles. The figure of S. Felician is one of the exceptionally good ones. On the border of the chief course is the inscription: "Hoc opus Nicolai Fulginatis MCCCCLXXXIII."

Aquila. Convent of S. Chiara. A fine Alunno. — Christ crucified is bewailed by four angels; a monk grasps the foot of the cross, the Virgin fainting to the left, the Evangelist grieving to the right. The Redeemer is drawn with a fair show of anatomy. At the sides are 1. Christ on the mount; 2. Carrying his cross; 3. Rising from the tomb, with a fourth scene from the Passion. The flesh tints in the crucifixion are a little injured. On the border is the signature: "Nicolai Fulginatis MCCCCLXXXVI".

Another picture of the same period in the same convent is the Virgin and child between SS. Paul, Francis, Chiara and another female saint in a double course; the crucifixion forming a central gable. (The notes of this work are mislaid by the authors, and the painter cannot be named with precision as Alunno.)

Serra Petrona. — Ricci mentions a Madonna in S. Francesco of this place dated 1491 (Mem. I. 201).

Foligno. S. Niccolò. — A Coronation of the Virgin by Alunno is in the cappella S. Antonio, belonging to the Ruspoli of Camerino. Beneath the principal group, S. George overcoming the dragon; SS. Bernardino in extasy, and Anthony looking up. In the predella are medallions of the Ecce Homo, Virgin, and S. John Evangelist. On the plinths of the pilasters two shields are supported by two angels each. The distant figures have a strength and firmness which might remind one of Signorelli, the movements of some horsemen being powerful and good. The rest is in Alunno's less happy manner.

Foligno. S. Bartolommeo (fuor di). — A Martyrdom of S. Bartholomew by flaying. In this convent church is also a poor Alunno damaged by repainting.

La Bastia. — In the church of this place which lies between Assisi and Perugia, is an enthroned Virgin and child, surrounded by angels. Various fruits and a vase of cherries are on the foreground. SS. Sebastian and Michael Archangel are in attendance. The lunettes contain the Eternal and seraphs, the Virgin and angel annunciate. In the predella, Christ, half in the sepulchre, is embraced by the Virgin, whilst his hand is kissed by S. John Evangelist. Two angels in lamentation are to the left, one grimacing to the left, holds a light. David, Zachariah, Mica (with goggles), a saint, Isaiah, and Daniel are divided on each side of the Pietà. The enthroned Virgin's attitude is kindly and pleasing. The angel and Virgin annunciate are amongst the best by Alunno, with something reminiscent of Giovanni Santi. Much colour has scaled away, and the predella is injured. The general tone of what remains is warm in lights, cold in shadows. On the middle border is the inscription: "Hopus Nicolai Fulginatis 1499." and on the right plinth one reads in a cartouche: "Questa cona la fatta fare la paternetè de don Beningnio de Ser Marino de Spiello piuano de Sc̃o Angilo de la Bastia p̃ l'anima sua et p̃ sua devotione". A similar cartouche on the opposite plinth is illegible.

Bologna gallery. Standard. On one face is the Annunciation with the Eternal above; amongst angels, conceived in the spirit of that by Signorelli at Volterra, or of Santi at Milan. The angel seems to run and betrays all the defects of Alunno. On the obverse are the enthroned Madonna and child over whose heads the Eternal suspends a crown. This is signed: "Hopus Nicolai de . . . . ." It has been suspected to be due to one "Deliberatore". The latter word having been formed out of the final and now abraded part of the inscription. Liberatore has probably been read in error for Foligno. At all events the character of the painting makes it obvious to be an Alunno.[1]

Assisi. — Exchurch of S. Lorenzo al Monte, near Rocca. Here, in a ruined edifice, is a tabernacle, rudely painted, in the Umbrian style, but probably not by Alunno. In it is a Virgin and child, and S. Francis with the Eternal in the vaulting, and a saint in a niche. Beneath S. Francis are small kneeling personages. The following are remnants of a signature: ". . . chola pictor".

Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. — Ex Campana gallery. No. 111.: a standard representing a Virgin of Mercy with the faithful under

[1] There is no picture in existence, signed Niccolo Deliberatore and that of Cagli which Lanzi mentions, is not to be found.

the mantle in charge of SS. Francis and Chiara. The Saviour above is much injured and repainted, also numerous little saints, all by Alunno. No. 88. Annunciation, genuine likewise.

Berlin Museum. No. 137. Virgin adoring the infant Saviour on her knee, an Umbrian piece without the marked features of Alunno; and rather reminiscent of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. The ground is regilt.

Carlsruhe. Museum. No. 350. This, described by Dr. Gaye, who saw it at Assisi, is a standard originally in the church of S. Gregorio of that city. In its original condition, one side was filled with a S. Gregory in episcopals on a throne; a book in his left hand, his right giving a blessing. A green cloth is held back by two angels, and at the saint's feet kneel (right) the men, (left) the women, of a Brotherhood. Higher up, the Flagellation is a similar composition to that of the Alunno at Diruta. Above the pillar to which the Saviour is bound: S. P Q. R. and near the Saviour the words: "Hopus Nicolai Fulginati 1468". On the obverse, high up, death, with the scythe, and S. Francis in extasy in front of a red curtain. Below, the crucified Saviour, S. John Evangelist, and the Virgin, and the Magdalen at the foot of the cross. As now arranged, the S. Gregory and the Crucifixion are placed over each other, with a signature on the border, and the rest is absent. This must have been originally fine. The angels attending on S. Gregory, are not without feeling; the S. Gregory himself is regular in shape, and there is no want of relief in the parts. The forms of the Christ in the Crucifixion are purely rendered though imperfect in proportion. The head is expressive. The imitation of Benozzo is very apparent.

London. National Gallery. No. 247. Bust of Christ ascribed to Alunno. See antea. Matteo da Sienna.

Oxford University Gallery. S. Francis, S. Catherine (?) called Giotto (presented by Hon. W. Fox Strangways). The character of these two foliated panels is uncertain on account of repainting, but they seem to issue from the schools of Alunno or his pupils.

St. Petersburg. Gallery of Count Paul Stroganoff. Virgin and child ascribed to Alunno, really by Fungai (see postea).

The career of a man of middling capacity has thus been followed in its changes. Its interest lies in the clue which it affords to the various influences felt throughout Umbria and the Marches during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Its opening years are unknown to us; its close is equally obscure. No trace of Alunno has been discovered subsequent to 1499.

The art which dragged on a poor existence at and about Foligno in those days was below mediocrity, and showed that Alunno was not a man of a temper to animate disciples with a vigorous life.[1] He was kept up to a certain mark by feeling rather than by any very important acquirements or talent. A production of one who might claim to have been his son, once existed in Todi. Its predella bore the inscription: "Nicolas Fulgineas fecit. Latantius filius delineavit año MCCCCLXXXXVI."[2]

This sketch of the progress of men exhibiting local peculiarities, modified by others greater and better than themselves, would be incomplete without an allusion to one Lorenzo, respecting whom Rumohr publishes a quaint record. The preservation of his name is due to the vanity of a citizen of Viterbo, Niccola della Tuccia, who having compiled a book of the annals of his native place, could not resist the temptation of inserting a passage in it relative to himself. He describes how Nardo Mazza-

[1] There were many, there are still productions of these years at Foligno and in neighbouring places. The following for instance:

Foligno, S. M. infra Portas. This church still contains some of the paintings of which it was of old full; a S. Jerom crowned by two angels (half length), a S. Roch on a pilaster reminiscent of Pier Antonio and Alunno; a Virgin in grief with the dead Saviour on her knees, a poor piece with something even of a follower of Ottaviano Nelli; a Redeemer on a pilaster by a follower of Alunno and in the same spirit; a crucifixion with angels, Virgin and S. John Evangelist of which the lower part is gone; and a Virgin and child, and S. John with an inscription giving the name of the person who ordered the fresco.

Foligno, S. Giovanni Decollato. In this church are paintings of no value, to be marked only for the sake of recording their existence.

Foligno, Alla Madonna, called Fiamminga, half a mile on the road to Spello. In the apsis is a Virgin adoring the child on her lap, between SS. Sebastian, John the Baptist, and two other saints, with angels in attendance playing instruments. The Eternal (repainted in the sixteenth century) and the town of Foligno appears above, and heads of Sybils fill a lower feigned border. These are paintings of the time subsequent to Pier Antonio and Alunno, as are likewise a S. Francis and a Madonna on the walls which have been injured.

Foligno, (near) S. Maria in Campis, feeble fresco, Virgin, child, S. Francis (rest gone), inscribed: "Fatto fare li rede de' Jochimi da Santo rachio per loro devozione 1507, rude work, continuation of the local school.

[2] It belonged to, and was sold by, Signor Leoni.

tosta, having caused a chapel in S. M. della Verità, outside Viterbo, to be painted by Maestro Lorenzo di Pietro Paulo, that artist took him for a model in his fresco of the Presentation of the temple, "on the 26th of April 1469." [1]

The chapel of Nardo Mazzatosta is still open to the curious of our day; and on its walls they will see, in a lunette, the Procession of Mary and her parents to the temple, with the Sposalizio in a lower course; in a second lunette, a Virgin and angel annunciate with saints, and the Nativity below; in a third, the Burial and Assumption of the Virgin; finally in the ceiling the symbols of the evangelists, prophets, fathers of the church, and confessors, the venerable Bede amongst them.

Nothing can be more clear than the imitation of the manner and conceptions of Piero della Francesca and Melozzo in the Presentation and Sposalizio. Lorenzo not only designs with the examples of Piero in his mind; he endeavours also to reproduce his architecture and perspective. In some portraits his realism is not without power; but vulgarity and affectation are striking. He is not correct as a draughtsman. His colour is cold and dull. His perspective is false, his forms rigid. These features are, however, more striking in the Nativity than in the Annunciation, which recalls Benozzo. Nor are the reminiscences of that master confined to one subject. They are produced with equal force in the ceiling, in which a head like that of the venerable Bede, seems a caricature of the Florentine in bricky tone as well as in features.

The initials of Lorenzo, and the date 1469, confirm the annals of Niccola della Tuccia,[2] but Lorenzo was busy in other parts of S. M. della Verità, besides the chapel of Nardo Mazzatosta; and an Annunciation, a Marriage of S. Catherine, and a Madonna giving suck to the infant Saviour, all of them completed in 1455, betray the

[1] Rumohr. Forschungen. II. 202. | [2] MCCCCLXVIIII. L. V.

same rude hand, and the influence of Gozzoli.[1] But we need not be surprised at this; because Lorenzo is probably the author of a series representing incidents from the lives of S. Bernardino and S. Anthony, in S. Francesco of Montefalco.[2]

[1] Below the Annunciation is the inscription: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Antonius Jacobi MCCCCLV".

[2] The life of S. Bernardino is illustrated on one, that of S. Anthony on the other, side of the chapel. In a lunette, Christ is crucified in the presence of the Virgin and Evangelists. In the ceiling are the symbols of the four Evangelists. The lunette shows the spread of Benozzo's influence; the other frescos reveal the extent to which the examples of Piero della Francesca were studied even by painters who could only caricature his types and exaggerate his defects. The series under notice is inferior to that of S. M. della Verità, but the hand is apparently the same; and on the base below a fresco of a miracle by S. Bernardino are the ciphers of the date MCCCCLXI.

CHAPTER VI.

BONFIGLI AND FIORENZO DI LORENZO.

We believe that no satisfactory grounds have ever been given for the conspicuous position attained by Perugia as a school of art in the fifteenth century. It is natural that we should feel surprise at the greatness of Perugino when we consider how long the earlier Umbrians remained second to their brethren of Sienna;[1] but it is desirable that some explanation should be given as to the causes of that greatness, and that we should know to whom it is due.

Unusual importance has been given to Alunno, who is supposed to have influenced the career of Pietro Vannucci. But the painters of Foligno, as well as those of Perugia, derived something from their connection with the Florentines; and, whilst Alunno owes much to Gozzoli, Benedetto Bonfigli received his impulse from Domenico Veniziano and Piero della Francesca.

We require no better clue for tracing the progress of Perugian art in the person of its first local celebrity, than that afforded by the series of frescos illustrating the legends of S. Louis of Toulouse and S. Ercolano in the

[1] In addition to examples of local wall painting at Perugia in the earlier times, a series may now be added of frescos of the first half of the fifteenth century some of which have been transferred to the Galleria communale. One of these is a lunette detached from a series of similar pieces in Sta. Giuliana representing the adoration of the Magi and the circumcision. The character of this piece is old Gubbian, in consideration not only of the costumes which recall those of Ottaviano, but of the drawing.

Hall of the Palazzo Comunale in that city. They were begun in 1454, partly finished in 1461, and still incomplete in 1496; they reflect changes superinduced by the progress of painting throughout Italy, as well as by accidental causes; and they prepare us for the perfection of Perugino. They are a combination of the Florentine and Umbrian with the Ferrarese and Paduan.

Bearing in mind that Domenico Veniziano was at Perugia in 1438; that Piero della Francesca, his pupil, left marks of his passage there; we accept without hesitation the evidence of Bonfigli's pictures, and we perceive from whence he derived the mixture of Umbrian and Florentine character which those works reveal.

Domenico Veniziano, even when staying at Perugia, was acquainted with most of the Florentine artists of the time. Bonfigli likewise shows that he was not ignorant of their fame; and when he undertook the Crucifixion and scenes from the life of S. Louis in the chapel of the "Magistrato", he challenged before-hand the opinion of Fra Filippo, Angelico, or Domenico. It was no wonder that he should know the latter, who had actually resided at Perugia; and that he should learn from him to revere the talents of two friars who were amongst the best men of the Florentine school.

When Domenico Veniziano was in the full expanse of his powers, Bonfigli was, however, comparatively a beginner. We trace him at his craft from 1453 to the end of the century. He may have been Domenico Veniziano's assistant, and have laboured in company with Piero della Francesca.

Although Bonfigli's name is not on the register of the Perugian guild before 1461,[1] he enjoyed all the privileges of a master in 1453, having appraised a relief by Battista di Baldassare in that year.[2] Before that time, no doubt, his works had become known; and pic-

[1] Mariotti, Lett. pitt. Per. ub. sup. 130.

[2] The sentence in full is in Gualandi, Memorie, ub. sup. ser. V. p. 8. It is dated: "1453, XIII. Augusti".

tures exist in which a relationship is apparent between him and Giovanni Boccati, Matteo of Gualdo, or Benvenuto di Giovanni. The Annunciation, once in the Orfanelli, and later in the library of Signor Vincenzo Bertelli on the Piazza at Perugia, is one of these.[1] Earnestness, feeling, and grace are not to be denied to the slender, high waisted angel and Virgin; and the faces, marked by broad foreheads and small chins, are agreable enough. The hands are filed to a pointed shape, whilst the feet remain coarse, and the draperies straight or broken at right angles. A clear rosy tone without much shadow, a good deal of gold in the brightly contrasted stuffs are equally strong characteristics of the painter's Umbrian nature, whilst the angels who surround the Eternal in benediction in the golden sky are drawn in a spirit of affected elegance, with garlands of flowers forming quaint crests on their heads, reminding one of the neatness conspicuous in Gentile da Fabriano. In obedience perhaps to the strict terms of a written agreement, S. Luke is made to sit in the middle of the foreground, with his symbol couchant at his side. Some perspective is shown in the colonnade and terrace at the base of which the Virgin kneels; and a panelled marble-screen closes the court behind the angel.

To this local work an Adoration of the Magi in S. Domenico of Perugia may be added, which has been assigned to Gentile da Fabriano on account of its essentially Gubbian features.[2] Time and restoring have injured and dimmed the colours, but there is no mistaking the style which is that of Bonfigli, perhaps more than usually intermingled with Siennese features like those of Taddeo or Domenico Bartoli.[3] Passavant remarks, that accord-

[1] It is now provisionally exhibited in the gallery of Perugia, under No. 15.

[2] Now in the Perugia gallery, No. 18.

[3] This feature is particularly apparent in a figure of the Baptist. The distance is a landscape on a goldground. The infant Christ is humpbacked and angular; the draperies are straight and broken, the colour flat and positive in contrasts. Vasari (V. 275) assigns to

ing to tradition this Adoration is due to the year 1460;[1] but this must be proved. Bonfigli had already entered into a very extensive practise at that time. He had not only accepted (1454) the commission for frescos in the Palazzo Comunale,[2] but (1459) another for a Brutus in the refectory of the Priori in the same building; and in 1461,[3] he enjoyed the honour of seeing the first of these orders valued by Fra Filippo.[4]

The Priori did not at first contract for the whole chapel. They resolved that the wall hallowed by the altar should be decorated with a Crucifixion, in which SS. Louis and Ercolano should attend on the Virgin and Evangelist, whilst on the remaining area, forming one half of the chapel, the legend of S. Louis should be illustrated. It is not difficult to ascertain the order in which the frescos were carried out, though some of them are seriously injured; nor is there any doubt as to the portion which Fra Filippo valued. The friars' award which is still extant, distinctly alludes to the finished part as being on the side of the chapel looking towards the old palace of the Priori. Bonfigli may thus be supposed to have first done the Crucifixion, to which a more modern one has been since substituted. To the right of that, as you face the Crucifixion, are the Consecration of S. Louis as bishop of Toulouse, the Miracle of a merchant at Marseilles, and a third subject now almost obliterated. After the award, and therefore subsequently to the year 1461, he promised to furnish one compartment in every six months, until the whole chapel should be ready; yet we find him leisurely proceeding in 1464,[5] quarrelling for salary with the General Council in 1469,[6] still taking instalments of payment in

Bonfigli an Adoration of the Magi in S. Domenico which may be supposed to have been that described in the text.

[1] Passavant, Raphael (I. 479).

[2] Vas. V. 276; and Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. 132.

[3] Ib. 140.

[4] Ib. 133. 4.

[5] Mariotti, ub. sup. 134.

[6] Ib. 135.

1477, and even in his will dated 1496, leaving a provision for the completion of that which he had not found time to bring to a close.[1] The patience of the Perugians would be strange indeed, were it not for a passage in one of the council records of 1469, which explains their equanimity. In the course of his differences with the Priori, Bonfigli threatened to throw up his engagement, if certain conditions, upon which he insisted, were not fulfilled. Had Bonfigli been considered by his townsmen as an artist easily replaced by others, his threats might have been ridiculed; but the Perugians really admired him; they declared that the frescos of the chapel were the greatest ornament to the city; and they believed that, were they not finished with equal talent and success, an ignominious stain would be cast upon them.[2] Bonfigli's claim was therefore conceded. Nor can we be surprised even now, that such should have been the result.

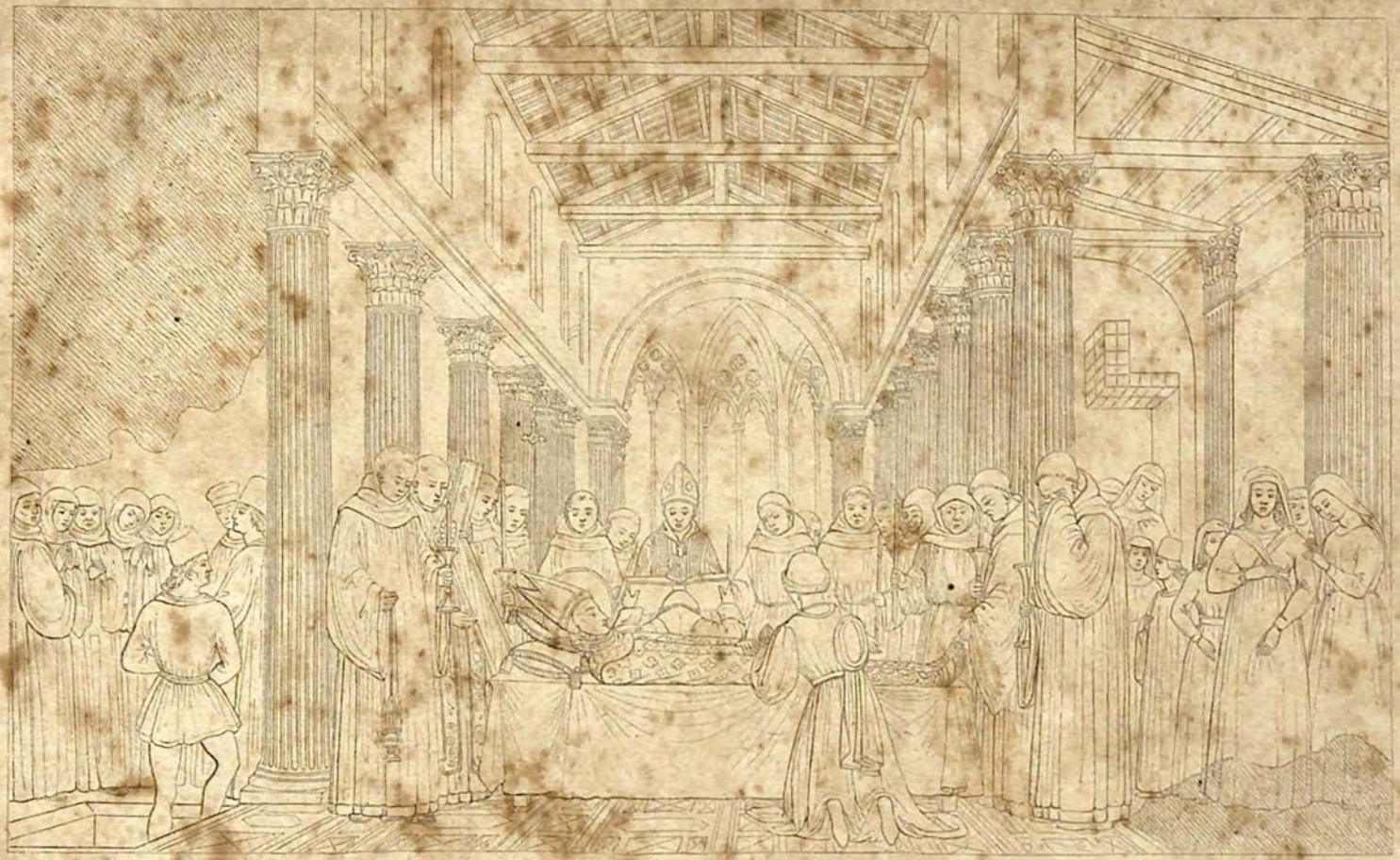
Under the new agreement he painted the funeral of S. Louis, and the siege of Perugia by Totila, with the death and burial of S. Ercolano, on the wall facing the Crucifixion, and, on the remaining spaces, the translation of the saint to S. Pietro.

Large portions of the Consecration have scaled away; still the Pope may be seen enthroned giving his blessing to S. Louis, a monk near the latter, and part of a cardinal by the former; but the best preserved bit is the head of an aged friar in a peristyle to the left. It is easier, however, to judge of Bonfigli's power from the next episode; of the merchant whose money and goods had been lost in a storm at sea; whose prayer to S. Louis being heard, he recovered the gold and silver in the entrails of a fish purchased on the market place.[3] A broader style in the treatment of drapery, good proportion, a care-

[1] Ib. 136.

[2] Ib. 135.

[3] One sees a fisherman receiving money for the fish, a monk kneeling at a stand on which the fish lies with a large purse near it, persons looking on at the miracle, a city in the distance with a sea in which two ships are floating, and an apparition of S. Louis in the sky.



THE DEATH OF S. LOUIS, a fresco by Benedetto Bonfigli, in the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia.

ful nude of a fisherman taking pence, reveal a study of Piero della Francesca and of the Florentine school.

The third subject, mangled as it is, preserves some interest, because S. Louis is represented in it looking down from a circular glory in a foreshortened attitude, like that of the Eternal by Uccelli, or that of the angel in Francesca's Vision of Constantine at Arezzo. The arch, above which the saint appears, might even confirm Vasari's description of Bonfigli's visit to Rome.

The fresco of the Death of S. Louis, is a composition of symmetrical order. The mendicant brothers surround the youthful saint, and mourn over him with decent grief, whilst males and females in lay costume stand in the aisles of the church in which the funeral ceremony is performed. The monks who bear the tapers or incense, move with some nature and animation. The architecture is drawn with a perspective skill which reveals the influence of Piero della Francesca; the figures remind one of those by Domenico Veniziano. They are inferior to these, but like them they sin by shortness of stature and some vulgarity of features or expression.[1]

The incidents from the life of S. Herculanus can only be understood by a reference to local legendaries, the Bollandists and Pez's anecdotes being insufficient. These declare indeed, that the Perugian bishop was ordered to be decapitated and flayed by Totila, and that when the body was found again after forty days, and taken in procession to a consecrated resting-place, it showed a whole skin and no signs of corruption, whereas that of a child buried with it was in a state of putrefaction. In the right-hand side of one fresco the saint lies decapitated on the ground, again about to be consigned to the grave together with the child. But on the left, several

[1] The upper part to the left, the lower to the right, of this fresco are scaled off.

men are killing an ox, and a priest addresses Totila's lieutenant, whilst a fight is depicted in the distance. The next fresco shows the procession of clergy carrying the body, accompanied by the community; the whole much injured by the scaling of the wall. Both pieces are striking; because the first contains a view of the church of S. Ercolano and the Roman gate as they now stand, and the second, a perspective drawing of the old palace of Perugia. Both have a fair amount of life and motion, with something of the exaggeration familiar to Matteo of Sienna.

Looking at the work as a whole, we are not surprised that a man who thus modified the Umbrian style by adapting to it that of Domenico Veniziano and Piero della Francesca, should be a favorite with his countrymen. His manner is superior to that of all the Umbrians of his age except Piero. It proves his acquaintance with classic Florentine art; it places him as regards merit, as well as in respect of aim and purpose, in the ranks of those Ferrarese whose labours adorn the palace of Schifanoia. It shows his familiarity with the modes of cotemporary Paduans and Veronese. His progress, no doubt, was only gradual. But we have seen that in his earliest period he commanded the respect of craftsmen; and the growth of his experience could not but increase that feeling. We accordingly find, not only that his dilatoriness at the Palazzo Comunale was borne with patience by the Perugians, but that he was entrusted with commissions irrespective of an undertaking the successful termination of which was heartily desired. His appointment as umpire to decide the value of the new front, added to S. Bernardino of Perugia by the Florentine Agostino d'Antonio, was alike honorable to all engaged.[1] The numerous productions which issued from his atelier at various subsequent periods, prove that the contract at the Palazzo Comunale was not to be considered as precluding him from inter-

[1] See the record in Mariotti ub. sup. pp. 72. 97. The date is 1465.

mediate commissions. A banner for the company of S. Bernardino (1465), a Virgin of Succour for the church of Corciano (1472), a standard for the Brotherhood of S. Fiorenzo (1476), a Virgin of Mercy for the church of the Commenda di S. Croce (1478), and many other pieces testify to Bonfigli's industry. Nor is it uninteresting to mark in them the gradual expansion of his powers.

The "Gonfalone" of S. Bernardino is a large canvass with a gold ground, on which Christ attended by angels, gives his blessing to S. Bernardino who stands before him bearing the name.[1] Below, between the spectator and a view of the "August Perugia",[2] are two incidents from the legend of S. Bernardino.[3] In the large head and festooned draperies of the Christ we see Bonfigli still clinging occasionally to the peculiarities of Taddeo and Domenico Bartoli's school; and the dull colour of a spare tempera is not agreable to the eye. The Virgin of Succour at Corciano is an imperfect specimen, deprived of its original appearance by restoring and repainting.[4]

The standard of S. Fiorenzo is better, and almost worthy of a place by the side of the frescos in the Palace. It was commemorative like that of Corciano, — allusive to the stay of a plague assigned by the indolent and superstitious to the severity of God, but attributable also to the improvidence of man. It was destined to honour the Virgin whose intercession had been prayed for;

[1] The canvass is at present No. 1 in the gallery of Perugia.

[2] On a building of the background one reads: "Augusta Perusia. MCCCCLXIIIII".

[3] S. Bernardino burning the books of disputants and the weapons which are usually appealed to when reason does not settle differences, and Pius II^nd's distribution of tapers in 1459. This picture is already assigned to Bonfigli by Vasari (V. 276).

[4] The Eternal holds a bundle of arrows some of which he has thrown down. They have been intercepted by the mantle of the Virgin beneath which SS. Nicholas of Tolentino, Macarius, and Sebastian stand, the latter recommending some kneeling figures: In the centre, in front, is a model of the town of Corciano; on a shield in the gate the date: "1472". Two angels loop up the Virgin's cloak.

and she was represented borne in a cloth by angels, showing the infant Saviour erect on a basket of flowers, SS. Pellegrino and Florentius, Sebastian and Philip on the foreground, attended by kneeling dames and men, parted into two principal groups by an angel holding a long scroll. On this scroll a feeble poet has written the angel's proclamation. He cries out to a people full of iniquity to think of its sins, and remember that the Virgin is its successful intercessor; and at the close of the lines one reads: "nel mille settanta quatro cento sei".[1] The light tempera, embrowned by time, is bravely handled, and not without a judicious distribution of light and shade. Some feeling in the Virgin and grace in the angels counterbalance the defects apparent in the hard stiff nude of the infant Christ.

These qualities may be found in four saints; in a Virgin, child, and angels, perhaps the centre of an altar-piece of which the foregoing were the sides, in four scenes on a small scale belonging to a predella, and in two pinnacles, hanging separate in various parts of S. Domenico of Perugia. One sees in the central panel the influence of Fra Filippo, and in the angel and Virgin annunciate of the pinnacles a gentle modesty akin to that of Alunno, who may have been at Perugia at this time.[2] But for the damage which it has sustained, we

[1] The infant Saviour extends his hands which show the marks of the crucifixion. In the lower border of the canvass are incidents from the lives of the saints who attend in the body of the picture.

[2] Two figures in each side. SS. Catherine and Peter, Paul and Peter Martyr. Thy are well relieved by light and shade, well proportioned and not without nature in movement and regularity of form. The central panel which is hopelessly and almost totally injured, is not usually visible to the public. The Virgin is in the middle, the angels four in number at the sides of the foreground. The pieces of predella represent the Crucifixion which has almost disappeared, the Baptism of Christ, the Decollation of S. John, and the three youths saved from death by the intercession of S. Nicholas.

The two pinnacles are in the sacristy.

The whole of these pieces are now in the gallery of Perugia, as follows: No. 61. SS. Catherine and Peter; No. 73: SS. Paul and Peter Martyr. The two pinnacles are under No. 246, the rest unnumbered.

might place in the same class a picture in the Academy of Perugia, of the Virgin enthroned in front of a marble screen overtopped by angels, in a court in which saints attend at each side. A part of the surface on the right of the picture is abraded and leaves but a trace of the figures there, but the angels in prayer are amongst the most graceful by Bonfigli.[1]

The Virgin of Mercy in the church of the Commenda is a wallpainting repeating a well known and common composition.[2] It may share attention with other pieces by the master in the sacristy of S. Francesco,[3] in the Confraternità della Giustizia,[4] in the Academy,[5] and in the Carmine of Perugia. The latter, hanging high up in the choir, seems originally to have been a church standard.[6] The Virgin adores the infant on her lap, and is surrounded by kneeling people, a king, a pope, and others. A mild meditativeness, similar to that which finds expression in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Perugino, already animates the Madonna. Outside Perugia, a chapel in S. Antonio Abate of Diruta remains to be noticed, in which a Virgin of Mercy, in the usual fashion, forms the ornament of one side, and four evangelists are distributed in the ceiling. The style is hard to criticize with precision, because much injury has been done by time and neglect.

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[1] No. 14. Gallery of Perugia. The figures are under the size of life. To the left are S. Thomas and S. Jerom, with his lion. The angels have the same crests of flowers on their heads as those in Bonfigli's picture of the annunciation in possession of Signor Bertelli.

[2] The figures under the cloak kneel at each side, holding between them the names of a fraternity. The Eternal casts his arrows from above, the whole much injured.

[3] But now Nos. 187. 189, Perugia gallery. They are two supports to a lunette by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. In these supports are four angels, two at each side, holding the emblems of the passion, all much damaged, and two of them mutilated.

[4] Now Nos. 185. 190, Perugia gallery. Two panels in each of which two angels, half the size of life, hold baskets of roses. The colour is in part scaled.

[5] Perugia gallery, Nos. 186. 191. Four angels kneeling and bearing emblems of the passion, seem companions to those of old, in the sacristy of S. Francesco, being of similar size.

[6] It is a mutilated canvass.

It reminds one of that in the frescos of S. M. in Campis outside Foligno. It is inferior to Bonfigli's in the Palazzo at Perugia, yet more in his character than in that of any other artist.[1]

As for the Virgin holding the dead Christ on her knees, between SS. Leonardo and Jerom, a panel of 1469, in S. Pietro of Perugia, assigned by Passavant to Bonfigli, it might have been produced by the feebler brush either of the Boccati or of Matteo da Gualdo. It may be by Lodovico d'Angeli, a scholar of Bonfigli, whose manner approaches somewhat to that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. An angel above the Virgin seems copied from Benozzo or Angelico; the outlines are hard, the colour leaden and vitrous; and the drawing is peculiarly defective.[2] We may leave this uninteresting example for the sake of inquiring whether it be true that Bonfigli ever visited Rome.

Whilst the art of Perugia was taking, under his lead, a position which entitled it to a special recognition, two youths had been silently receiving their nurture, and laying the foundation of a lasting fame. Pinturicchio and Perugino enjoyed the advantages which accrued to them from the general progress of their craft throughout Italy. They ceased to have local, they rapidly gained an Italian, celebrity. Their field of labour became enlarged; and their distinction smothered, as it

[1] This fresco is assigned by Orsini to Alunno. See Vita &c. di Pietro Perugino by Baldassare Orsini, 8°. Perugia. Baduel. 1804. note to p. 24.

We may further notice the following works by Bonfigli; Perugia gallery Nos. 108—112. Miracles of S. Bernardino, not very important and somewhat rude. Perugia gallery; and just transferred thither from S. Francesco (sacristy). No. 123. Deposition from the cross. No. 124. Christ carrying his cross. Fragments of a predella of Bonfigli's school. In the same class, but a little lower, take: Perugia gallery. No. 108—112 and No. 98. 9. S. Francis and another saint.

Perugia. Duomo. On a pilaster to the left, as one enters, half length of S. Bernardino, much injured.

[2] On the lower border one reads:
"Anno domini
Millesimo CCCCLXVIIII.

were, the humbler claims of men of whom they might at first have been but the apprentices. Pinturicchio's connection with Bonfigli, as handed down to us by Vasari, was that of an assistant and friend.[1] As Timoteo Viti, after leaving Francia, might have placed his experience at young Raphael's disposal in the years of his upward struggle, and afterwards, by a natural change of parts, become the aid of his own pupil, so Bonfigli might have followed Pinturicchio to Rome, and helped him in the decorations of the Vatican. Vasari's curt remark, that Bonfigli's productions there were numerous, is expanded by Taia into a description of several frescos and copious "grotesques" executed at the Stanze during the reign of Innocent the Eighth (1482—92).[2]

There are, however, in our days no frescos suggestive of Bonfigli in Rome except a Crucifixion and apostles in the centre of the nave and transept of S. Gio. Laterano.[3] What we know of Perugian chronology is not against a visit to Rome by Bonfigli between 1484 and 1486. That he was disagreably busy in litigation with his own wife, Gioliva di Menicuccio, in 1483 and 1486, is proved by records in Mariotti;[4] whilst documents of a later date (1489), discovered by the same author,[5] show that his relations with his partner in life were curiously improved when a third party forced him to defend an action in her favour. It is probable that this troublesome lady left him a widower shortly after, for in his will, dated July 6th 1496, he bequeathed his landed property to a couple of churches, and the residue to S.

[1] Vas. V. 275.

[2] Vas. V. 275. Taia: Descr. of the Vatican. pp. 385. 407 to 409. ap. Vermiglioli 24. 56.

[3] These subjects on the wall facing the tribune, lead one to suppose they were originally by Bonfigli or Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, yet an inscription declares that they and those on the other sides, which are copiously overpainted, are due to a Florentine under Urban the Vth (1362); and were restored (!) under Pius the VIIth.

[4] Lett. pitt. ub. sup. p. 141.

[5] Ib. ib.

Domenico.[1] He directed that his remains should be buried in the vaults of the latter; and, no doubt, the dying wish was obeyed; although the date of that event has escaped the search even of the patient Mariotti.

We may connect with the name of Bonfigli and with that of his cotemporary Fiorenzo di Lorenzo eight panels in S. Francesco of Perugia, usually assigned, though on insufficient grounds, to Vittore Pisano, illustrating the life and posthumous miracles of S. Bernardino, in the following order:[2]

1. The birth of the Saint at Massa; 2. a girl restored to life after falling into a well; 3. resurrection of a dead person at the prayer of the saint; 4. rescue of the youth taken to execution for a riot at Aquila; 5. the saint healing the sick; 6. the saint curing a man of a wound (apparently caused by a bull); 7. 8. miracles of the same nature.[3]

The chief interest centres in the first four of this list. They are the finest things of the school at the period of their completion, and afford a key to the identification of Perugian art before the close of the fifteenth century, explaining its development from the time of Bonfigli to that of Pinturicchio and Perugino. They combine naturalism with classicism in a form familiar to Bonfigli, and fashionable since Piero della Francesca shed his influence over the Umbrian country, whilst they reveal an approach to a kindred feeling sprung from the same source or altered by Paduan and Veronese character at the Schifanoia of Ferrara.

The birth of S. Bernardino,[4] unequally carried out in its various parts, is fair in the conception of some heads,

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[1] Ib. ib.

[2] The panels are in the sacristy of S. Francesco and are assigned to Pisanello by Mariotti ub. sup. 115, and Rosini stor. III. 218. Passavant has already refuted this assertion by inquiring whether Fiorenzo di Lorenzo might not be the author. See his Raphael, I. note to p. 481. and Vas. com. IV. 177.

[3] Since the above was written, they have been numbered as follows in the Perugia gallery. 234. 210. 233. 214. 213. 228. 227. 209.

[4] Perugia gall. No. 234.

but derives a certain quaintness from strange dresses and lean figures. It is somewhat inharmonious in the tones of a tempera resembling that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.[1]

The "Resurrection of the girl" is superior to the birth of S. Bernardino.[2] The well from which she has been taken is in front of a triumphal arch, ornamented in good florid classic style, and inscribed: "S P. Q. R. divo . Tito . divi . Vespasiani . Tullio Vespasiano, Augusto . A. D. MCCCCLXXIII . . . . . ." The child sits in the centre of the space; her mother, S. Bernardino and another Franciscan kneeling opposite, attended by a tall page in the tights and chaperon of the time, and leaning on a long stick, whilst wondering spectators prostrate or standing, balance the group on the other side. Through the arch, the eye wanders over pastures, trees, and hills, commanded by a castle. The motives which guide the attitudes and expressions are pleasantly suggested. The forms themselves are precisely and carefully made out, and charm by a freshness of colour for which Fiorenzo di Lorenzo is more remarkable than Bonfigli. In spite of occasionally broken and angular folds, the cloth falls with a neatness and simplicity that seem to foreshadow Perugino.

In the third miracle,[3] a female, kneeling with her back to the beholder, and a boy startled by a dog recall Fiorenzo and even Pinturicchio, whilst a man in profile near the frightened child and another standing on the right of the picture more decidedly display some of the defects of Bonfigli.[4] The peculiar features of Matteo da Sienna or of the Ferrarese are found united with no happy result in the "rescue";[5] whilst in the vision of the saint appearing in heaven and healing a sick person,[6]

[1] In the pictures at S. Bernardino for instance, for which see postea.

[2] No. 210.

[3] Perug. gall. No. 233.

[4] A landscape of rock is arranged with the tunnelled holes peculiar at a later period to the distances painted by Pinturicchio.

[5] Perug. gall. No. 214.

[6] Perug. gall. No. 213.

the general style of Bonfigli and the handling of Fiorenzo seem commingled, and a perspective of classic edifices resembles one by Piero della Francesca, or that in frescos at the Schifanoia of Ferrara. A rude execution and hard dry figures characterize the rest of the series.

These panels, suggesting a very different authorship from that of Pisanello, to whom they have been ascribed, introduce us to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, who thus becomes implicitly connected with their production in the atelier of Bonfigli.[1] We therefore assume of necessity that Fiorenzo received tuition from Benedetto; and this view is confirmed by authentic pictures exhibiting a modification of the old Umbrian and Bonfigli's, style, with a partial adherence to the innovating principles on which Vannucci remodelled Perugian art. There is such an increase of gentleness and freshness, so much additional truth and symmetry and grace in his types; so marked an improvement in his drawing, in the absence of seeking observable in draperies which play quite freely round the limbs, and have the branching fold of Peruginos', that it is obvious Fiorenzo derived some advantage from his great cotemporary. As a colourist in tempera, for he always remained true to the old system, his tones are gay in key, even mellow, though frequently contrasted somewhat sharply. Using the verde ground for half tints, and covering it with warm flesh lights, he gives the shadows a brown orange tone. He seems in fact to have embodied the same class of features as are found developed by Pinturicchio, and may therefore be considered as the immediate precursor of a master who, during a progres-

[1] Since these lines were penned, the panels have been transferred, as we have seen, to the gallery of Perugia where the name of Mantegna has been substituted for that of Pisanello. The only justification for thus calling local Perugian pictures by such a name is to be found in the remarks above made, ex. gr. in the existence in these pieces of mixed Paduan and Ferrarese peculiarities (such as may be noted in certain frescos at the Schifanoia).

sive career, received a happy influence from Raphael. Fiorenzo's works which are rare and valuable, are undeniably of the Umbrian stamp prevailing in Alunno; but Alunno shares the peculiarities of Bonfigli in so far as both are Umbrian, Bonfigli being only more gifted and more versatile. Both placed the Perugian school on a respectable footing in the middle of the fifteenth century. Both had a share at various degrees in the cultivation of Fiorenzo's manner.[1] The feeling prominent in the painter of Foligno was attractive, and Alunno certainly left an impress on the Umbrians, because there was a sympathetic connection between the extatic longing of his saintly figures, and the tender ones of most natives of this region; but his was not the less a defective art, ill-calculated to command exclusive sympathy, and overshadowed in many respects by the earlier and purer one of Angelico and Benozzo, — humble when compared with the deeply religious and essentially Christian creations accumulated in the age of the revival in the old sanctuary of Assisi.

If we inquire into the conduct and duration of Fiorenzo's life, we shall find few distinct facts to record. His birth, adolescence, and manhood are alike involved in obscurity. Perugino and Pinturicchio have cast him into the shade. Yet Mariotti recites the terms of a contract dated 1472, in which Fiorenzo agrees to paint for 225 ducats an Assumption of the Virgin, with SS. Peter, Paul, Benedict, and Silvester; a Virgin and child between SS. Jerom, Ambrose, Nicholas, and Paulinus, the twelve apostles, and others in a double altarpiece at S. Maria Nuova of the Silvestrines, now the Servi of Perugia.[2] It was sought for in vain by Mariotti in the convent for which it was ordered, but its principal parts

[1] Baron von Rumohr says with truth (Forschungen II. 321) that Fiorenzo is a pupil of Benozzo Gozzoli, or took much from his works. The influence of Benozzo generally through Alunno has already been noted.

[2] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 81.

seem to have found a place of safety in the Academy of Arts at Perugia. The Virgin, upon clouds, adores the infant seated on her knee, whilst two angels look up with kindly reverence towards her. At the sides, SS. Benedict and Peter, John Evangelist and Francis stand out of a golden ground.[1] To these, which composed the principal face, may be added the pinnacles containing the Eternal and four doctors of the church, and five longitudinal pieces in which the angel and Virgin annunciate, two full and two half length saints are to be seen.[2] If we confine our attention principally to the first and most important portion of this great work, we shall gain a just view of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Religious composure and modesty in the attitude of the slender Virgin, resigned timidity in the gently bending head, are relieving features in a form not entirely free from heaviness, nor altogether select in details. One feels inclined to pardon the breadth of nostril, the lean throat and collar-bone, the falling shoulders, the short broad hand. The infant is not the wooden mummy that disfigures the Madonnas of Giovanni Boccati. The shape is coarse, the type common. The action is still broken and exaggerated, but the lines are not angular; and their curves reveal the approach of Perugino. High surface shadows, and transparent lights give relief to the vestments, whilst the verde ground crops up through the rough touches of the flesh. The angels with their falling locks unite grace with youthfulness in their neatly draped frame, and embody a class of beauty no longer surprising when one considers that the time is that of the great Vannucci. The saints are not less re-

[1] These five panels are now united under No. 13 in the gallery of Perugia.

[2] The five pinnacles are numbered as follows in the gallery of Perugia. Nos. 172. 3. 5. 6. The four doctors No. 174; The remaining pieces are: No. 111. full length S. John Baptist, No. 120 and 169 the Angel and Virgin; No. 167 half lengths (superposed) of SS. Anthony and Francis; No. 168. S. Sebastian. These pieces are in Fiorenzo's manner and, doubtless, formed part of the Silvestrini altarpiece. They have lost their brightness through the effects of time and dirt.

markable as affording evidence of the progress made by Perugian art, by their dignified mien, finished drawing, and careful execution. The Evangelist looking up with a foreshortened face, looks as if it were by Pinturicchio, and tells of an effort for the attainment of an expression of inspiration. A successful rendering of action is coupled with some squareness of shape in the frame, the head, the nose and, close eyebrows. One characteristic series of traits may be discerned in all the figures. They assume an aged look in consequence of the wrinkled aspect given to a thin casing of flesh that seems insufficiently to pad the bones. The hands are well drawn, but cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The system of colouring is throughout the same, though slightly altered by age and by repeated varnishing.[1]

Fiorenzo di Lorenzo was one of the Decemvirs of Perugia when the commission for this altarpiece was intrusted to him.[2] That he was then of mature age and experience, is proved as much by the office to which he was elected, as by the success which he had achieved. He had, however, not only furnished the picture of S. Maria Nuova, but many pieces in addition, of which some are preserved in the Perugian Academy; eight half lengths of saints in the medallions of a predella;[3] a meagre S. Sebastian, in which the root

[1] If more detail should be required, one might add, the S. Peter is a fine figure, enveloped in too copious drapery. The S. Benedict is equally good, with the details of hair and beard minutely indicated, the lower part slightly damaged by rotting of the coloured surface. The S. Francis is dignified in mien with a face of a type, such as might become an habitual ascetic, the drapery not without style. The S. John holds a book in his left hand and a pen in his right; his red mantle is partly discoloured; his blue tunic adorned with embroidery on the hems, after the Perugian fashion.

[2] Mariotti, ub. sup. 81.

[3] SS. Michael, Bernardino, Louis of Toulouse, Francis, Chiara, Anthony of Padua, and Jerom penitent, now No. 50, gallery of Perugia.

of Fiorenzo's style may be distinctly traced to the school of Bonfigli;[1] and other less valuable productions.[2]

But a more interesting relic of Fiorenzo's prime is the Eternal in a circular glory, between SS. Romanus and Roch, in S. Francesco of Diruta. Nail holes, and partial scaling of the intonaco scar the surface; and the preservation of the fresco from total obliteration is probably due to the chance which led the owners of the altar to hang a modern canvass in front of the wall. The painter's name is absent; but is no doubt Fiorenzo; and the date (1475) in the border, above a view of the town of Diruta, tells the period of completion. Nothing can be more clear than the influence, even thus early, of Perugino; and the perfection attained might entitle Fiorenzo to rank immediately after Vannucci in Perugian annals. The figures are not models of artless simplicity. On the contrary an effort at arrangement in pose and action is apparent in them; there is a studied gracefulness and affectation not only in the frames but in the play of limbs and extremities; and the foreshortened head of S. Romanus with its retreating lines reminds one of those so frequently produced by the master of Raphael. The draperies are reminiscent of those in which Palmezzano revives the originals of Melozzo or Piero della Francesca. The cool red shadows, laid in upon the verde, are well fused with the

[1] Now Perugia gallery. No. 64. The S. Sebastian is long, lean, bound to a column resting against a pilaster in an architectural background. The tempera is spare and positive in contrasts of tone. Strange that the somewhat mannered drawing of the figure should recall the defects apparent in figures by Liberale of Verona.

[2] For example: Perugia gallery. No. 107. S. Bernardino, a dry and feeble work on panel. No. 100. S. Sebastian, wood, injured. No. 101. Virgin, and child in great part lost (wood). Unnumbered: Fresco from the suppressed convent of S. Giuliana of Perugia representing the dead Christ on the Virgin's knee between a male and a female saint (part of the Virgin's head is gone). The manner is that of Fiorenzo, but the names of Lodovico Angeli and of Bartolommeo Caporali are not to be excluded. No. 15. Three saints, Margaret, Anthony and Catherine in one frame, dirty and of little importance, of Fiorenzo's school, and perhaps by one of the above mentioned subordinates.

lights, leaving still upon the eye an impression as of a somewhat raw and unpolished surface. As a wall-painting, this is one of the most important that has been recovered in our day. It is not less interesting, and only less authentic, than the altarpiece in the sacristy of S. Francesco at Perugia, the sides of which, containing S. Paul and S. Peter, have been removed from their natural connection with a lunette representing the Virgin in glory amongst angels, and have been placed side by side with others by a different hand. These panels are as fine as those of the Perugian Academy; and they are signed on the hems of the tunics with the words:

"Florentius Lauren . . . ti pinsit MCCCCLXXXVII."[1]

The lunette which they supported, is now above the two mutilated angels by Bonfigli, of which a description has been given. Its semicircular field is covered by a half length Virgin grasping the naked infant Christ, in a glory of seraphs' heads, and attended by two angels. The influence of Perugino is naturally more sensible in 1487 than it was twelve years before, and is, in spite of still defective type, very clear in the pleasing group of the Madonna. The child, improved in form and motion, is drawn on the principle observable at a later period in Pinturicchio. No single angels by Fiorenzo have more grace and feeling, or better Peruginesque draperies, than those at the Virgin's side looking up and with arms crossed on their breasts.[2]

Fiorenzo evidently struggled hard to keep pace with the progress which was taking place in the art of his age, and this struggle is evident not merely here, but more markedly still in a fresco of the Virgin and child attended by two angels; a lunette in the Sala del Censo at the Public Palace of Perugia. It is reminiscent of

[1] The drapery of S. Peter is a little full and involved.

[2] They remind one of those in Perugino's Madonna, (round) lately at the Hague, now (No. 442) at the Louvre. The three panels above described are in good preservation, and are now united without a number in the gallery of Perugia.

Pinturicchio, and combines a most enticing softness and beauty with his coarse touch and copious vehicle; and would alone suffice to show where he obtained his first lessons.

. The catalogue of the Berlin Museum justly assigns to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo a Virgin and child on gold ground, bearing the date of 1481, pleasing for the gentleness of the principal figure. Something in the cast of the draperies might suggest that the painter had been in contact with a Florentine.[1] But the value of the piece is not alone due to its being by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. It leads us to judge with some certainty of an Adoration of the Magi in S. Maria Nuova of Perugia, which Vasari[2] and subsequent writers have called by the name of Perugino. It is just to the historian of Italian art, as well as to Rumohr, to add that they do not consider this altarpiece as anything else than a juvenile production of the great master.[3] But it would be truer to say that the artist is an old hand than that he is a beginner. The Umbrian manner here is that of Fiorenzo improved by time and by the example of the rising Perugians, embodying more delicate sentiment than is to be found in his earlier period, and a nearer relation than before to Pinturicchio.[4] Several peculiarities in it are those of Fiorenzo; and as such we should lay stress on the composition which is somewhat stiff and formal, on the drawing which searches out the forms with a certain hardness and angularity, on the faces which are in a measure rigid and monotonous, on the shape of the hands and articulations that bend strangely, and on draperies of which the breadth is injured by frequent and

[1] Berlin Cat. No. 129. Gold ground, inscribed:
"MCCCCLXXXI".

[2] Vasari, Vol. VI. p. 42.

[3] Rumohr, Forschungen II, 339. This piece is also assigned to Perugino by Mezzanotte (life of Perugino ub. sup. p. 15) and by Passavant (Raphael ub. sup. I. 489). It has been transferred, since the above was written, to the Perugia gallery under the No. 39. with the name of Domenico Ghirlandaio!

[4] Vermiglioli cites a ms. of the eighteenth century, a chronicle of the convent of S. Maria Nuova, in which it is stated that the adoration of the Magi was painted in 1521 for Camillo di Braccio Baglioni (Verm. Vita di Pinturicchio ub. sup. p. 212.)

broken folds bound with unnecessary tightness to the frames and limbs, but particularly on the colour both as regards its technical method and dull opacity. With respect to the latter a novelty is apparent in the medium employed; but the absence of feeling for colour, the flatness due to scarce half tone or shade, the gaudiness and want of atmosphere, are familiar in Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, whilst they are foreign to Perugino.[1] The picture represents, we have said, an Adoration of the Magi. The Virgin sits under the pent-house with the infant on her knee, in benediction. Her head and dress are like those of the Berlin Madonna, which we have attempted to describe. The infant's type is similar to that in the lunette at S. Francesco of Perugia.[2] The kneeling king on the left, with his heavy face, would look more natural but for the wooden drapery bundled about his lower extremities, and S. Joseph on the right leaning on a stick, would be more pleasing if the same fault were not striking. The king, standing next to the kneeling one, exposes a front face immoveable in features and expression; whilst the third king holding a cup, and a more distant figure to the right of him, are marked by some of the mildness of air which Pinturicchio improved upon. Finally, a man to the left may be noticed as the so-called portrait of Perugino. The passion for discovering likenesses and making deductions from such discoveries, is general. There is a distant resemblance in the mask to the known one of Vannucci, but his presence in a picture of this time would not prove that he painted it any more than it would disprove the authorship of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, whose genius is more distinct

[1] The draperies are broader than usual in Fiorenzo, the colour is not given in the usual tempera method of the old Umbrians, but is hard in substance and high in surface. The distance is a landscape with hills, water and a tree. A star shines in the middle of the sky. The panel is well preserved, but a split parts it vertically in the centre, dividing the figure of the kneeling king into two.

[2] Now in the gallery of Perugia, as stated antea.

and whose name is more forcibly suggested than any other.

The list of Fiorenzo's productions at Perugia may be completed by a reference to an early Madonna in the Fraternita della Giustizia,[1] in which the stamp of Benozzo and the grimace of Alunno are to be found in connection with some of the defects of execution common in the school.[2] We might assign to him abroad a fine pa-

[1] Now No. 207, in the Perugia gallery, a gable altarpiece with the Virgin enthroned holding the infant in benediction on her knee, adored by two angels in prayer, and two patrons in similar devotion, nearer the foreground. At the sides are SS. Mustiola and Andrew (part scaled), Peter and Francis (the latter grimacing like one by Alunno). In a predella are Christ between the Virgin and S. John Evangelist, with SS. Jerom, Ursula (?), Bernardino and John the Baptist at the sides. The figures are small and heavy, the colours sharp in contrast, but carefully handled.

[2] We may add the following: Perugia — Palazzo Communale. Two panels with half-lengths of saints in prayer. Perugia — Sacristy of S. Agostino, wood, half length of the Virgin and child, inclosed in a circular ornament, with six cherubs' heads in it. Two heads of angels of a large size at the angles of the base are reminiscent of Mantegna. The infant Christ is that of Fiorenzo or his school, and the colour is handled with some of the new mediums. Perugia. S. Giorgio, a fresco by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, but not of his best. Subject, the Marriage of S. Catherine with S. Nicholas of Bari in attendance, rude and in part repainted (the background new). Same church. Nativity, a repainted fresco in which the S. Joseph is all but new, with the date A. D. "MCCCCLXXXX".

Terni, S. Francesco, Cappella di S. Antonio, much injured altarpiece of the Virgin and child between SS. Bonaventura, John Baptist, Francis, and Louis, with three saints in each pilaster, the Eternal between two angels in a lunette, and five coarsely executed scenes from the Passion in a predella. On the border one reads: "1485. Dio e Virgini opus erectũ Dionisie Joañis prõrate". It is difficult to judge of the authorship. The style is between Fiorenzo and Pinturicchio. Ravenna, gall. comm. Triptych. gold ground, Virgin and child, between SS. Peter and Paul, the Eternal in the pinnacle between the Virgin and angel annunciate inscribed: "MCCCCLXXXV die XXVIII di Jugnio". The work is dry and hard, but we must remember the names of Bartolommeo Caporali and Lodovico de Angelis.

Carlsruhe Museum. Nos. 165. 166. SS. John Baptist and Evangelist, small full lengths on gold ground, falsely assigned to Agnolo Gaddi, but of the Perugian school and in the manner of Fiorenzo.

Liverpool Institution. No. 22. Piece of a predella, representing the birth of the Virgin assigned to Filippino. This piece has been noticed (antea II, p. 452), under its old number (20) amongst the works of Filippino. A recent visit has altered our judgment. Though injured, it is painted in the style of the panels long assigned to Pisanello in S. Francesco of Perugia and, therefore, recalls Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

nel, deposited of old in the Santa Trinita Museum at Madrid, a noble head of the Redeemer between SS. Peter, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, and a female martyr.[1] But having done this, our list is all but exhausted, and we are led to inquire how it comes that one whose career may be traced for so long a period, should have left so few examples behind. We must remember that there is proof of Fiorenzo's existence in 1499, when he assisted Bartolommeo Caporali in valuing a picture by Giannicola of Perugia; and that if Mariotti, from whom this fact is taken, is further correct, our artist was companion to Tiberio d'Assisi in a similar valuation as late as 1521.[2] A space of more than thirty years yields absolutely nothing. Is it possible that Fiorenzo's labours in that interval should have remained concealed under another name?

Perugian history is cumbered with the presence of one Andrea Alovigi, commonly called L'Ingegno. We have examined the records illustrative of the person so named. They are the same which Rumohr had occasion to comment, and they had already suggested to him the following well-grounded remarks:

Vasari relates[3] that Ingegno learnt the art from Pietro Perugino, in whose atelier he competed with Raphael; that he acted as his master's journeyman in the Cambio of Perugia, where he did some fine things which are not further distinguished. It might be hard to point out figures which Vasari himself was unable to describe with precision; yet comparatively modern writers have decided that these are the sybils and prophets which are the finest of the series.[4] Vasari adds that

[1] This picture is Umbrian in character, and suggests no other name than that of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. It has something of Benozzo too.

[2] Mariotti, Lett. Pitt. ùb. sup. p. 82.

[3] See Vas. life of Perugino, VI. 55.

[4] Pungileoni (Elogio storico di Timoteo Viti, 8°. Urbino, 1835, note to p. 34) quotes from Padre Francesco Maria Angeli's "Collis Paradisi amœnitas" published at Montefalco in 1704, a passage in which the four prophets in the chapel of S. Lodovico at Francesco of Assisi are assigned to Ingegno who is supposed to have painted on the walls previously covered by Buffalmacco, the frescos of the latter having, in 1490, gone to ruin. The same statement according to Pungileoni is to be found in the registers of S. Francesco of Assisi.

Ingegno aided Perugino at Assisi, referring perhaps to the frescos on the outerside of the chapel of S. Francis in S. M. degli Angeli. He alludes finally to the Sixtine chapel where he (Ingegno) also helps our artist (Perugino), and says immediately after: 'The great hopes which Ingegno had given rise to, were dissipated by his premature blindness. Upon this Pope Sixtus (the IVth) gave him a pension at Assisi which he enjoyed till the age of 86.'

Sixtus the IVth died in 1484. Raphael first joined the school of Perugino about 1500 when the hall of the Cambio was begun. Vasari therefore commits a gross error of chronology; for Ingegno could not have lost his sight twenty years before he competed with Raphael. Mariotti and Orsini think it impossible that Ingegno should have had a share in the decoration of the Cambio; because they believed Vasari's story of his blindness. They should rather have suspected that Vasari was ill informed on that point. There is not a word about Ingegno in Vasari's first edition, and he is only mentioned in that of 1568. It is not unlikely that in the latter, a misprint should have occurred (Papa Sisto for Papa Giulio II^{d}), for we shall see that under the Pontificate of Julius, Ingegno was appointed to a place.... It is at all events capable of proof that, if Andrea lost his sight at all, the event occurred later than has been stated. For the cavalier Frondini at Assisi is possessor of a book which I have examined, in which Andreas gives receipts for certain sums paid in to the account of his brother who was a canon of the cathedral of Assisi. He there calls himself: "Ingegnio di Maestro Alivisse", or: Allovisii, Allevisi, and Aloisi". The last receipt runs as follows: "Ingegno di Maestro Allovisi, die Mercurii, quinta Decembris 1509." Had these documents which are all in the same hand, been written by another, the fact would have been stated; this was the legal system of the period. But it appears that the name Ingegno might not only be due to the man's talent as a painter, but to a known versatility on his part. Frondini showed me many original MS. in which our Ingegno appears as proctor (1505), justice (1507), assistant to the authorities (1510), and finally as papal cashier (1511).... Vasari, it is clear, confounds a pension with the salary, paid to a papal cashier which Ingegno had become in 1511. He confounds Julius the II^{d} with Sixtus the IVth.

Rumohr then proceeds to state, that the only notice he has of an artistic work by Ingegno is that described in the following, which is an extract from a "Bolletario" in the office of the public secretary at Assisi:

"Añ 1484. 29. Octobris. Magister Andreas Aloysii habuit bullectam pro armis pictis in platea et ad portas civitatis ... flor. 5. solid 26". Rumohr, Forsch. II. 324 and folg.

This item hardly proves more than that Ingegno had directions and funds for the payment of the painting of the arms on the square and gates of Assisi. But it does not even declare that he was the painter.

But we have to deal with a certain class of pictures assigned to Andrea Alovigi, and we may perceive at once that they bear the impress of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. Let us examine them.

Assisi. Inside and above the gate of S. Giacomo, a life size Virgin in prayer with the infant on her knee in a glory of seraphs floating in clouds above a landscape. The Virgin and infant are similar to those of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. A low, brown tone, altered by damp, prevails. The fresco is decidedly like one of Fiorenzo's.

Assisi. In a recess of the outer face of the church of S. Andrea is a Virgin holding the infant Christ on her knee. S. Jerom and another saint in the side of the recess. The type of the latter is fair and gentle, in general appearance like the foregoing.

Assisi. Ex-convent of Benedictine nuns, now delle Mantellucie, via S. Agata. In the same manner, but injured, a fresco of the Virgin and child between SS. Francis and Jerom. In the thickness of the recess S. Bernardino and another figure which is all but obliterated; the whole above the portal. We set aside the four sybils in the lower church of Assisi which are proved to be by Dono Doni.

Assisi. Arch of S. Antonio leading from the Piazza to Moiano, a fresco, much injured, above the key of the bend, of the Virgin, child and S. Francis, with remains of a landscape similar to the last.

Moiano, near Assisi. A small chapel is here in which parts of a Virgin and child on the inner wall, a bishop, S. Francis, and seraphs, in the vaulting, and other pieces on the outer face may still be inspected. These three frescos, from Via S. Agata, arch of S. Antonio, and Moiano, have been transferred to canvass and placed in the commune of Assisi.

We have thus a series of ill-preserved fragments revealing an approach at last to Tiberio of Assisi, and possibly the product of a local craftsman. It may be classed under the name of Ingegno for want of a better. Following the manner of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo further, however, the catalogue may be continued.

Rome. Palazzo de' Conservadori al Campidoglio, an injured and restored Virgin (above life size) adoring the infant Christ on her lap, with two angels at her sides. (The Virgin's dress exclusive of the gilt border, has been repainted in oil.) This fresco, of a rough, red-brown colour, reproduces Fiorenzo's types and character. Vermiglioli (Vita di Pinturicchio ub. sup. p. 73) attributes this fresco to his hero. Passavant assigns it (Raphael ub. sup. I. 501) to Ingegno.

Orvieto, Casa Gualtieri. Fresco, sawed from the wall of the Gualtieri family chapel in the cappella S. Brizio of the cathedral at Orvieto. S. Michael with a sword in his right, and his left on his haunch, tramples on the dragon. He stands in armour on the foreground of a landscape of rock and sea, interspersed with islets, ascribed successively to Raphael, Signorelli and Ingegno; it is not by any of them, but probably by Eusebio.

London. National Gallery. No. 702 (from the Wallerstein collection at Kensington). The Virgin and child, the latter standing on a parapet in front of its mother (half length). This piece, under the name of Pinturicchio, is similar to the following.

Naples Museum (of old numbered 84). Virgin and child, which again is similar to the following.

Paris Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. (ex-Campana). No. 174. Virgin and child, of which there is a poorer repetition in the same collection under No. 175, and yet another:

Milan Brera. Galleria Oggioni, Virgin and child slightly altered by oil varnish.

Of the same size as that of the National Gallery, and repeating the same subject, we have a panel at:

Urbino. Convent of S. Chiara, on the back of which are the words: "Fu compra da Isabeta da Gobio matre di Rafaello Sante da Urbino fiorini 25. 1488". It is a flat and feeble tempera of grey tone on gold ground superior however to the last mentioned. But better than all of the others, and apparently the original from which they were taken, is:

London. Sir Anthony Stirling. Half length of the Virgin in half of an almond shaped glory (with eight cherub heads in the field of it, and rays engraved in the gold ground). The Virgin supports the infant in benediction, in front and to the left of her, whereas in the other examples the child stands to the right. In this panel of Sir Anthony Stirling's the movements are more gentle, and the character is more tender; the forms are better rendered, and the features are more expressive; the drapery is more natural and better cast, the colour is more pleasing, and the drawing more correct than in any of the foregoing. This panel seems indeed to have

served as a model for all the others which are by different hands, and of more or less value (ex. gr. after this of Sir Anthony comes that of Urbino, then that of the National Gallery, followed by those of the ex-Campana collection, of the Naples and Brera Museums). But the Virgin of Sir Anthony Stirling is truly by Pinturicchio to whom it is given; exhibiting, however, all the characteristics which prove that he derived his style from Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, as for instance reminiscences of such of the creations of the latter as: the panel lunette in the sacristy at S. Francesco of Perugia (now in Perugia gallery), the lunette fresco in the Sala del Censo at the Palace of Perugia. It might thus appear that the Madonnas now classed together, have all the stamp of Fiorenzo with features in addition reminding us of Pinturicchio.

London. Dudley House, originally in the Bisenzio collection at Rome. Virgin and child between S. Dominick and a female saint recommending two kneeling donors. This small Madonna does not throw any light on the obscure branch of art here treated. The painter seems to have laboured after Perugino.

Carlsruhe. Museum, No 154. Catalogued as Ingegno. Virgin and child attended by two angels, between SS. Benedict and Bernard, a Duke and Duchess of Urbino (?) with their respective suites kneeling at the sides of the foreground. Umbrian, of the close of the sixteenth century and not like any other so-called Ingegno (wood-oil).

Florence. Metzger and Volkman Collections. Rumohr (Forsch. II. 328) and Passavant (Raphael I. 503) notice a small Madonna bearing the initials: A. A. P. which they interpret "Andreas Aloysii pinxit".

Paris. Louvre. No. 37. Virgin and child enthroned and saints, classed as Ingegno, in the mode observable in the ceiling of the chapel of the Cambio at Perugia by Giannicola Manni. We shall revert to this.

If it can be shown that the majority of the works above noticed are by Ingegno, it would follow that the master so-called was at the school of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and a companion of Pinturicchio; but until better evidence shall be brought forward than the initials of a name or the records of Assisi, doubts must continue to be entertained. Yet, we may accept Ingegno as a password to qualify pictures of the same class in various parts of Europe.

A more real apparition in the history of Umbro-Perugian art than Ingegno is Lodovico Angeli, who was registered in the guild of his native place in 1481 and 1506,[1] whose performances betray a positive mediocrity, yet at the same time the education of Bonfigli. Judging from a canvass bearing his signature and the date of 1489, we should add to the pieces of which he may be called the author, a panel in S. Pietro of Perugia representing the Virgin embracing the corpse of the Redeemer, attended by S. Jerom, seated at a bench with his lion by him, and an erect figure of S. Leonardo. An angel above the principal group recalls, and seems copied from, one by Benozzo Gozzoli. The nude of Christ is wooden, lean, and defective, the drawing wiry and unsound, the tempera hard, vitrous, and of a leaden hue. On the border one reads: "Anno Domini Miliesimo CCCCLXVIIII." This is one of the few things attributed without authority to Bonfigli. The style is not his, but a poor mixture of it with that of Fiorenzo, a mixture observable in the following:

Perugia. S. Simone. A panel dated 1487.

Perugia. Duomo. Cloth, tempera representing Christ erect (of life size) in benediction, between a female saint and Anthony the abbot, SS. Jerom and Francis. On the lower border is the inscription: "A. D. MCCCCLXXXVIIII Lodovicus Angioli fecit", of feeble character and poor type; the figures are cold in tone and laid in with a hard spare vehicle. Frequent folds mark the draperies.

Perugia Gallery. No. 15. Styled Fiorenzo. Panels with half lengths of SS. Dignamerita, Anthony the abbot, and Catherine, on gold ground, a little less defective than the foregoing, remniscent of the Mantegnesque, possibly by Lodovico.

Berlin Museum. No. 137. A Virgin and child not without merit (but see antea Alunno).

Corciano. S. Francesco. An approach to the method of Lodovico, is apparent in a very rude panel here of the Virgin and child, between SS. Jerom and Francis, Anthony and S. Mary Magdalen attended by angels, at all events this is a cross between Bonfigli and Fiorenzo.

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[1] Mariotti, Lett. Per. 85.

The narrative of the lives of the great Perugians, Vannucci and Pinturicchio, inevitably takes the historian to Rome where their skill exhibited its mastery during a period of full fifteen years. Before them, we have said, Piero della Francesca and Melozzo extended the influence of Umbrian art. The lustre of these brilliant names has perhaps contributed to the neglect of men whose boast might be, that as Romans they partook of the progress made by their Perugian cotemporaries.

Vasari relates, that when Filippino Lippi in 1493 gave up a chapel complete in its decoration to cardinal Caraffa, his frescos were valued by Lanzilago of Padua and Antonio, alias Antoniasso the Roman, the two best painters of that time in the capital.[1] Antoniasso was of a family which followed the same profession during three generations at least. The earliest of its members of which we have any notice is Antonius, the designer of an altarpiece in the sacristy of S. Antonio del Monte at Rieti, dated 1464. The Virgin is represented giving the breast to the infant erect on her lap. On the sides (hanging in the choir) are S. Francis receiving the stigmata, and S. Anthony. An inscription at the base of the centre runs thus: "Antonius de Roma . epinxit 1464." It is not rare to find pieces equally old and defective. This one is interesting not only for its authenticity, but because it shows a local Roman in the middle of the fifteenth century influenced by the example of Benozzo Gozzoli, and therefore following the track of the Umbrians.[2]

Twenty-five years later, Antoniasso, the son perhaps of Antonio, received a commission from Girolamo Gaetano, archbishop of Capua, for a Virgin and child between SS. Stephen and Lucy, to be placed on the altar of a chapel built by his orders in 1489 in the cathedral of his see;

[1] Vas. V. 249.

[2] The Virgin is less than life size in a tunic of gold. Her blue mantle is all but gone. The saints on the side panels are on gold ground, abraded entirely in that of S. Anthony. The tempera is light.

and this is still in its original place, though spoiled by restoring, and almost deprived of its inscription. The impression it creates is that of a poor Perugian work with something reminiscent of Pinturicchio. It bears the illegible remains of the words: "Antonatius Romanus M. For. P. MCCCCLXXXIX." [1]

This picture gives a clue to the author of other Roman productions, the first of which is the Virgin and child between SS. Paul and Peter, and the twelve of the "Rota", now in the Quirinal and originally in the audience hall of the tribunal of the Rota. It was ordered, no doubt, by Monsignor Brancadoro, president of that court, whose arms are on the Virgin's throne, and exhibits a mixture of the manner of Fiorenzo and Pinturicchio, and may therefore be by Antoniasso or the next member of the family whose name occurs immediately after his.[2] The same mediocre style is apparent in a David and Solomon, an Eternal in glory, and a Conception, ruined frescos in the third chapel to the left in S. Pietro in Montorio at Rome, though here there is some trace of Perugino and Spagna intermingled with Pinturicchio.[3]

In the sacristy of S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome, a Virgin and child between SS. Paul and Benedict, Peter and Justina (life size) with injured heads, and a repainted sky, may be placed in the same class as the altarpiece of the Quirinal.

In the church belonging to the Pagnani family,[4] at

[1] We should not have been able to decipher these words. But Canon Gabrielli Gianelli of Capua had them transcribed, and states that they were legible before the panel was last restored. To his authority also must be referred the facts stated respecting this altarpiece and its patron. On the Virgin's throne one still sees in the midst of arabesques the letters: S. P. Q. R. A. R. P. S. P. Q. R., showing that the archbishop of Capua was a Roman noble. The figures are almost life size. The picture is on the first altar to the right, in the Duomo of Capua.

[2] Gold ground. The upper part, originally elliptic, has been made square. S. Paul carries the sword, S. Peter the book and keys. The figures are half the size of life: wood-tempera.

[3] The figures of the prophets are at each side of a scutcheon. The Eternal is in an almond shaped halo.

[4] The church previously belonged to the family of the Effetti.

Castel Nuovo, on the road from Rignano to Rome, there is a Christ enthroned in benediction, assigned to Perugino, but in type recalling certain figures by Bartolommeo Caporali in Castiglione del Lago. A long inscription on this panel closes with the date 1501. In the same church a S. John the Baptist and S. John Evangelist illustrate the same artistic direction, and remind one, as do the works of Antoniasso, of the better frescos at S. Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome.

The third Antoniasso is Marcus, the painter of a Resurrection between SS. Stephen and Lawrence, with the Eternal in a lunette between SS. Francis and Anthony, a domed altarpiece in the refectory of the convent of S. Chiara at Rieti. The predella contains the Capture, the Flagellation, the Crucifixion, the Pietà, and the Entombment; and on a border one reads: "Marcus Antoius Magri Antonatii romanus depinxit MDXI." The central Christ is ill-proportioned, the sleeping soldiers ill-arranged by one who has seen the works of Perugino.

The Antoniassi are a local Roman family and worthy of being remembered, not because they have done much independently, but because they probably acted as assistants to the great men who visited Rome at the close of the fifteenth century. They are entitled indeed to the same degree of attention as Bartolommeo Caporali, or Melanzio who has been mentioned in these volumes in connection with poor wallpaintings at Subiaco.

CHAPTER VII.

PIETRO PERUGINO.

We are accustomed to think of Pietro Perugino as humbly connected and inured at the tenderest age to privation; but he was, without any doubt, of a respectable family, a branch of which enjoyed the freedom of Perugia in the early part of the fifteenth century.[1] His father, Christoforo Vannucci, lived at Città della Pieve, and we learn from the hearth-register of that village that Pietro was one of several children, and that he was born in 1446.[2]

In those days, when small peasant proprietors clung to the shelter of feudal towers, and had no certainty of protection from the inroads of predatory neighbours, it may have been a hard task for the father of a numerous family to dispose of his sons so as to secure to them a decent and respectable future. He would naturally send his younger boys to the nearest town, and if he had the means, apprentice them. Pietro Perugino left the paternal home before he was nine years old, and was articled to a master at Perugia.[3]

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[1] Mariotti, Lett. Pitt. ub. sup. p. 121.

[2] The root of the Vannucci family compiled from the records at Città della Pieve by Marchese Giuseppe della Fargna, is given in the appendix to B. Orsini's Vita &c. di Pietro Perugino. 8. 1804. pp. 236. 7.

[3] His name is no longer on the hearth register of Città della Pieve for 1455. (See della Fargna in Orsini, ub. sup. pp. 236. 7.) That he was apprenticed to a Perugian painter, is stated by Vas. (VI. 30). Yet his father might have intrusted him, had he chosen, to a local artist. There is a Crucifixion in a very dark corner of the church of Paccianorespecting which a record (p. 150 of the "protocolli" of the

This master was of no great talent, says Vasari, yet he had a feeling for his art, and a great veneration for those who distinguished themselves in it, and he always assured his pupil "that of all places in which perfect painting might be attained, none was more advantageous than Florence, where men were taught by competition to use their wits and work with industry, in order that they might rise above an intolerable mediocrity, and ascend to fame and honours".[1] In these words the Aretine biographer probably sketches the character of Bonfigli, whom elsewhere he has described as the favorite of the Perugians before Vannucci became known; we may doubt whether he meant Fiorenzo, a man of fair repute, who took good lessons from his cotemporaries, and was the companion rather than the teacher of Pietro. We should be content, in this uncertainty, to reflect that Perugino received a most fortunate education, which was not to be had except in a good school; we may assume that he learnt most of the secrets of his profession at Perugia, and that then he fancied there was yet room for greater acquirements. It would not be far wrong, indeed, to suppose that he took to wandering as a journeyman, and that he thus became the associate of Piero della Francesca; for Vasari mentions at least two frescos at Arezzo; and suggests that they were produced by Perugino when he was Piero's assistant.[2] From thence he bent his steps to Florence, eager to see the masterpieces of that capital, or to become acquainted with the persons of artists whose names had already been heard in the workshops of the provinces. Bonfigli, and Piero della Francesca, would both have impressed his mind with the grandeur of Flo-

Commune) states that it was done in 1472. This date (or rather the illegible trace of it) is followed on the wall by the words: "Fu fatto questo lavorio al tempo che era priore Andrea di Giovanni della Compagnia della fraternita di S. Maria: Franciscus de Castro Plebis pinxit". The painting is injured, and blackened, and hardly visible, so that the worth of Francesco is not to be judged. But the fact remains that Città della Pieve had also a painter of its own.

[1] Vas. VI. 30. 32.

[2] Vas. IV. 23. The frescos (which were in S. Agostino and S. Catarina) are gone.

rentine examples, have told him the wonders of the Carmine, of Santa Croce, S. Maria Novella, and S. Marco. We know that he frequented the Carmine; and in the Brancacci chapel he might meet all the rising men of his generation,[1] Michael Angelo, Credi, and Leonardo, whom Santi couples with him in the lines:

"Due giovin par d'etate e par d'amori
Leonardo da Vinci e'l Perusino
Pier della Pieve ch'e un divin pittore."[2]

After leaving Piero della Francesca, from whom perspective and the chymistry of painting had received so great an impulse, he would strive for admission into an atelier in which his knowledge in these branches might be improved.[3] For chymical researches he could not find a better place than Verrocchio's shop. He would be the companion of Leonardo to whom the science of art owes its chief progress, and to whom the perfection of the innovating system of mediums at Florence is due. Both might labour simultaneously to fathom the secrets of colours and of mediums, the one with the precision of a trained mathematician, the other with the feeling of a colourist.[4] Both would necessarily go deep into the *technica*, seeking and searching like the Van Eycks, and applying the results according to the powers with which nature had endowed them. It would thus happen

[1] Vasari says he studied in the Brancacci (Vol. III. 162).

[2] See the Rhyme chronicle in Pungileoni, Elogio storico di Gio. Santi p. 73.

[3] We may believe that Perugino learnt perspective from Piero della Francesca. But at Perugia he might also have perfected his knowledge of the science under Pacioli who had a chair of mathematics there in 1478. See Tiraboschi, Stor. della Lett. Vermiglioli, vita di Pinturicchio ub. sup. p. 254, and Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 127.

[4] Quest' arte (painting in oil) says Vasari, . . . Andrea del Castagno la insegnò agli altri Maestri; con i quali si andò ampliando l'arte ed acquistando sino a Pietro Perugino, a Leonardo da Vinci ed a Raphaello da Urbino. Vas. Introduz. I. p. 163. 4; and again: "Certamente i colori furono della intelligenza di Pietro conosciuti, e così il fresco come l'olio; onde obligo gli hanno tutti i periti artefici che per suo mezzo hanno cognizione de' lumi che per le sue opere si veggono". Vas. VI. 39.

that Leonardo should add to the imperfect method of Piero della Francesca the atmosphere in which it was wanting, and ascend gradually to the culminating point of his career in the production of the Mona Lisa, whilst Perugino should arrive at a height almost equally surprising in the Madonna of the Certosa;[1] the first attaining depth by calculation, the second yielding the same quality by an innate sense of the value of tone, and by peculiar knack of handling, both succeeding in that smoothness of tints which "caused the crowd to gather round their work and think it was a marvel."[2]

But the community of thought and of aim in Perugino and Leonardo would not end there. Perugino is justly celebrated for his proficiency in perspective.[3] He might have learnt the elements of it from Piero della Francesca, and have sought to master its intricacies under Luca Pacioli who held the chair of mathematics at Perugia in 1478.[4] But he would be sure to find a congenial spirit in Leonardo who was to show the students of his academy at Milan all the secrets of perspective that were known to that age. Da Vinci and Perugino are named in one sentence by Caporali. He says, they both knew the use of "two centres of vision";[5] and it is quite as certain of Leonardo that he taught that rule, as it is of Perugino that he put it into practise. We shall see how the latter adopted Da Vinci's principles of composition; how both in different ways excelled in giving atmosphere to landscape. That they were together under Verrocchio, is only stated by Vasari;[6] but Vasari is confirmed by the creations of the three painters; and he speaks of them in conjunction too frequently to permit a doubt as to his conviction. Nothing can be clearer, or more true than that Perugino and Da Vinci gave the last

[1] Now in the National Gallery.
[2] Vasari, Proemio (VII. 6).
[3] Vas. (VI. 3) says truly that Perugino "ne faceva professione particolare".
[4] See Tiraboschi, Stor. della Letteratura.
[5] Caporali. Vitruv. ub. sup. p. 16.
[6] Ib. VI. 32.

polish to the Florentine art of oilpainting on the lines laid down with so much labour and patience by the Peselli, the Pollaiuoli, and Verrocchio;[1] nothing more just than that Perugino should be coupled with Francesco Francia as gifted with incomparable feeling in lending softness to form.[2] But Vasari's statements receive additional confirmation from the pictures of Lorenzo di Credi, the favorite pupil of Verrocchio, whose altarpieces are so remarkable for the devotional grace of action, the smoothness of surface, and the cast of lined drapery which, whilst they remind us of Leonardo, recall the Umbrian qualities of Vannucci. We shall see that these Umbrian qualities were not contemned at Florence, but that on the contrary they exercised an influence similar to that of the Siennese in previous centuries. What these had done of old to temper the severity of their rivals in the person of Orcagna, and to contribute in forming Angelico, the Perugians did anew by means of Pietro Perugino. It may be due to him that the somewhat rugged grandeur of the Florentine school, as represented by Ghirlandaio, was chastened; and that the coarse realism of the Peselli, and of Castagno, from which neither Botticelli, the Pollaiuoli, nor Verrocchio, Piero della Francesca, nor Signorelli were entirely free, was modified. Perugino and Leonardo are both entitled in separate measures to claim the merit of having helped to form Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto.

One cannot affect to decide in what year Perugino first visited Florence; nor whether that event occurred before 1475, when he had commissions for painting in the public Palace of Perugia;[3] or after 1478, when

[1] We must not forget that Vasari is proved to be incorrect when he attempts to show that the oil painting of the Florentines descends from that of Antonello da Messina. Yet it is high praise to Perugino that his biographer should make him close the period of progress in the use of the new medium (Vas. Introd. I. 163. 4).

[2] Vas. VII. 6.

[3] Rumohr publishes the payment to Perugino for this work (Forsch. ub. sup. II. 338).

he produced the ruined frescos of Cerqueto.[1] His name had become familiar at Florence in 1482;[2] and he was allowed at that time to compete with Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, and others, in the Palazzo Pubblico. It is true that he did not carry out his commission which was revoked in favour of Filippino.[3] But it is not possible to say where he was employed even then. If it should be asked what piece amongst those of continental galleries best illustrates his early style, one might choose the round of the Virgin and child enthroned between saints in a landscape; a tempera panel at the Louvre.[4] A picture of this kind, if presented to a Florentine at the close of the fifteenth century, would undoubtedly have been admired as embodying the carefulness and finish and the devotional resignation of Umbrian types with a most attractive freshness.[5] To us it represents Perugino in his ascending period, a genuine painter of Perugia still, but fortunate in having instilled a new life and beauty into the art of his countrymen. Conventional and quaint as it is to see the Virgin in rich clothing, seated on a throne partitioned off from a pleasant wilderness by parapets of stone; to watch two angels praying behind in

[1] We have not visited Cerqueto, but nearly a century has expired since Orsini ascertained that there was nothing remaining of Perugino's work except a solitary figure of S. Sebastian in the church of the village, and a fresco in a tabernacle representing the Virgin and child between S. Lucy and another saint, with a figure of Scævola and a sacrifice in the side walls. In Orsini's own time the inscription in the church was only known by an attested copy: "S. popul. de Cerqueto a fatta fare questa cappella A. D. Maria Madalena per C. H. da peste gi usci liberare Cavandoli da le Hoscie. D. tal pena cusigli piaccia cuq. H. V. operare che mi e semp. ne abbia ad scampare e tutti q̃lli C. H. in lei AN. devotion. AD. laude di Dio quisto sermone. 'Petrus Perusinus pinxit M.C.C.C.C.LXXVIII". (Orsini, vita di P. P. ub. sup. p. 204.)

[2] It is probable that Perugino came to Florence in 1479. Vasari says that he arrived there "partitosi dalle estreme calamità di Perugia", and just at this time, war raged in Umbria between the Papal party and the Florentines.

[3] See the records in Gaye (Carteggio I. 578).

[4] Louvre, No. 442, and previously in the royal collection at the Hague, and in the Corsini palace at Rome.

[5] "E bene gli venne fatto (that Perugino settled at Florence) conciò sia che al suo tempo le cose della maniera sua furono tenute in pregio grandissimo". (Vasari, VI. 32).

tender adoration, and female saints in gorgeous apparel standing by in elegantly sought attitude; there is a calm sweetness about them all; they seem so innocent and gently happy; it would be pity to disturb them. Yet, this dreamy impression is created by no cloudiness of form or yearning after effect. The graceful and slender figures are drawn with a clear outline. The dresses are crisp in fold, the hems are minutely overlaid with golden borders and jewels; the veils are subtle in texture and lightly disposed. True harmonies of pure colour variegate the vestments where the bright cloth turns its bright lining to the eye, or the mantle decks the tunic. Tempera was never handled with more skill to yield by stippling a warm flesh-tone of a light fair yellow, fused with great softness into grey shadow. Still one sees something of the anxious care natural to one who has not yet settled into the resolute assertion of himself. The child is affected and a little unmeaning, the draperies are not yet cast with breadth. The contours are too sharp, and the forms are a little lean. Perugia, however, had not as yet boasted of an artist equal to such a work as this, and if Vannucci had produced it, there it is probable that the fact would have been chronicled and preserved. The names of painters without renown, and the contracts into which they entered at Perugia, whilst Pietro was refusing commissions at Florence, exist to this day. They interest us indirectly by proving that none of the great Perugians, Bonfigli, Fiorenzo, Perugino, or Pinturicchio, were open to public engagements in their own town during three or four seasons preceding the close of 1483. An altarpiece, intended for the chapel of the Magistracy, was ordered from an obscure artist called Pietro di Maestro Galeotto in 1479, who stipulated for two year's time to finish it, and who died in May 1483 without having done any more than the frame.[1] Six

[1] See the contract of June 7, 1479, in Mariotti, Lett. (p. 144) records of advances in 1480 (ib. 145), and the registry of Pietro di Galeotto's death, May 1483. (ib. 146.)

months later Vannucci chanced to visit Perugia, and he solemnly promised that he would deliver the altarpiece in March 1484, and one of its sections in the first four weeks of December 1483. The reason why it was desirable that one portion should be done before the rest, is clear. There were eleven priors in the college; and they were only elected for a term. The lunette was to contain the Virgin of Mercy and the portraits of the priors and their notary in a kneeling posture beneath the Virgin's cloak. The magistrates naturally wished to secure the completion of this part of the agreement before their tenure of office expired. But Perugino, who was perhaps on his way from Florence to Rome, had probably intended to leave the commission in the hands of some apprentice. At all events, he quitted Perugia without beginning the required portraits, and we see distinct symptoms of irascibility in the wording of a new contract in which the authorities excuse themselves for the breach of the old one. The order was transferred to Santi di Apollonio who took[1] the likenesses from life; but the rest was left unfinished, and it was soon discovered that no more trust was to be put in Santi than in Pietro di Galeotto, or in Perugino. Chuckling and mindless of this disappointment, the runaway was doubtless on the road to Rome, where for a time his frescos were to fill the post of honour at the Sixtine chapel.

We say for a time, because a greater painter followed, and destroyed his work. Every one knows that Perugino covered the altar face of the chapel, dividing it into three fields. In the central fresco of the Assumption he introduced the kneeling portrait of Sixtus the Fourth, in the side ones the Nativity and the Finding of Moses. Michael Angelo's Judgment occupied their place some years later; and all that remains of Perugino is the "Moses and

[1] See the documents relative to this incident in Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 146. 7. 8. Perugino's contract is dated Nov. 28, 1483, that of Santi di Appollonio Dec. 31, of the same year.

Zipporah", the "Baptism of Christ", and Christ's delivery of the keys to Peter".

Modern writers have frequently assigned the first of these to Signorelli.[1] It contains several incidents in one frame; the angel appearing to Moses and ordering him to circumcise Gershom, the circumcision and the wedding-dance in the distance. The conception and setting, and the landscape, are Peruginesque, as well as the action and shape of the figures. But Perugino's admirers might suggest, that finish, harmony, and balance are still less striking in this than in the two other subjects. There is more hardness and angularity than Perugino would have given, and though resolute movement is lent to the angel arresting the progress of the patriarch, heaviness deprives the children's forms of their greatest charm. The truth may be that Perugino did not devote much of his own labour to this bit. The children may have been by Della Gatta, and he again may have been second to Perugino's assistant Pinturicchio. Pinturicchio accompanied his master to Rome, under very favorable conditions. He was a Perugian by birth and education. He had followed with moderate talent the lessons of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, and afterwards joined the atelier of Perugino.[2] He had all the qualities that should be sought in a subordinate; and might have become indispensable to one who undertook large commissions and required an orderly superintendent for his apprentices. It was natural that Perugino should take him into partnership, and give him a third of his profits.[3] Nor do the Sixtine frescos discountenance the belief that the two men stood in this relation to each other in 1484. The frescos of Pinturicchio in the Borgia Chambers and at Araceli warrant us in believing that it was so; they fully explain how Pinturicchio prepared himself for independence by a constant intercourse with Vannucci and a ju-

[1] Annot. Vas. VI. 143.
[2] Vas. V. 265.
[3] Ib. V. 268.

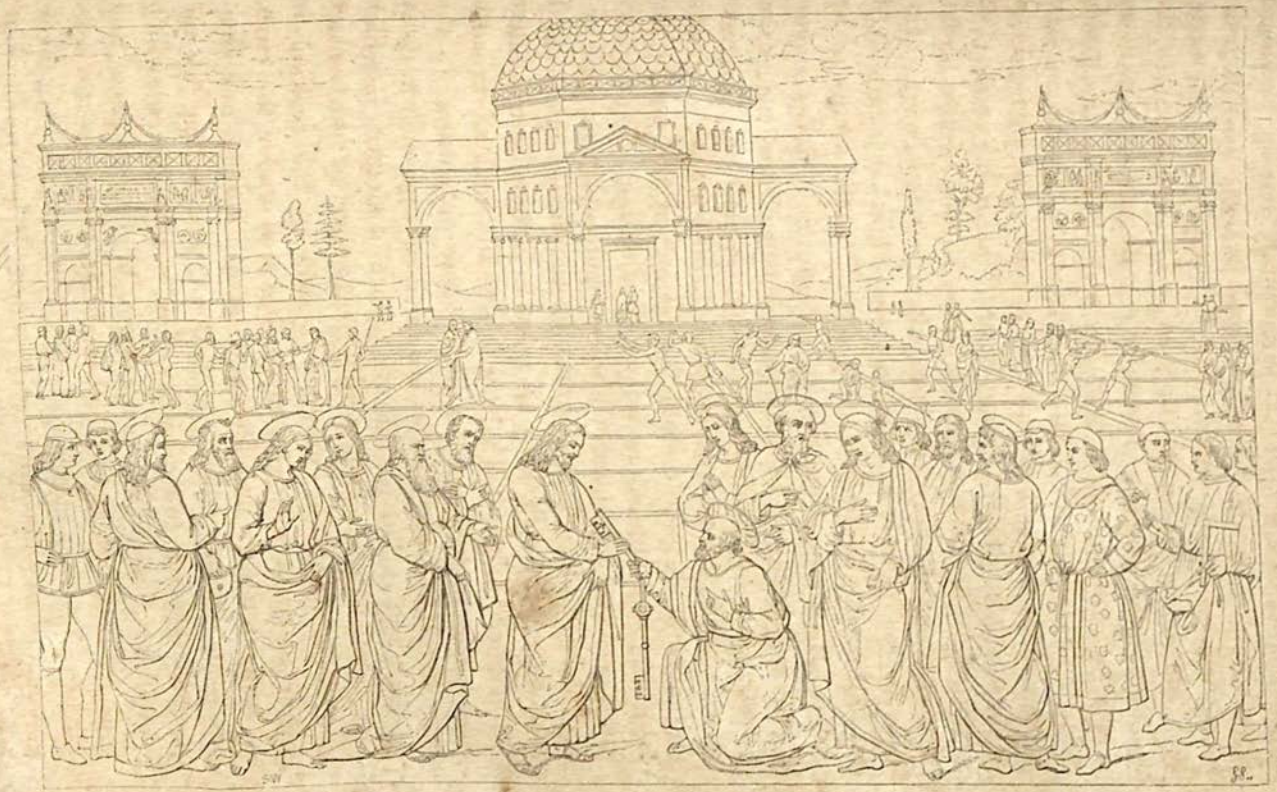
dicious study of the Florentine examples at the Sixtine. Perugino himself had not looked in vain at the productions of his cotemporaries; and a strong impression had been created on his mind by the frescos of Domenico Ghirlandaio. In the Baptism at least he reflected this; and Pinturicchio might have been led into a similar path by the necessity of carrying out the designs of his elder partner. The composition of Perugino's second fresco is essentially Umbrian. It is overcrowded and monotonous; the groups are not bound together with such art as to produce the effect of unity; and simplicity and nature are wanting. Yet, a pleasing impression is created by isolated parts. The Saviour in front, receiving the water poured on his head by S. John, attracts by an Umbrian softness. The masks and type of both are purely Perugino's,[1] whilst the standing acolytes on the right embody something of the grand laws of movement and pose which are illustrated in Ghirlandaio. The nude of a man stripping near the Baptist is well given; and the youth erect at his side might have been conceived by Pinturicchio. The formal arrangement of the Sermon of John on a hill to the left, and that of Christ on a mound to the right, the kneeling angels, the Eternal in a round glory of cherubs' heads, with four seraphs in waiting at equal intervals; the wide expanse of country in which the episodes are placed; all these may have been grateful to the eye before time and restoring destroyed their harmony.[2] It is doubtful, however, whether the execution was originally as careful as that of the "Delivery of the keys to Peter", an outline of which is annexed to these pages.

It is rare to find one piece in which the character of a painter is revealed in all its aspects. The arrangement, the drawing, the colour are not all and severally the ar-

[1] The drawings of these two figures seem to have found a resting place at the Louvre.

[2] The head of the Baptist is disfigured by spots. The youth stripping is injured; and a group on the left foreground is much damaged and restored. The flesh parts are every where discoloured, especially in the shadows which have blackened. The entire distance is abraded.

tist's best. Perugino's Delivery of the keys is no exception to this remark; but it is certainly one of his finest wallpaintings for division, design, action, and expression. The incident he depicts is simple, yet demands, from the deep meaning attached to it as related to the history of the Roman church, a certain grandeur and solemnity of treatment. Christ gives the keys to the fisherman. The apostles attend, displaying in movement and glance their conviction of the weight and greatness of their mission; but the scene is not laid in the country of Bethlehem; nor is the charge given to the twelve alone. Numerous groups are gathered in a palatial court. The idea of the church in its victorious might is symbolized by the temple in the centre and the triumphal arches at its sides. In carrying out all this, Perugino achieves a symmetrical harmony. He infuses a charm of tenderness, of devotion and resignation into his impersonations. The lines are drawn in gentle curves; and the dresses are elegantly cut in cloth of double stuff, branching at the top of the fold, and well studied in fall and undulation. Some of the apostles convey an idea of firmness and nobleness, that reveal Perugino's contact with the Florentines. The weight and dignity in their bearing point to influences unfamiliar to the pure Umbrian. There is life in the Saviour, breadth of form and of drapery, allied to fine proportion, in the kneeling Peter whose type is an evident approach to those of Signorelli. This is the fair side of a picture, in which the peculiarities which forbid perfection in the master are discernible. In Perugino's symmetry the seeking is by no means hidden; his art, being well under the curb, is without fancy; and his steps have a studied and measured regularity. The conventional marshalling of the *dramatis personæ* prevents the flow of that current which should run through the composition, binding its parts, and making them all tend to the production of one great whole. Figures again, if appropriate and full of feeling in themselves, are seldom sufficiently united. They rarely conceal the effort made by the painter to realize grace-



CHRIST'S CHARGE TO PETER; a fresco by Pietro Perugino, in the Sistine Chapel.

fulness of pose at the expense of freedom and beauty. Certain attitudes have been set and studied once with the deepest attention in various aspects, have been committed to memory, and introduced afterwards without a return to nature, and without due consideration as to place. The hands have been cramped into certain invariable positions, the limbs have a well-known and frequently repeated stride, the heads a constant bend; one might guess the spot where the pins have been stuck to pucker the drapery. The drawing of extremities is often untrue, affected in shape as well as in action. These are most usually the characteristics of Perugino, and they are apparent to a slight extent in the best of his Sixtine frescos. Knowledge of perspective is evident in the temple and arches of his distance, where, however, the blocks are all parallel or at right angles to the plane of the picture; and he only requires the centre of vision with the distance-points to measure by. But he takes little advantage of his knowledge when connecting groups and figures with the ground on which they stand, and the edifices which surround them. It serves his purpose to have the centre of vision high, in order that the bases of his buildings shall be seen far above the foreground personages. These form a row in front, and are remarkable for their staid demeanour. Just above them, he throws in another string of people remarkable for excessive liveliness of motion. Above these are the bases of his temples and arches which stand on a given line and in regular order. He thus covers his surface literally, but he does not conceal the voids between the ranks; and he still leaves the impression of conventionalism and monotony. Though Ghirlandaio was less perfect in perspective than Perugino, than Pier della Francesca or Mantegna, he applied its general principles in combination with the great maxims of composition, and so obtained far more important results than could be hoped for by any exclusive professor of the science. Perugino, no doubt, was not unmindful of Ghirlandaio's masterpieces

when he designed the Delivery of the keys, but he had not as yet Ghirlandaio's art in distributing space, nor his talent in combining figures with scenery or edifices. Of his landscapes at the Sixtine there is less to be said than of his architecture, in considering which, particularly with reference to the fresco before us, it is noteworthy how much the octogon temple has in common with that of the Caen Sposalizio, or that of Raphael's "Marriage" at the Brera. The ruling style in these is represented in the works of the architects collectively known under the name of Bramante, and is found in its simplest and most classic form in the S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi by Bramante of Urbino.[1] But an early example of it may be seen in a study of buildings at S. Chiara of Urbino, due, as we have supposed, to the pencil of Piero della Francesca. Perugino is one of the great men of his time, who does not seem to have undertaken architectural commissions. In Rome he might, if he chose, associate with men of name in that branch; and the probability that he did so is increased by the circumstance that amongst the spectators in the Delivery of the keys one on the extreme right stands (in profile), holding a set square, pointing with his forefinger as he talks to his neighbour handling a pair of compasses. To the left of both, a man in upright attitude separates the two first from a fourth personage wearing a skull-cap, who might be Perugino himself, his face has so many features recalling those of the portrait in the Uffizi at Florence. There are no means of knowing who were the architects thus portrayed by Perugino, but he might have received from them the sketches for the arches which adorn his distance. Two or three figures besides those described may be considered as taken from life; but it would be vain to think of assigning names to

[1] Completed in 1504 according to Pungileoni, in Vita di Bramante, p. 29.

them. They may be likenesses of Perugino's associates in Rome at the period of his stay, or of men who desired to see their persons immortalized in a sacred place. But we do not see amongst them either Pinturicchio or della Gatta, whose labours are indeed more easily traced in the Moses and Zipporah, and in the Baptism, than they are in the Delivery of the keys.[1]

As a wall-painter, Perugino at the Sixtine followed the practise familiar to him in the production of temperas on panel. He laid in the flesh with the usual pale grey-green, and stippled the lights and shadows over all, retouching the dry surface at last with rough hatchings which have been blackened by the effects of time. His system was that which Pinturicchio continued at Rome after Perugino's departure.

This event, no doubt, occurred after the completion of the Sixtine chapel in 1486; and this we infer not from any knowledge as to the manner in which Perugino's masterpieces were received, but because he had returned to Florence in the autumn of that year. It appears from the criminal records of Florence that Perugino and a companion called Aulista di Angelo of Perugia were convicted of having disguised themselves on some of the long nights of December, and waited with staves at the corner of a street to waylay some person near S. Pietro Maggiore. The evidence adduced before the *"otto di custodia"* in their sittings of July 1487 established most damning facts against Aulistà, who was proved to have murdered one man, and struck or wounded others at Rome. It further appeared that he had proposed to murder the person against whom he and Perugino had a grudge, but that the latter wished to end the matter with a drubbing only. Fortunately for the threatened party, the conspirators were taken into custody, and sentenced,

[1] Vasari mentions the Sixtine frescos (VI. 40—41).

Perugino to a fine of ten florins of gold, Aulista to perpetual exile.[1]

The payment for the Sixtine frescos was not authorized till August 1489, when Perugino became entitled to draw on the apostolic *camera* at Perugia for a rest of 180 ducats.[2] In the interval he sent (1488) an altarpiece to S. Domenico of Fiesole,[3] and (1489) he received an invitation to Orvieto.

During forty-four years which had elapsed since Angelico's time, the scaffoldings had not been taken down in the Cappella di S. Brizio. The superintendents had never been able to satisfy the demands of a master

[1] 1487. Archiv. Cent. di Stato di Firenze. Delib. e partiti degli Otto di Custodia e pratica ad annum. Die X. Julii 1487.

Prefati Octoviri adunati &c. actento (?) qualiter Pierus Christofori pictor de Perusis de mense decembris anno proxime preterito 1486, animo et intentione excessum malleficium et delictum committendi, pluries et pluries una cum Aulista Angeli de Perusio nocturno tempore accesserunt armati quibusdam bastonibus in populum S^i Petri maioris de Florentia, ut quemdam percuterent et ferirent dictis bastonibus; et qualiter dictus Pierus conduxit Aulistam predictum occasione et causa rei turpis, et predicta et quelibet predictorum vera fuerunt et sunt, prout ex predictorum Pieri et Aulista confessione dicti Octoviri constare asseruerunt; ideo ad faciendum jus et justitiam vigore eorum auctoritatis et balie servatis servandis, et obtento partito, secundum ordinamenta deliberaverunt, sententiaverunt et condemnaverunt dictum et infrascriptum Pierum Christophori pictorem de Perusio in Florenis viginti auri largis de auro dandis et solvendis provisori eorum officii pro expensis dicti officii — salvo quod dictus Pierus per totum diem crastinum dederit et solverit provisori predicto, ut supra recipienti, florenos decem auri largos in auro; tali casu dictus Pierus intelligatur esse et omnino sit liber et absolutus a minori summa predicta.

XI. July. Decree by which "Aulista Angeli, pictor of Perugia, seeing that he did at Rome murder one of Perugia, that he has struck and wounded others . . . ." in urbe vero Florentie quemdam occisurum se obtulit Piero Christophori pictori de Perusio, et dicto Piero recusante sed volente quod ipse illum pluribus bastonatis percuteret id suscepit et pluries et pluries accessit nocturno tempore armatus et variis et alienis vestibus vestitus ut negotium conficeret &c." — sentences said Aulista to be banished from Florence for life, never to return within its confines nor molest the said Piero or others of Perugia. Fav^d by D^re G^o. Milanesi.

[2] Mariotti, Lett. Pitt. p. 150.

[3] Chronica S. Dom. de Fesulis in MS. Convent. of S. Marco of Florence exc. in com. Vas. VI. 67. He painted more than one altarpiece for S. Domenico of Fiesole as may be seen hereafter, but that of 1488 is not forthcoming. See Vas. VI. 45. 6.

of name, or they had wilfully neglected to engage one, till Perugino visited Orvieto. They seem to have felt on this occasion that their duty compelled them to remove what they admitted to be a stain on their administration, especially as an artist stood within their reach "whose fame had been spread throughout Italy by his completion of the frescos in the apostolic palace at Rome". They asked Perugino to examine the chapel, and tender for its decoration. He did so; and we may judge from his offer at what a price he valued himself. He would take the whole chapel, he said, for fifteen hundred ducats, if he were furnished with scaffoldings, lime, gold, and ultramarine. He would use such subjects as might be submitted to him, and personally execute the faces and hands of all the figures. With prudent reserve the superintendents contracted only for the ceilings and all the spaces above the capitals, promising to give two hundred ducats for the work, and closing with an advance of ten gold pieces, on condition that Vannucci should begin in April 1490, and go on throughout the whole of the following summer. Perugino upon this left Orvieto, probably for Florence, and was not again heard of during that year. It is possible that his ambition had suggested the chance of more interesting employment at Florence. In Orvieto, the adornment of a chapel in the cathedral had been left for half a century in abeyance. In Florence, the disgrace was more sensible, for the front of S. Maria del Fiore had never been touched since the facade had been raised on the plans of Neri di Fioravante, Benci Cioni, Francesco Salvetti, Orcagna, Taddeo Gaddi, and Niccola Tommasi.[1] It was a common subject of conversation in 1490, that the exterior of the cathedral of Florence was in an unsafe condition, and (we read the words with some surprise) it was no heresy to declare in

[1] It is now proved that the façade was not begun by Giotto, but was due to the masters named in the text, whose plan was made public after long deliberation in October 1357. Ces. Guasti in Archivio storico. nuova serie. Vol. 17. part I. Flor. 1863. p. 140.)

the journals of the guild of woolstaplers, that the front was a mongrel structure, and built in defiance of all architectural rules or order.[1] Lorenzo de' Medici, the virtual leader of the Florentines, would no doubt have been pleased if the Duomo of his native city could have been perfected in his lifetime. He therefore gave his support to the guild of woolstaplers when they ordered the *operai* to take the necessary steps for obtaining plans and funds, for this new enterprise. The skill of Italians of every grade was consulted. Architects, sculptors, and painters from every part of the country were desired to compete, and in the course of the year eleven designs and one model were ready. The 5th of January 1491 was the day fixed for the meeting of the promoters in S. Maria del Fiore. Foremost in the assembly the two consuls of the woolstaplers, Silvestro de' Popoleschi and Ridolfo Falconi, appeared in virtue of their office. They were followed by a host of men of position in Florence, the Soderini, Niccolini, Giugni, Serristori, Salviati, Cavalcanti, Tornabuoni, Strozzi, Scala, Filicaria, Martelli. Designs were presented by the Canon Carolus Benci, by Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, Francesco di Giorgio, Filippino Lippi, Giovanni, (?Giuliano) Verrocchio, Bernardo Ghalluzzo, Antonio Pollaiuolo, Francesco da Fiesole, Francesco, herald of the Florentines. The only model exhibited was by Jacopo Piattola. All the professional men of importance in Italy were invited, and most of them came, Perugino, Vittorio the son of Ghiberti, Simone Pollaiuolo, Monciatti, Benedetto da Maiano, Francione, Domenico Ghirlandaio, Cosimo Rosselli, Lorenzo di Credi, Giovanni Graffione, Andrea di Monte San Savino, Clemente del Tasso, Andrea della Robbia,

[1] Record of deliberation of guild of wool-staplers at Florence, dated Febr. 9. 1490. in com. Vas. VII. 243. We also see that Albertini held the same opinion. He says in the Memoriale (ub. sup. p. 10): "Decta facciata, la quale Lorenzo de Medici voleva levare e riducerla a perfectione, mi pare senza ordine o misura". But Albertini is a prejudiced critic, for he had built a model of a new front and wished to see it carried out.

Sandro Botticelli, Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea da Fiesole, Lapo, were all grouped together; and prominent amidst them all the commanding figure of Lorenzo de' Medici. One might have thought that the time chosen for this competition would be favorable beyond any other. As a state, Florence enjoyed peace and wealth, both a guarantee for the speedy prosecution of a great architectural undertaking, and Lorenzo de' Medici was in the fulness of his power. But when the names of the competitors are considered, it seems doubtful whether the talent which they represented would have sufficed. This, it seems, was felt by most persons at the meeting; for after Tommaso Minerbetti had opened the proceedings with a statement of the labours of the *operai*, more than one speaker rose for the purpose of recommending delay and mature consideration; and Lorenzo de' Medici closed the debate with an eulogy upon those who had sent designs, but at the same time with a suggestion that there would be no inconvenience in postponing a matter of such gravity to a future time. In this manner the hopes that might have been entertained as to finishing S. Maria del Fiore were dashed to the ground. The model and designs were consigned to oblivion, and the persons present parted to their several homes.

Whatever may have been Perugino's expectation in reference to this affair, he was not long in making up his mind as to the course which he should pursue. Avoiding Orvieto where he might have been sued for the penalties on his breach of contract, he proceeded to Perugia where he drew the remnant of his pay for the Sixtine frescos (March 5th 1491) at the apostolic chamber, and then went onwards to try his fortune anew at Rome.

During his absence Pinturicchio together with the somewhat lazy Filippino Lippi had taken the lead as a decorator, and alternately received the commissions of Innocent the VIIIth, and the Cibos, of the Borgias, and della Roveres. Perugino, for a short time, divided with him the patronage of the latter, and was employed by

Cardinal Giuliano[1] to adorn his palace. This prelate, then bishop of Ostia, was of the same impetuous and exacting temper as when, under the name of Julius the IIⁿᵈ, he ruled the church; ambitious, in 1491, as in 1503 and 1508, to attach the greatest living artists to his person, caring much and paying royally for the best works, but always ready to destroy them for the sake of getting better. Raphael had not as yet ascended to the eminence from which he afterwards looked down upon his master; and Perugino enjoyed for the time the fullest confidence of his patron. He did not conceal from the Cardinal that, unless an efficient protection could be extended to him, the superintendents of Orvieto might venture upon measures of annoyance, and when they, at last, determined to cancel his contract, Giuliano was induced to write to the priors and council a letter as insolent as his temper and power allowed him to do. The superintendents, in obedience to a promise extracted from them by the Cardinal, had remained quiescent during the whole of 1491, but in January of the following year, they began to deliberate what their best course should be, considering Perugino's delay. The result was a resolution to ask Pietro whether he intended to come or not. He replied in April that he proposed doing so at the next opportunity. Yet he took no immediate step towards the fulfilment of his promise so that the superintendents were obliged at last to let him know they would appoint some one else in his stead. This was the signal for Cardinal Giuliano to interfere. He penned a letter on the 2ⁿᵈ of June reminding the council of Orvieto that they had agreed to wait, knowing that Perugino would be ready for them in a few months; but he added:

"Now Maestro Pietro has stated that, contrary to your word, you intend to substitute for him another painter who shall do your work; this is, indeed, truly remarkable (conduct). We laboured under the impression that you

[1] Giuliano della Rovere succeeded Pius the IIIᵈ in the papal chair.

were to be compliant as best suits the love we have ever borne to your community. And so we now again exhort and pray that you do reserve this place which is his due, to Maestro Pietro, and refrain from molesting him for the short time during which he has to expedite our affairs".[1]

In the meanwhile the Orvietans had been in correspondence with Pinturicchio who announced his arrival almost at the moment when they received Giuliano's letter.[2] Not venturing to offend so important a dignitary as the Cardinal, they obeyed his injunctions by keeping for Perugino his place in the cappella S. Brizio; and Pinturicchio received instructions to labour in a different part of the cathedral.

The only memory of this busy and interesting period in Perugino's life is an altarpiece in the Albani Villa near Rome, the decorations of the Cardinal's palace having perished. But this altarpiece alone with its date of 1491 gives us sufficient knowledge of his manner at the period. Its principal subject is the Nativity in the form which Perugino subsequently repeated with slight changes on various occasions; and this again is surmounted by three panels of the Crucifixion between the angel and the Virgin annunciate. The stable of Bethlehem is transformed after the true Umbrian fashion into a wide and roomy inclosure protected from the weather by arches resting on pillars in one corner of which the ox and the ass are penned behind a palisade. The infant Christ lies on the foreground in the middle of the floor with the Virgin and S. Joseph on their knees, in rear of him, and two angels between them in adoration. In the aisles SS. Michael and John the Baptist, SS. George and Jerom, kneel and stand in prayer. The light pouring in from the openings to the left, casts pleasant shadows on a fine architecture and illumines a pretty distance of hills and

[1] The letter is printed in original in "Alcuni Documenti artistici" &c. ub. sup. p. 17. The remaining facts respecting this period of Perugino's life may be found in Della Valle. Duomo di Orvieto, p. 316. 19. in com. Vas. VI. 68. and in Vermiglioli's Vita di Pinturicchio, ub. sup. app. pp. XXXV—XL.

[2] In June 1492 (com. Vas. V. 279).

lakes seen through the apertures. Above, the Saviour on the cross in a landscape is bewailed by the Magdalen who lies prostrate with her arms about the tree, between the lamenting Virgin and Evangelist. For a tempera, slightly injured by abrasion, restoring, and other accidents, this is still a very transparent and softly fused picture with warm lights and grey shadows, carefully united by reddish grey half tones in the flesh. It is one of the master's most graceful pieces with freshness in the types, resignation and modesty in the poses, and tender expression in the features. It is still Umbrian in sentiment as well as in the minuteness of its finish and in its details, but free from exaggeration or coarseness. The S. Michael is young, modestly noble in mien, and intent as he prays, his form reminding one of those of Raphael. The Baptist and S. George are almost equally charming, whilst the S. Joseph and the S. Jerom are more ordinary conceptions. There is great dignity in the slender figure of the Virgin, and an improvement upon the older Umbrians is seen in the shape of the infant Christ. The annunciation is full of feeling, and the form of the martyred Redeemer is as fine as its movement is fair, the whole scene of the Crucifixion almost foreshadowing a similar one by Fra Bartolommeo.[1]

The death of Innocent the VIII[th] and the accession of Alexander the VI[th] occurring in July of 1492, possibly induced Perugino to leave Rome and return to Florence

[1] The figures in the Nativity are half the life size, those in the Crucifixion and Annunciation less than half the size again. The panels seem to have been separated at one time, and to have been put together anew, the upper edge of the central panels being cut down, and the beading covering too much of those in the second course. On the capitals of the four principal pillars one reads: Petrus — de Perusia — pinxit — M©°©°VIIII G° Primo. A split runs down the drapery of the Virgin to the foreground. The cushion on which the infant Christ leans, is repainted. The same may be said of the vest of the Baptist, the hands of S. Michael, the dresses of S. Joseph, the angels, and the Virgin. The S. Michael is in a burnished steel cuirass bearing a head of Medusa on its breast. His wings are touched in gold. Rumohr has erroneously read the date of this altarpiece which he assigns to the year 1481. (Forsch. II. 341).

without attending to his commission at Orvieto.[1] From the Borgia, indeed, he had little to expect, and perhaps something to fear in consequence of His Holiness having patronized Pinturicchio and recommended him to the Orvietans. But Perugino was now so famous that he was less anxious to receive than he was to be able to satisfy, his numerous commissions. He was balloted into the municipal council of Città della Pieve for May and June 1493, and is said to have served his time there in due course;[2] but two large altarpieces produced at Florence at the same period, give proof of continued attention to his art. With a true instinct and shrewdness he perceived that the days of tempera painting were numbered, and he began to practise more constantly on the innovating system of which he had, no doubt, long known the theory. If one looks at the Virgin and child between the Baptist and S. Sebastian, now at the Uffizi, but originally at S. Domenico of Fiesole, it is apparent that he had not thoroughly caught the routine of colouring in the new methods; for the marks of hatching and stippling are still clear in the light olive flesh tones. As a composer and a draughtsman, however, he was improving. His figures are still gracile and posed in the usual Umbrian attitudes, the S. Sebastian is lean and withered in frame and limb, but the Virgin is well proportioned, and handsome in face, and forms a pleasant group with the plump infant on her lap. The saints are resolutely drawn with legs in correct foreshortening. The drapery is well cast, and one sees a striving towards higher aims than the creation of mere tenderness and grace.[3] With

[1] Vasari says that, in Rome, Perugino painted a Martyrdom in S. Marco (VI. 41). This has perished, but a figure of S. Mark is still assigned to him there, which, however, is a work of the Venetian school of the Vivarini. Vasari also describes the Sciarra Palace as having been adorned by Vannucci, but these works have been lost (Vas. VI. 41).

[2] La Fargna in Orsini p. 237.

[3] The picture (wood) is No. 1122, at the Uffizi.

The Virgin's throne is on a plinth in an arched way through which a landscape is seen. The figures are size of life. On the plinth one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit an. MCCCCLXXXXIII. Vasari is strong in praise of the work (VI. 45. 6).

less finish or carefulness of handling, with less judicious arrangement of drapery and choice of type, the Madonna and saints of 1493 in the Belvedere gallery at Vienna illustrates the same phase in Pietro's career.[1]

Being now a permanent resident at Florence, and a candidate for employment in all the branches of his profession, Perugino opened a regular shop, and whilst he sold panels to distant purchasers, he painted frescos for Florentine convents. Of these the most celebrated is that of the Gesuati which contained a Brotherhood familiar with the pursuits of art. The Gesuati had built for themselves a monastery, outside the Porta a Pinti, and erected workshops for the production of painted glass. They carried on a flourishing business, and took part in almost all great undertakings during the last half of the fifteenth century. For these friars Perugino drew numerous cartoons, and painted on wall, and on panel, decorating two cloisters with frescos, and the convent church with two altarpieces.[2] Their establishment became for this reason doubly famous to visitors whom curiosity prompted to see the creations of a famous master, to customers desirous of excellent wares. But as the imperial army advanced in 1529 to the siege of Florence, the exposed situation of the edifice and the advantage which it might have afforded to Philip of Orange, induced the generals of the threatened city to demolish it. The frescos were, consequently, lost; and all that remained of

[1] Belvedere gallery. First floor. Room III. Ital. sch. No. 31. Wood. Virgin, and child, enthroned between SS. Peter and Jerom, Paul and John the Baptist. On the base of the throne are the words: "Presbiter . Johannes . Christofori . de. Terreno . fieri fecit:
MCCCCLXXXXIII."
The colour, of olive tone, is a little raw being given at one painting. The drapery has breadth, but the picture is not free from injury; the yellow mantle of S. Peter being new. The figures are life size.

[2] Albertini, in his Memoriale (ub. sup. p. 17) speaks of Perugino's works in the church, the cloisters and the convent.
Vasari also gives a full description of this convent, and of Perugino's frescos and altarpieces. (VI. p. 33 and foll^{s}.) Records in the archives of S. Maria del Fiore prove that the Gesuati had the furnishing of six glass windows in the lantern of the cupola of that church in 1466 (Guasti La Cupola ub. sup. p. 107).

the wreck was taken to S. Giovannino della Calza, or S. Giusto where two or three pictures remained until the time of their transfer to the Academy of Arts.[1] Of these the earliest seems to have been the Pietà in which the dead Saviour lying on the lap of the grieving Virgin, is supported by the head on the shoulders of Joseph, by the feet on the knees of the sitting Magdalen, whilst S. John the Evangelist looks up in prayer to heaven on the left, and another saint stands silently mourning on the right. The scene is laid in front of a colonnade, drawn in bold perspective with a low centre of vision. Any one familiar with Francia's lunette in the National Gallery will be able to understand the beauty of this very similar composition which, in Perugino's hands, is treated with greater success and feeling, and with a higher command than he had yet exhibited, of correct proportion. By giving great melancholy to the Virgin who bears the weight of her Son's frame, thoughtful intentness to the Magdalen who gazes at the feet once anointed by her care, delicate tenderness to Joseph, presenting the full face of the Saviour to the spectator, and a natural rigidity to the select shape of the Redeemer, Perugino showed a sense of discrimination worthy of praise. He proved himself a judicious observer of the Florentines, without losing the characteristic features of the Umbrian, preserving certain foreshortened movements reminiscent of the Perugian school in the upturned head of the longing Evangelist, keeping up its old fashion of drapery, but applying renewed vigour and conscientiousness to the clear rendering of form and the true perspective of its lines, and clothing it in a broader cast of fold. All this he accompanied originally with clearness in the handling of oil-colours partaking in tone of the greyness of tempera, and justly balanced in harmonies.[2] It was a work which probably created a great impression on

[1] Vas. VI. 35.

[2] This Pietà is now in the Academy of Arts at Florence. Salle des grands tableaux. No. 58. It was taken, says Richa (Chiese IX. 103), by Mary Magdalen of Austria to

Lorenzo di Credi, and might well stir a sympathetic fibre in Fra Bartolommeo. In 1494, Perugino's experience had become still further enlarged. A nobler style than he had as yet gained may be found in the Madonna and saints of S. Agostino at Cremona, on which the stamp of Florentine art, as expressed in the dignity of Ghirlandaio's creations, is obvious. The finely shaped Virgin on her pedestal is still slender in frame, but she has little Umbrian languor. The child is square in its fullness, yet inspired. The attitudes have more of the Florentine gravity; the draperies are more grandly cast than before; and the oil-colour, of strong tone, is touched with increased mastery and force.[1]

A new feature in Pietro is also revealed in this year by a portrait of himself at the Uffizi, which seems the forerunner of two others of Vallombrosan friars in the Academy of Arts at Florence. Perugino was a man of imposing air. He had a plump countenance, with small dark eyes under a fleshy brow, a short but well cut nose, and sensual lips; broad cheeks, and a bull neck. His ample furnishing of bushy but frizzled hair tells of a genuine native strength, but he prides himself on an

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the villa near the porta Romana; and a copy of it was given to the convent of S. Giovannino della Calza. It is possible that this copy which has disappeared from Florence, should be a so-called replica described by the annot. of Vas. (VI. 36) as once forming part of the Orleans gallery. In its present condition one hardly realizes the probable beauty of the original colour. The flesh is of a fair yellow shaded with bluish grey, the whole abraded; half the head of the figure on the right repainted; the eyes and forehead of the Virgin retouched, and the background thrown out of harmony. Vas. mentions this piece (VI. 36).

[1] The picture, on the altar of the Roncadelli family, has kept its place very constantly being mentioned by the Anonimo (ed. Morelli p. 35) who however transcribes the date erroneously as 1492. It was taken to France and afterwards returned. The scene is in front of an arch. The Virgin enthroned, with the child, on a plinth on which one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit MCCCCLXXXXIIII". S. James, on the left, is a fine figure, in type, movement, and colour. He is contemplated by the child whose head is in his direction, whilst the Virgin glances at S. Augustin on the right, who also looks away, though pointing with his left hand towards Christ. The figures are life size. A few worm holes have been carefully stopped and the picture is well preserved.

elegant hand. The unity of the parts, the fused enamel surface, and the bold clean touch, coupled with good modelling and precision of contours, suggest a comparison of this masterpiece with those of Antonello da Messina.[1] The work has more nerve than is found in Francia, to whom it was long assigned, but is not essentially different from the Vallombrosan friars in the Academy, the freshness and life in whose faces, together with a lively warmth and neat design, have also caused many to believe that Raphael was no stranger to their production.[2]

As Perugino now became better known for the colour in his pictures, the demand for them quickly extended towards Northern Italy, where that quality was more usually sought than in the South. Besides the Madonna which was sent to Cremona, a miracle of the cross had been finished in 1494 for the school of S. Giovanni Evangelista at Venice,[3] and Vannucci was now induced by the Council of that city to consider the draught of a contract for "the flight of Pope Alexander the Third", and "the battle of Legnano" in the Sala del gran Consiglio. It was proposed that these should be done for 400 ducats without any limit as to time. Perugino boldly claimed 800 ducats; and the negotiation failed, no doubt in consequence of the exorbitance of his demand.[4] But it was of advantage to him that he should not be obliged to

[1] No. 287. Uffizi. On the back of the panel the following is engraved: 1494. di lugli. Pietro Perugino pins^{e} pm^{o} die ..... He wears a black skull cap, a red vest laced over a white shirt, a purple coat with brown facing. One hand leans on a parapet; the other holds a scroll on which one reads: "Timete deum". The colour is a little veiled. The distance is sky, hills, and water.

[2] Flor. Acad. of Arts. Salle des petits tableaux. No. 18. wood, oil. Both are profiles looking up as if appealing to heaven; one turned to the right, inscribed: "Blasio Gen. Servo tuo succurre", the other turned to the left, inscribed: "D. Balthasar Monaco s. tuo succurre." Both come from the convent of Vallombrosa, and are on small panels.

[3] Cicogna, Iscriz. Venet. ub. sup. I. 47, who says the picture perished by fire.

[4] The record is published in Gaye, Carteggio II. 69. 70, but the contract does not seem to have been ratified; for in January 1515 Titian offered to cover the space previously intended for Perugino, and to do the work for 400 ducats and the reversion of the Sanseria

leave Florence, where a casual absentee might speedily lose a practise reared by patient industry.

He had thus far endeavoured to combine a diligent study of composition with an honest striving towards a faithful reproduction of nature. He had tried to master the idea of his subjects, and to give to his personages the appearance, the passion, the action, and the meaning suited to them. He was already quoted as one of the most able men in Central Italy for the application of the system of oil. A short year elapsed, and the Pietà of 1495 at the Pitti marked him out amongst Florentine craftsmen as a candidate for the highest celebrity. One of the greatest attractions of this piece consisted, according to Vasari, in the brilliancy of its tones and of its backgrounds;[1] and even now, that time and restoring have dimmed and altered it, the landscape is one of Perugino's best. It was natural, indeed, that independently of all else, his cleverness in distances should excite admiration in a city where they had long been noted for a comparatively monotonous surface, upon which trees or buildings were laid in with touches of opaque substance, copiously impregnated with vehicle, and necessarily rough in consequence. By introducing transparent and varied tints into them, and thus adding

in the Fondaco de' Tedeschi. He takes credit in a letter making this offer for liberal intentions, inasmuch as his claim "is the half of what Perugino required for the same labour". It has been supposed that the Pietro Peroxino of the record of 1494 and the Perusin of Titian are not the same person as Pietro Perugino; but this view can scarcely be supported, and was not held by Gaye or Cadorin (see Dei miei studi &c. by Abb. Cadorin in the Atti dell' Ateneo at Venice 1846). One reason adduced for the belief in the existence of a Venetian Pietro Perugino is that a picture once in the Rinuccini gallery representing SS. Marc between Jerom, and Gerard, is signed: "Pietro Perugino pinx. anno 1512", and is evidently not by Pietro Vannucci. This is perfectly correct. The picture in question is by a Venetian of whom we shall have to speak. It is of a reddish tone of much impasto with lively draperies. We shall not raise a question as to this signature at present, but merely say there is no second picture in existence that bears a similar one. The names of the saints at the base of their niches are repainted.

[1] Vas. VI. 32.

a charm all but unknown to the Peselli, Pollaiuoli, Verrocchio, and Signorelli, he captivated the spectator. His preeminence in this respect was due to his command of means in the use of the mediums, now in course of rapid improvement, at Florence; but not to that cause alone. The Umbrians had long bestowed an extraordinary attention upon details of landscape. Perugino took this specialty with him to Florence; but instead of considering that section of his art as definitely acquired, he carefully looked at Masaccio in the Carmine. At Rome he saw how Ghirlandaio added interest to his wallpaintings by wide expanses of vales and of lakes; and when he returned to Florence, how admirably Domenico combined his incidents with scenery, in the Sassetti chapel and in the choir of S. Maria Novella. Instead of laying the Pietà in a formal convergence of rays by placing the centre of vision in the middle of the picture; instead of pursuing the course which he had followed in the Delivery of the keys, and which he afterwards repeated so frequently in the days of his decline, he set the centre of vision at one side, and broke up the features of the country into simple yet graceful sinuosities to show pools of water disappearing in the horizon, and limpid on the outskirts of a city. He fitted trees and shrubbery so cleverly that in spite of all the calculation which it reveals, the result seems a spontaneous creation of nature. It was not enough for him to have thus given a special beauty to one particular part, he also made the lines of the country complementary to those of the figures, which he ceased to place with Umbrian symmetry and regularity, in order to put them together pyramidally on the principles illustrated by his predecessors. The Saviour's body, still full of the flexibility of life, but supine in death, is supported in its winding sheet on a stone by Joseph of Arimathea; the head is held up by the Magdalen, the left arm by the Virgin. Mary Cleofas looking over the heads of both, completes the pyramid with Mary Salomé kneeling at her side between the Vir-

gin and a youth who stoops to raise the corners of the cloth at the Redeemer's feet. S. John and the wife of Zebedee, Nicodemus and two others stand to the right and left. In this arrangement, Perugino leaves nothing to desire, balancing and harmonizing everything with a sobriety and fitness only to be found in the best composers, emulating the Masaccios and Ghirlandaios without servilely copying them, and imparting to all at the same time his own peculiar sentiment. The Virgin shows her maternal love in an agony of grief, without grimace. In the Magdalen, sorrow and sympathy are united in the face and in the action. Joseph of Arimathea turns away his head, overcome by the melancholy of the scene, whilst the youth at the Saviour's feet is less affected. In thus modifying the intensity and form of pain in each person, as in transmitting individuality to the features, Perugino's merit is undeniable. Softness of expression, and select grace give it the impress of its originality; an originality well calculated to temper the rugged grandeur of the nobler, or the realism of the more naturalistic, Florentines, and prepare the way for Raphael. As a study of nude, the Redeemer is finely proportioned, without the false conventionalism so often conspicuous in the hands, feet, or articulations of earlier and later creations, and without their stiffness, length, or leanness. One sees in it as in the surrounding mourners, the forerunner of that splendid work of the sixteenth century, the Pietà of Fra Bartolommeo at the Pitti; in the greater spontaneity and more intense feeling of which one still traces a happy impress derived from Perugino.[1]

The year 1495 was thus remarkable in the career of Vannucci. It was that in which an Umbrian, imbibing the

[1] This picture is now No. 164 in the Pitti gallery, and was originally in the convent of S. Chiara at Florence. It is inscribed on the stone supporting the Redeemer's body as follows: Petrus Perusinus pinxit A. D. M. CCCC LXXXXV. The colour was doubtless charming before it was altered by exposure. The head of an old man pray-

principles, slowly developed throughout two centuries since Giotto, successfully applied the laws of composition, and added a calm tenderness to the gravity of the Florentine school; and, through his influence on Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael, replaced, as far as it was possible to do so, the pious mysticism that had perished with Angelico. The time indeed was one when no artist could hope to revive the simplicity of old convent art, when no reformer, were he talented or enthusiastic as Savonarola proved himself, could restore a religious spirit incompatible with the condition of society during the ebb of republican liberty; but it was still a time when a pleasing gentleness, an expression of purity in representing heart in conjunction with positive beauty, might be substituted for the deeper and more imposing sentiment of Giotto, Orcagna, Traini, and Fra Giovanni.

When the nuns of S. Chiara, for whom the Pietà was finished, were in possession of it, a rich Florentine, Francesco del Pugliese, offered them threefold its price if they should consent to exchange it for a counterpart by Perugino himself. The offer was rejected, because the nuns ascertained from Vannucci that he did not think he could repeat it without failure.[1] He had probably not the courage to copy a picture on which his own labour had been exclusively bestowed, and fearing that his pupils would not make a replica as good as the original, he preferred undertaking new subjects. He thus produced at intervals the frescos of S. M. Maria de' Pazzi, which Rumohr describes as fully equal in composition, and expression to the Pietà of S. Chiara,[2] Christ in prayer on the Mount of Olives for the Gesuati, the Crucifixion for S. Girolamo delle Poverine at Florence, the Madonna with

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ing, right of Nicodemus, is changed in tone as well as the face of Mary Cleofas.

[1] Vas. VI. 33.

[2] These frescos can only be seen with the permission of the archbishop of Florence which the authors were unable to obtain, but see Rumohr (Forschungen II. 344), Vasari (VI. 45), and Albertini, Mem. p. 13.

saints for the Magistracy, and that of the Virgin and child for S. Pietro Martire, of Perugia. In every instance he maintained the ground he had previously won, or he exhibited his fullest powers as a colourist. We may be grateful indeed for the preservation of these examples in their original loveliness, and value them for affording that insight into Perugino's progress in oilpainting which is denied in the faded though still beautiful ones of the same period previously described. The Christ on the Mount is now in the Academy of Florence,[1] where one sees how well Perugino has placed the Redeemer on an elevation, kneeling and praying, whilst an angel brings the cup. The three apostles lie sleeping on the foreground as Iscariot, in the distance, leads the soldiers to the capture. With much thought in the conception, and much freshness in the types, the picture gains an additional charm from the hour with which Perugino marks the time of the action. The sun has just set; and a strong reflection still rests on the Saviour and apostles who detach themselves in gloom from the pale horizon of the sky. In this twilight the forms are finely brought out by well modelled relief. In the Crucifixion, the Virgin and S. Jerom stand at the sides of the cross in a landscape after sunset; and in order to strengthen the melancholy of the scene, Perugino gives it a mysterious depth of atmosphere in a low key of warmth, and thus corrects the defects of figures made out with less than usual care and conscientiousness.[2]

The Madonna and saints executed in 1496 for the chapel of the Magistracy at Perugia, and now at the Vatican, is, unlike the two last, a bright day-light piece. The Madonna is enthroned in front of a colonnade on a pedestal between the four patron saints of the city. Her shape is slender, and her appearance extremely gentle.

[1] Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 53.

[2] Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 56, noticed in its original place by Richa (Chiese II. 301).

The saints breathe contentment and sympathising tenderness. But the colouring is vigorous and masterly, of a pleasing richness in the flesh tending to that brownish ruddy tinge attractive in Antonello and the Bellini, and in the early Giorgiones; whilst the draperies are prepared and glazed with a perfect knowlege of the laws of contrast, and with great skill in technical handling.[1] The Virgin and child of S. Pietro Martire was finished in 1498.[2] It represents the Virgin seated in a landscape attended by two angels in flight, and the infant Saviour on her lap blessing six brethren in white, kneeling in front. The child is a little fat and square, and the features of His mother are a little vulgar. But the expression and action are softly meditative, and this impression is heightened by the calm glow of evening which overspreads the groups, not with the vividness of that in the Christ at the Mount, but with a clearer, milder reddish brown, polished as enamel. It is another of those instances in which Perugino adapts the *technica* of his art to the rendering of an idea, and trusts for effect to colour rather than to form, emulating the Venetians who harmonize their tints with the incidents they depict. The system upon which all these panels were wrought was almost the perfection of that which had been inaugurated by the Peselli and the Pollaiuoli, improved by Verrocchio, by Leonardo and Perugino. It was not simple, nor was it acquired at once.

Perugino prepared flesh with a warm brown tone which he worked into rotundity by successive strata, leaving

[1] This picture was dismembered and taken by the French to Paris. The frame and a Pietà forming the pinnacle, remained in the Sala del Magistrato at Perugia, now in the Public Gallery, No. 32. The Madonna was returned at the peace of 1815, not to Perugia, but to Rome. It is in the Vatican and signed on the pedestal of the Virgin's throne: "Hoc Petrus de Chastro plebis pinxit", see Vasari (VI. 41.)

[2] Since the text was written, the panel has been deposited in the Perugia gallery and numbered No. 35. The Brotherhood of S. Pietro Martire was originally called Confraternita di S. M. Novella, afterwards della Consolazione. It appears from ann. Decemvirali for 1498 that the picture was painted in March of that year. Mariotti, ub. sup. p. 156.

the high lights for the close.[1] These strata were such that each should be lighter in colour, yet fuller in body than the last; and therefore the final and most substantial one was the high light which occupied the least space in the picture. Care was taken in laying the second not to lose all trace of the first, but to let its value appear through the superposed colour. This, in a few words, was the technic of the Van Eycks. It created flesh-tints merging from thin to full body in proportion as the parts fell out of shadow, receiving light from without, and transparency from within. The consequence was a somewhat unbroken surface, with insufficient half-tone; but this disadvantage was corrected ex. gr. in the Madonna of the Vatican, by strengthening the darkest spots with a final scumble which remained higher on the panel than the rest; and the result was a clear and lucid enamel betraying less of the secrets of manipulation than the painting of the earlier innovators. To complete a picture by these means was a matter of calculation and certainty of hand, an undertaking in which a false step involved absolute failure. But the method was perfectly familiar to Perugino, and was invariably used during his transition from this period to the more advanced one in which he carried out the altarpiece of the National Gallery. In draperies, the processes varied. All cold mixtures were put in first with warm substrata, covered over like the flesh-tints, and glazed.[2] Vice versa, warm or glowing colours were rubbed on with cold undertones; and this method was followed with unwavering consistency even in changing hues. Reds and

[1] Vasari alludes, no doubt, to this when he says (speaking of the crackling of the surface in Perugino's pictures at the Gesuati): "ciò avviene perchè quando si lavora il primo colore che si pone sopra la mestica (perciocchè tre mani di colori si danno, l'un' sopra l'altro) non è ben secco, onde poi col tempo, nello secarsi tirano per la grossezza loro, e vengono ad aver forza di fare que' crepati". Vasari, VI. 37.

[2] The use of verdigris or bitumen in glazes for drapery has caused many of those parts in Perugino's pictures to blacken.

lake reds alone were sometimes laid on above cool preparations in half-body with high surface lights and shadows, and glazed; sometimes the glaze preceded the lights and shadows, sometimes the lights were furnished by the undertone. In general all colours except lake-reds were opaque and of solid impasto, receiving light from without, with shadows superposed, and occasional hatching in the projections. The brightest shades were invariably chosen for the foreground, changing hues for the middle distance.[1]

During the whole of these years, until the Perugians determined to decorate the college of the Cambio, Vannucci resided almost entirely at Florence, visiting Perugia occasionally for the purpose of painting a picture, or receiving orders for new ones. At one of these visits, the Vatican Madonna, which he had promised in 1483, was allotted to him a second time on the 6th of March 1496 (n. s.);[2] Santi di Appollonio's likenesses of the members of the Council of 1483, which had been upwards of twelve years in some secluded garret, were cancelled by the Council of 1496;[3] and Perugino substituted for them a Pietà. He was to deliver the whole in six months from the date of the contract, and no doubt did so. But he was not satisfied with so little; and two days later he signed with the prior of the Benedictines of S. Pietro for an Ascension to be completed in two years; nor is it unlikely that he agreed at the very same time for the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire. On his return to Florence, after finishing the altarpiece of the Magistrato,[4] he invested some of his money in a purchase of land in the parish of S. Piero Maggiore where

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[1] See Vas. opinion, already quoted, p. 172.

[2] Mariotti publishes the contract (Lett. Pitt. ub. sup. note to p. 157).

[3] Ib. ib.

[4] In November (24th) 1496 he contracts at Perugia with the Benedictines of S. Pietro for the frame (and certain figures of prophets in it) of the Ascension. The contract in Mezzanotte, ub. sup. 297. 8.

he usually lived, and thus appears to have contemplated a permanent stay.[1] Permanent indeed it still remained for some time, for in the midst of other labours he found leisure to attend various consultations on matters of art. In January 1497, he accompanied Benozzo Gozzoli, Cosimo Rosselli, and Filippino Lippi to value the frescos of Alesso Baldovinetti in the church of S. Trinita at Florence; and in the language and orthography of his "opinion" shows himself undoubtedly the most illiterate of the four.[2] In June 1498, he was present at a most important discussion.

Upon the death of Lorenzo de' Medici it was observed by the superstition of the people that various signs and omens of a highly doleful nature gave notice of coming misfortunes. The most striking amongst these was the destruction of the lantern of S. Maria del Fiore by lightning which prefigured, as Macchiavelli believed, the ruin of the republic.[3] The fall of the lantern was not in itself an irreparable injury, and though months went by before the marks of the accident were obliterated, it was finally replaced in its original state. Simon Pollaiuoli, the superintendent of the cathedral, was induced either by the consuls of the woolstaplers, or by his own fear of responsibility to submit the repairs to a meeting of architects, sculptors, and painters; and at this meeting, Filippino Lippi, Lorenzo di Credi, and Perugino all tendered their advice.[4] There was, in fact, hardly a public or private deliberation to which Perugino was not called, and thus reap the fruit of a life of privation, during which a bed was long an unknown luxury, and night was turned into day for the sake of learning.[5] Yet,

[1] Annot. Vas. VI. 50. He is called in the record: "habitator in populo S. Petri Majoris".

[2] The record in full is in "Alcuni documenti", ub. sup. Nozze Farinola Vai, p. 18.

[3] Macchiavelli, Istorie Fiorentine, Niccolini's edition. 8°. Flor. 1848. p. 413.

[4] The minutes of this meeting are in Guasti. La cupola ub. sup. pp. 119—21, and Vannucci is described in it as "Florentiæ degens".

[5] Vas. VI. 29.

as sometimes happens to men who have struggled, the sweets of the harvest were so pleasant to Perugino that he began to look upon their accumulation as of more interest than the preservation of his fame; and from this time dates the beginning of an activity in which his pupils and journeymen had a share as great as his own, and in which their mediocrity covered with his name was necessarily calculated to injure him in public estimation. This phase in the master's career is already marked in the Ascension of S. Pietro of Perugia, which was taken to Paris by the French, and was not returned in its primitive condition. The central Ascension is in the Museum of Lyons, the lunette in S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, the predella in the Museum of Rouen, three of the pilaster saints in the Vatican at Rome, and the other five in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Perugia.[1] The Ascension is on a conventional model, fitted to please men not yet initiated to the more perfect and natural creations of Perugino's successors.[2] The Redeemer is draped to the hip and points upwards with both hands, suggesting that the two angels who support his glory of cherubs' heads, are taking him to the region of bliss where two seraphs attend the Eternal in a circular glory of the same kind issuing from a cloud in benediction.[3] The joys of

[1] The contract is in full in the appendix to Mezzanotte's life of Perugino ub. sup. pp. 295. 7. But a description of the picture as it stood in S. Pietro, and of the predella and pilaster saints as they were preserved in the sacristy of the church at the close of the last century, is given in Constantini's guida di Perugia. Ed. 2ª. 1818. p. 41, and in Orsini, Vita di Perugino ub. sup. p. 160.

[2] No. 156. Museum of Lyons. Claimed in 1815, but given to the town of Lyons by Pius the VII^th^. Transferred to canvass, but showing the marks of two splits running vertically down the picture. Restored with punctuated stippling of a red tone. The flesh lights pallid and chalky from abrasion, ex. gr. in the Virgin's face and the torso of the Christ. The blue sky is scaled, restored, and out of harmony. The distance is so carelessly repainted that the heads of some foreground figures are covered at the outlines. The glazes over the angel's forms are removed. Figures all but life size.

[3] The upper part of the Eternal's frame is seen. This portion of the picture is not now in its old place in S. Germain l'Auxerrois. When there it had suffered from cleaning and subsequent dust. A horizontal split cut the Eternal in half, and the prism of the glory had become blue by the abrasion of the other colours.

the heavenly host are represented by four winged players in couples at the side of the Saviour. The Virgin, in the foreground of the landscape above which He ascends, turns her head upwards; whilst S. Peter, and S. Paul, and the company of the apostles in diverse attitudes follow her example. In the predella, the Adoration of the Magi is rich in distant incidents. The Baptism is formal, the frame of the Saviour being finely rendered. The Resurrection comprises the usual number of soldiers asleep about the tomb, on the edge of which Christ is standing with the banner. But the foreshortenings are drawn with little success, and would prove Perugino to have been inferior in the reproduction of difficult positions, to Signorelli.[1] The half lengths of the pilasters at Perugia and at Rome are fair enough for the place they were destined to fill.[2]

The whole composition and isolated bits of it were frequently repeated by Perugino. A replica of the Ascension without the lunette or predella was taken for the cathedral of Borgo S. Sepolcro where it still exists in a bad condition,[3] having been apparently confided exclusively to assistants. The glory of the Eternal was used anew in the arched sky of the Assumption at the Academy of Arts at Florence; the players and the two angels supporting the Redeemer's glory, deprived of scrolls, were transferred to the same picture. The Eternal was given

[1] Rouen Museum. No. 288. Adoration. No. 289. Baptism. No. 290. Resurrection, under the name of Raphael. In the first of these, the Virgin sits to the right with the child on her knee, the kings in front to the left, the foremost one with one knee on the ground, and his arms across on his breast. Between the kneeling king and Virgin, backwards, S. Joseph. Suite of kings with horses in distance to the left, and the announcement to the shepherds on a hill to the right. In the second, Christ with the Baptist in centre, between four angels in adoration. Two figures in converse at each side of the foreground. In the third as in the second, a strip of the foreground has been renewed (10 figures).

[2] At S. Pietro, Perugia. SS. Scolastica, Ercolano, Pietro abate, Costanzo, and Mauro. At Rome, Vatican gallery (No. 14), SS. Benedict, Placido, and Flavia. These eight panels, fairly preserved, of a low brownish tone, with high surface shadows.

[3] It was painted at Florence and sent from thence (Vas. VI. p. 40).

without alteration in the fresco of the sybils and prophets at the Cambio of Perugia. The glory of angels and some saints were introduced into the altarpiece of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi at Florence, and variations of these again into an Assumption in the parish church of Corciano near Perugia, and into the Caraffa panel in the Duomo at Naples.[1] The handling of the original at S. Pietro was once bold and free, but in its conception and execution has neither the unity nor the charm of the cotemporary Christ on the Mount, and Madonna with saints at the Vatican. It stands in this respect on an equality with the Virgin of 1497 in S. Maria Nuova of Fano, where six saints at the sides of the throned Madonna and child combine the gentleness of Umbrian types with the fine choice of Florentine proportions. A charming predella with scenes from the life of Mary contains compositions in the best style; but a lunette representing the dead Saviour supported on his tomb, is incorrect and coarse in the nude.[2] This altarpiece again is superior to the Annunciation of (?) 1498 in the same church,[3] though on a par with a much damaged Virgin,

[1] Noticed by Vas. VI. 40.

[2] The Virgin enthroned supports the infant erect on her knee, left, S. John, a bishop, and S. Francis, right, SS. Peter, Paul, and Mary Magdalen. On the step of the throne the words: "Durantis Phanen. ad intemerate Virginis laudē tercentūm aureis alq. Đ hujus templi Bonō centū superaditis hanc solerti cura fieri demandavit. Mateo de Martinotiis fidei commissario procuranti MCCCC97. . . . . Petrus Perusinus pinxit. Wood, oil.. with two vertical splits. The surface darkened, the blues and shadows generally of high surface. In the lunette, Christ is supported by Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus. The Virgin is to the left, S. John Evangelist to the right. The lunette has a larger base than the central panel which, however, is now without its pilasters. In the predella, the Birth of the Virgin is a composition of eight figures, and Florentine in character. The Presentation in the temple is very prettily arranged, recalling the same subject by the youthful Raphael (eleven figures). The Marriage of the Virgin (ten figures). The Annunciation is under a long arcade in vanishing perspective. The Assumption comprises the gift of the girdle to S. Thomas.

Three pieces, copies, (feeble) of the Nativity, Marriage, and Assumption are in the Oggioni gallery at the Brera in Milan.

[3] In the upper part, the Eternal in a circular glory filled with cherubs' heads. There is freshness in the figure of the angel, and a feeble, rosy tone pervades the panel. Note a long split vertically in the centre, a modern silver crown on the Virgin's head, in some parts

child, and saints in S. M. delle Grazie outside Sinigaglia.[1]

It was not extraordinary, considering the quantity of works which Perugino thus delivered in a couple of years that some of them should be inferior to others; nor is it a wonder that some parts of a picture should be better than the rest. But it is possible that time elapsed before Perugino seriously injured himself by trusting too much to his helpmates, or by his habits of repetition. His reputation was still intact, when in 1498 the Orvietans, not as yet tired of waiting for his arrival, applied to him again to come to the Cappella S. Brizio, and when the guild of the Cambio, in 1499, asked him to decorate their audience-hall. Two such requests, received simultaneously, were well calculated to flatter his self-love. They could hardly leave him in doubt as to which of them would be most gratifying to his pride. In both cases he should be obliged to leave his permanent abode at Florence. But if he went to Orvieto, he would still be distant from his native place, whilst a stay at Perugia would enable him to revisit it and to enjoy amongst his townsmen the respect due to his name and success. He chose Perugia; and after writing to the Orvietans to say that he was otherwise engaged, he accepted the offer of the guild of the Cambio. In April 1499, Signorelli was appointed to the chapel of S. Brizio, and Perugino had probably begun his equally important commission.[2]

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abraded colour. On the desk before the Virgin the following mutilated inscription; "S. A. T. . . cale . . . ttique Patrui olim pon . . . enerii hac tabula er . . gi in . . . ohe tura a . . . . . VII MCCC. . . . . III."? (1498.) Petrus de C . . . tro pl. . ."

[1] Virgin and child enthroned between SS. John Baptist, Louis, and Francis, left, and Peter, Paul, and James the Elder, right, in front of an arcade through which a landscape is seen (figures life size). On the throne a vase is depicted, and beneath it a scutcheon. The picture is very much injured, and scaling in consequence of a strong varnish. S. Louis much injured, also right arm, and part of left leg of Baptist, and part of the infant's head. Restored by one Romano in 1857, wood.

[2] See the deliberations of the Orvietans appointing Signorelli, in which it is stated that Perugino had written to declare his intention of not coming. (Antea, and

The audience-hall of the guild of changers, or bankers, at Perugia was built and inaugurated in 1453 without any pictorial adornments.[1] It was a cube with the sides halved and arched elliptically so as to give the ceiling a rich groining; a noble area for an artist to cover with appropriate designs. Of these, it would appear that Perugino was not allowed to dictate the subjects, which were submitted to him on the part of the "auditors" by Francesco Maturanzio, professor of rhetoric at Perugia and secretary to the office of the decemvirs.[2] Under his auspices it was determined that the vaulting should receive the seven planets and the signs of the Zodiac. The wall fronting the entrance was to contain the Nativity and the Transfiguration, that to the spectator's left, Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude, and illustrative portraits of classic heroes; that to the right, the Eternal, the prophets and sybils; and a square near the entrance, Cato as the emblem of wisdom. A vacant half space was committed to a cunning wood-carver, Antonio di Mercatello of Massa, whose labours were completed immediately after those of Perugino. The full pilasters at the angles were ordered to be filled with arabesque ornament, and the divisions with imitated pilasters in the same style.

In dealing with such incidents as these the skill of the composer is of less moment than that of the ornamental draughtsman. Apart from the Nativity and Transfiguration there was no incident to depict, and in the setting of the former Perugino had now nothing new to ex-

della Valle, storia del duomo d'Orvieto ub. sup. pp. 316. 19.

[1] Marchesi (Abᵉ. Raffaello) Il Cambio di Perugia. 8⁰. Perugia. 1853. p. 111, and Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. pp. 157. 8.

[2] This may be inferred from the fact that the inscriptions on the tablets in the frescos of the walls are contained in a MS. of poetical works by Maturanzio, now preserved in the municipal library of Perugia. Maturanzio seems to have derived some of the subjects from a MS. Cicero, also in the Perugia library, in which there are miniatures of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance with the heroes of antiquity celebrated for the exercise of those virtues. (Marchesi ub. sup. pp. 357. 8.)

press. He did not attempt to introduce any fundamental changes into the Nativity, which in his eyes had already been perfected in the altarpiece of the Albani Villa, and he merely substituted two shepherds for the angels between the Virgin and S. Joseph, adding three seraphim in song in the heaven. He went confessedly [1] on the principle that a composition which had once been received with applause might be admired again in a repetition, and thus throughout his lifetime the Nativity received little alteration at his hands. Whenever he was required to paint that episode, he took out the old cartoon and applied it afresh, instructing his pupils, no doubt, to think meanwhile of the original at the Cambio or elsewhere; and so the churches of S. Francesco of Montefalco and S. Francesco al Monte of Perugia were adorned without much trouble to himself.

The Transfiguration might have afforded him an occasion for displaying qualities exceptionally eminent in the Pietà of S. Chiara, if success had not already blunted his energies in the conception of new forms of distribution. His Christ, erect on the clouds, with a breeze playing gracefully in the draperies, listens full of serene dignity to the words, whilst Moses and Elias stoop in humble prayer at the sides of his glory; but the disproportion between these and the wondering apostles below is not so pardonable in an artist of Perugino's time as it would be in one of the fourteenth century, and the crouching of the recumbent Peter is too affected even for Vannucci. Yet, this transfiguration also was preserved for future use and transposed with slight diversity into a picture at S. Maria Nuova of Perugia. Still, we should not forget that the Nativity and Transfiguration, like their companions at the Cambio, are admirable for the brilliancy of their colour, the feeling and freshness transfused into the figures, and the excellence of the handling. In the

[1] Vasari VI. 47.

Triumph of Religion, as well as in the Cardinal Virtues, the simplest known arrangement is that adopted by Perugino. The Eternal is attended by two angels, and gives his blessing. He presides, as it were, over the groups beneath him. The prophets headed by Solomon, the sybils by the Erythrean, occupy the foreground. Isaiah, Moses, Daniel, David, and Jeremiah, the Persian, Cuman, Lybian, Tiburtine, and Delphic prophetesses, are in converse, and each hold a scroll with a motto. They are all graceful apparitions in the well considered and affectedly elegant motions that Perugino sought in every instance to realize, but fine in proportion, and individually grand.

The Virtues are likewise seated on clouds, and bear their appropriate emblems, whilst their embodiment is illustrated in a long line of heroes; in Fabius Maximus, Socrates, and Numa, the prudent; in Furius Camillus, Pittacus, and Trajan, celebrated for their justice; in Lucius Sicinius, Leonidas, and Cocles, men of undaunted fortitude; in Scipio, Pericles, and Cincinnatus, the glorious representatives of temperance. The same calm resignation and gentle action marks them all irrespective of difference of race, of time, and of character. In Sicinius alone, Perugino repeats the movement given to S. George or S. Michael in many of his sacred pieces; and imitates, with more than usual power the typical pose of Donatello's statue. He bears in mind the examples left by Ghirlandaio in the Palazzo Pubblico at Florence, and though he cannot rival the high mien, the noble stature, or the dignified expression of that master's classic champions the memory of them gives strength to his less masculine conceptions of them. In the Virtues he remembers other Florentines, and his Fortitude is derived from that of Botticelli. In the execution, he is prodigal of all the qualities that he possesses. His style expands to its breadth. The forms are remarkably firm, perfect, and well chosen. The proportions are most correct, and the attitudes are as natural as their forced grace will allow. The cast of his

draperies is charming. His merits are in fact conspicuous.[1]

Of the ceiling he gives the drawing which he confides to his pupils. A central lozenge, occupying one quarter of its surface, circumscribes a square in which Apollo on his biga is driven by four horses of various colour. The speed is great, and the ribbands curl in the wind as the wheels revolve; and the god himself with flowing hair appears to bound as he throws his weight on one foot and poises the other behind him. He is very thin and young in type; and his head seems studied from the classic models of the ancient time. The production of the sides of the principal lozenge forms six triangular spaces. Each of them contains a round in one of which Jupiter, on a car drawn by eagles, receives a cup of nectar from a youth. The helmeted Mars in armour sits on a similar seat commanding two rampant steeds. Saturn with his scythe is driven leisurely by two snakes Venus is wafted through the sky on a throne by two doves and expects the dart of Amor who shoots from the clouds. Luna, nude to the waist, sits in a chariot with two nymphs in harness. Mercury, at ease on one leg, holds the serpentine wand, and cleaves the air with the cocks bound

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[1] Nativity. The distance and architecture are much injured by restoring. To the left, the angel appears to the shepherds.

Transfiguration. The best of the lower figures is that of S. John protecting his eyes with his left hand, and raising himself on the right arm. The sky is repainted, and the words: "Bonum est nos hic esse" are partially covered over.

Sybils and prophets. The former it is needless to repeat, are not by Ingegno, nor are they by Raphael; and it is impossible to admit that the Daniel is a portrait of Sanzio. The execution of this fresco is masterly. One can still trace the pouncing. The sky is new.

Prudence and Justice. The face of the first named virtue is discoloured, the forehead of the Justice is abraded, and the fresco, generally, is the most dim in the hall. At the sides of the Virtues in this as in the next piece, mottos are inscribed on two tablets supported between two naked children. The heads of Fabius, Socrates, and Numa are much injured.

Fortitude and Temperance. The sky is dimmed in parts by restoring, and dirty in parts from varnish. The heads of Cocles, Pericles, and Cincinnatus are ill preserved. Cato is paltry, altered and darkened by time. The base of the frescos is about six feet from the ground, and the sybils, prophets, and heroes are life size.

to his chair. The signs of the Zodiac are on the wheels of the chariots. The lozenges and triangles are fringed with supporting ornament, of monsters, beasts, birds, vases, and twining flowers. The rounds are framed most tastily and are harmonically varied with all the hues of the prism.

The sketches for the different parts of the vaulting, we have said, are by Perugino, and the manual labour by his pupils. This is not a mere abstract supposition, but a probability supported on very forcible grounds. The Cambio ceiling is one of the most perfect examples of a system of decoration for which the Umbrian school was celebrated; it realizes an exquisitely fanciful and admirably distributed pattern. Yet, the interpreter of the master's idea is a subordinate, careful and minute to a fault, but without the swing or power of a finished artist. The leanness noticed in the Apollo extends to the rest of the planets, the nudes of which betray the immature but conscientious effort of a youth of the greatest promise. The Jupiter, it is true, is rendered with some nature. The Luna, though disproportioned and affected, is accompanied by two well made nymphs in good momentary action; but in Mars and Saturn slenderness is united to stiffness. In Venus, a strained motion usual in dancing girls mars the grace of her thin shape; and the same fault may be found with the Mercury, although his step sets off to advantage a fairly studied figure and a pleasing classic type of head. The garments adhere so tightly that they make the leanness of the wearers more apparent. Their folds are closely fitting, angularly drawn in a straight direction and at sharp angles. A general dryness characterizes the whole; yet there is a perfume of poetry and sentiment in it which sets one seeking who amongst the rising talents in Perugino's shop could have been intrusted with it. Many of the younger assistants, for instance Spagna, might, it may be granted, have drawn in this manner, for the steps of beginners have an habitual uniformity; but few would have combined such

clean carefulness of line with so much feeling;[1] and the way in which Perugino's thought and conception are realized is worthy of the youth of Raphael.[2]

Nor is it difficult to perceive a variety in the technical execution of the ceiling as compared with that of the walls at the Cambio. In the latter, Perugino's great practise is evident in the skill with which the colour is handled, in the power of the transitions from light to shadow, and in the vigour and harmony of the tones, whereas the surface of the former is rough and blistered in consequence of the distemper-hatching of red and darker shades on grey-green underground.

Perugino has left his own portrait to posterity on the middle pilaster of the hall. It stands, a bust, in an imitated border hanging by a string of beads from a nail. It is the face and form of the picture at the Uffizi with some few wrinkles more that have crept over the forehead beneath which the small eyes twinkle maliciously under the pothook-brows, but rubicund and healthy in aspect, with a stiff copious brush of hair straggling out of a blood-red cap. Above it, the ciphers of the date 1453 confirm the record which tells that the building was ready in that year, whilst his name below the portrait-frame, and those of "Anno salut. MD." on the opposite pilaster indicate the author of the decorations and the period of their completion.[3] We can only account for the final receipt of Vannucci for payment as late as 1507 by supposing that he drew upon the auditors of the Cambio as suited his occasions, and that his final acknowledgment is for those sums and for a slight remainder still due

[1] The area of the ceiling is about 580 square feet. It was restored thirty years ago by Carattoli.

Apollo, head spotted and scaled. Jupiter, flesh-parts, eagles, and dress of the youth presenting the nectar, blackened or renewed. The rest has been partially retouched in most places to fill up splits chiefly. The colour has thus lost much freshness.

[2] We shall return to this point in the life of Raphael.

[3] His name is inscribed as follows: "Petrus Perusinus egregius pictor. Perdita si fuerat, pingendo hic retulit artem: Si numquam inventa esset hactenus, ipse dedit". The whole, no doubt, dictated as the subjects of the hall had been before.

to him, at that time. The formal discharge signed by Perugino is not the only document which has been preserved.[1] The record of it is also due to the "juror of the Cambio", Alberto de' Mansueti, who prides himself on being able to note in the matricular register of his guild that he settled Pietro's account.[2]

We may accept the belief that the Audience Hall of the Cambio was finished in 1500 with the more readiness, as tangible proofs exist that Perugino had leisure to complete other important works in the same year. The Assumption which he then delivered to the monks of Vallombrosa, is one of those pieces in which Pietro is open to the charge of repetition, because the seraphs attending the Eternal are the same as those in the picture of S. Pietro Martire; and those at the Virgin's side and feet are taken from the cartoons of the Lyons Ascension. But the type of the Almighty rivals the later ones of Raphael; the Virgin who looks up to him is one of the finest in shape, in features, and in attitude that was ever produced by Perugino; and the four saints in the foreground are magnificent as isolated creations.[3] The time had not yet come when Vannucci sacrificed everything to mechanical speed. He was in the prime of life. His sense of the beautiful was unaltered; his power of realizing it increased; and this at the fortunate period when Raphael was taking his most important lessons. It may be conceived with what reverence the scholar watched the completion of the noble frescos at the Cambio; with what ardour he shared the labours in the hall. We can fancy the zest with which he strove when he saw that his master, after fifty, was still progressing, and could give to

[1] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup., note to p. 158.

[2] According to this evidence also the receipt was given by Perugino on the 15th of January 1507. The record is in Marchesi's Il Cambio, ub. sup., note to p. 117.

[3] Academy of Arts. Flor. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 55 inscribed: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit. A. D. MCCCCC". Wood, oil. Figures life size. Split; has often been cleaned and retouched, in parts flayed down to the preparation; in others blistered and threatening to scale. Vasari mentions this picture (VI. 39).

the saints in an altarpiece like that of Vallombrosa a greater readiness, a fuller and more pleasing form than before. Raphael could not have joined Vannucci at a more favorable juncture, not only for profiting by the long experience of a tried artist; but for contrasting his performances with those of Pinturicchio, who had also settled at Perugia, or with those again of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, Bartolommeo Caporali, and Giannicola Manni. None of these had a thought of setting themselves up as Vannucci's rivals. They were willing on the contrary to aid him, and they all endeavoured to imitate his manner. A gallant band of youths, besides, struck by the opportunity of the occasion, offered its services, and was taken into the shop. And thus, no doubt, Raphael attracted the attention of Pinturicchio, and contracted friendship with Spagna, Domenico Alfani, and perhaps Genga. The pictorial resources at Vannucci's command were thus so copious that he might have accepted any number of orders without fear of being disabled from carrying them out.

The works dating from the first years of the century bear such frequent marks of the employment of assistants that it is probable he did not resist the temptation which a fortunate chance had placed in his way. Circumstances occurred also which might oblige him to trust more than usual to the industry and tact of his subordinates. In January and February 1501, he was elected to serve as one of the priors of Perugia.[1] This duty involved residence in the town-hall, and daily attendance for the transaction of civic, to the exclusion of all other, business.[2] Between December 1501 and February 1502, he superintended the division of property between himself and his nephews, Agnolo and Giacomo di Giovanni of Città della Pieve, in consequence of the death of his uncle Giovanni.[3] But in spite of these

[1] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. 164. Orsini. Vita, ub. sup. 237.

[2] The priors were obliged to this because they received a salary from the funds of the municipality (Marchesi, Il Cambio, ub. sup. p. 38.

[3] Della Fargna in Orsini. Vita ub. sup. p. 237. Two records of this division exist, one dated Dec. 11th, 1501, the other, Febr. 24th, 1502.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN: an altarpiece by Pietro Perugino, in the Museum of Caen

occupations he undertook the "Marriage of the Virgin" for the chapel of the Brotherhood of S. Giuseppe in S. Lorenzo at Perugia.[1] He signed a contract on the 10th of September (1502) with the guardian of the convent of San Francesco al Monte, to paint the saints and angels about a carved statue of the Redeemer, and a Coronation of the Virgin.[2] He agreed on the 10th of October following to give the Florentine Baccio d'Agnolo designs for the stalls of the choir of S. Agostino, and pledged himself as Baccio's security;[3] and finally he took a commission from the fathers of S. Agostino for a Nativity and Baptism of Christ.[4]

As time passed, and increased the interval which separated Perugino from his last days in Florence, old associations and the reminiscences of his youth overpowered the impressions of the capital; and it is striking to see him revert in the Sposalizio to some of the characteristic features of his earlier style. This altarpiece, which did not find its way back to Italy after the peace of Tolentino, is now in the Museum of Caen in Normandy, and represents the life size Virgin and S. Joseph united by the high priest in presence of two carefully parted groups of men and women in front of an octogon temple.[5] The composition is a modification of the Delivery of the keys at the Sixtine, and is open to the same grave objections. It is remarkable that an arrangement which places the foreground personages on one line, those of the middle distance on a second, and the temple on a third, showing the complete elevation of all three with empty spaces between them, should have been copied with such fidelity by Raphael in his adaptation of 1504. But Raphael remained an Umbrian in feeling and habits till he visited

[1] In February (22nd) 1495, the Company of S. Giuseppe received grant of a subsidy from the Municipality for an altarpiece (Mariotti Lett. ub. sup. p. 155), but recent discoveries of records in the Perugian archives prove that the picture had not been commenced in Nov. 1500 (Professor Adam Rossi in Marchesi's Il Cambio ub. sup. p. 323).

[2] The contract is in Mariotti (Lett. ub. sup. p. 164). The payment (120 flor.) was to be made in instalments.

[3] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 168.

[4] Ib. ib. 165. 177. 182.

[5] Museum of Caen No. 1.

Florence, and had a fair excuse for repeating a conventional subject, whereas Perugino might have remembered how grandly the same theme had been treated by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the choir of S. M. Novella at Florence. With this exception, the Sposalizio of Caen is worthy of Vannucci. Its bright and harmonious colour is light and transparent, and marks a phase in his progress to perfection in the technical system of oil;[1] but his forms are less pliant than of old; and his tints have not the glow that charms in some of the pictures of the earlier Florentine period. The whole bears the impress of his own hand which the double altarpiece of the Minorites of S. Francesco al Monte does not.

On one side, the Saviour crowns the Virgin in an almond-shaped glory, round which four angels sport with strings of pearls and flowers. The apostles look upwards from the foreground. At a glance we know the draughtsman again whose acquaintance we made in the ceiling of the Cambio. Here is the Virgin, with a head modelled on that of the Apollo or Luna, with a frame so slender and action so decided that nature seems but fancifully imitated, yet so soft and saturated with feeling in the midst of this exuberance, that one is still attracted. Here are angels full of playful frolic, and apostles with youthful face and small prim features, but with long frames and developed articulations. The drawing is not absolutely perfect, but the sentiment that might be expected from the eagerness of a youth is everywhere apparent; and the general aspect is that of Raphael's Sposalizio at Milan. A flat rosy fleshtone, laid out in the method of tempera; tight drapery with incorrect folds, tell likewise of incomplete education. Had Perugino furnished his own

[1] The under preparation is visible in almost every part of the picture, and the drawing is seen through the grey-green of the shadows. The warm reddish half tones are equally limpid, and the whole is worked in without much stippling or hatching. The ground is higher in substance than the figures, and the draperies higher than the flesh. The result is less charming than in such examples as the Christ on the Mount or the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire at Perugia.

THE RESURRECTION, a panel by Pietro Perugino and Raphael in the Gallery of the Vatican.

cartoon for this Coronation, the pupil would scarcely have ventured to wander so far from its lines; but the small one in Dr. Wellesley's fine collection at Oxford, from which the figures were enlarged, is not by Perugino; and must have been a clean copy from one of his rough sketches.[1] The opposite side of the altarpiece is equally characteristic. Above the Saviour in relief, the sun and moon are depicted. An angel in profile holds a vase beneath the wounds of the palms. The Virgin to the left, the Magdalen near her looking up, S. Francis to the right gazing at the Redeemer with his arms across on his breast, S. John Evangelist erect in very sinuous action; a calm simple landscape, and the tempera handling, all create an effect akin to that produced by Raphael's Crucifixion at Dudley House. The saints, it is true, are not identical nor in the same relative positions at the Minorites as at Dudley House. Nor is the execution in the first instance of the same quality as in the second; yet the hand of Raphael[2] is suggested in the former, as it is in the Coronation; and he cannot be excluded from a claim to a share in the production of these pieces.

This, however, is but one of many occasions where Raphael was employed on works for the completion of which Perugino was answerable. In S. Francesco of Perugia a Resurrection of the Saviour hung for a long time above the door of a chapel near the choir. It had been invariably attributed to Perugino, whilst tradition assigned a share in it to Raphael.[3] At the Vatican Gal-

[1] This cartoon is discoloured and abraded in some parts, and is not entire; but it has not been retouched. It is fifteen and a half inches by eleven and a half, on card-board; the drawing by the same hand as that which carried out the panel of S. Francesco al monte. Perugino therefore, doubtless gave the sketch which the pupil transferred to the cartoon, and the cartoon itself was enlarged on the altarpiece by the same person.

[2] If not the hand of Raphael, that at least of Spagna.

[3] Orsini. Vita ub. sup. p. 64. Constantini Guida ub. sup. p. 306. Vasari also mentions the picture amongst Perugino's works (VI. 42).

lery, where the picture now is,[1] it is said to be the joint labour of both; and the sleeping guard on the right is described as Raphael's portrait, that of the flying soldier as the likeness of Perugino: No tenable grounds appear to exist for the truth of these last suppositions; Perugino probably entrusted the composition to his pupil; and the Resurrection seems entirely done on his master's lines by Raphael. Affectation and stiffness in the lean shapes of the long-waisted Saviour are combined with poorly rendered drapery. The limbs of the two sleepers on the foreground are feeble and imperfectly foreshortened, yet isolated portions in all the figures are correct. In this characteristic combination of imperfect knowledge of general proportion and perspective, with simple yet minute working out of parts and natural sentiment, the art and experience of Perugino are not revealed. One sees on the contrary the striving of a nascent and undeveloped talent, and is led the more surely to connect it with the name of Sanzio, because of the youth in the faces and forms, their freshness and slightness, the minute conscientiousness of the details, and a richness of transparence in the flat and bright tones that remind one of other and less undoubted creations of the same pencil. There is a pinguidity in the hands of the young soldier which reappears in later examples of Raphael; and the touch which produces a fused impasto of great brilliancy is less Perugino's than that of his disciple. A capital specimen of the same class is a little double panel at Alnwick Castle, in which S. Mary of Egypt and S. Catherine are represented. It was once in S. Fortunato at Perugia, and afterwards in the Camuccini collection at Rome; and though of old never known except as a Perugino, it is now very appropriately called Raphael, because in addition to its Peruginesque air, it embodies (particularly

[1] Vatican gallery No. 26. There are three vertical splits in the panel, one down the centre, two others severally cutting through the two figures of the foreground. The left foot and right hand of the angel to the right are spoiled and retouched.

in the S. Catherine) Sanzio's beautiful simplicity and sympathetic grandeur, and unites nature and dignity with great delicacy of taste. His early softness and purity, the pleasant lucidity of his colour, are there, together with that inexplicable charm which he never fails to impart.[1]

The time was, however, rapidly approaching when Raphael was to close the period of his apprenticeship and trust to his own strength for subsistence. In Perugino's absence, Leonardo da Vinci had returned to Florence. A new impulse appears to have been felt in the world of art; and the name of Michaelangelo was on every tongue. A man whom Perugino had seen years before studying designs, in the Medici garden or in the Brancacci, had come from Rome to receive almost at once orders for two statues of David; one of supernatural size in marble for S. Maria del Fiore; another of bronze for a French prince who had lately led an invading army in Italy. The marble was all but finished, and the same artist had been requested to carve the twelve apostles. The guild of woolstaplers had even built a house for Buonarroti to live in; and few men had been in such honour since the days of Giotto. It was, no doubt, related by persons capable of judging of these matters that Michael Angelo was introducing a new and prodigious power into sculpture, reviving and surpassing the energetic realism of Donatello, and giving a terribly masculine stamp to the art of his country, and Perugino could not resist the temptation of seeing masterpieces for which no praise seemed too great in the eyes of the craftsmen of his time.[2] He might wish also to revisit Leonardo whose activity and genius were still concentrated on the improvement of

[1] Constantini notices this picture in S. Fortunato at Perugia (Guida ub. sup. p. 134). S. Mary of Egypt is posed on the left leg, shows only a profile face, and prays with joined hands. S. Catherine holds the wheel and a book. Both stand in the foreground of landscapes; assigned by many authors, including Passavant, to Raphael.

[2] Vasari speaks positively of this curiosity on the part of Perugino. (VI. 46).

oilpainting. Perhaps also his stay at Perugia had been disturbed by Pinturicchio who enticed most of his workmen to Sienna. Be that as it may, Perugino broke up his establishment at Perugia, braving the importunities of the fathers of S. Agostino, and only completing, in October 1503, the arms of his old patron Giuliano della Rovere, now Julius the Second, on the public palace and five gates of the city.[1] His apprentices and assistants had already dispersed themselves in various directions, Raphael to Sienna, the rest to different parts of Umbria.

Perugino had scarce reached Florence and taken a lodging in the Pinti suburb, when a meeting was called (1504) for the purpose of choosing a place for Michael Angelo's David.[2] The statue had been hitherto guarded with the utmost jealousy by Buonarroti; but every one knew that it was of gigantic dimensions. When it was uncovered, warm disputes arose. Giuliano da S. Gallo was for putting it in the Loggia de' Signori, and Leonardo da Vinci agreed with him. Perugino, who was also present, doubtless voted with his friend, but Michaelangelo was of another opinion, and chose the left-hand side of the doorway of the Palazzo Vecchio. This contempt for the views of so many artists was perhaps the cause of a secret resentment. A hostile party was in fact brought into existence, and when the giant was at last taken out into the open air, it became the mark for missiles of divers kinds; and the watchmen who guarded it were assaulted in the execution of their duty. Perugino did not openly express any dislike for Michael Angelo's style; but Vasari says, he felt how much the fame of Buonarroti eclipsed his own, and vented his spleen on all the Florentines in general. In the shop of Baccio d'Agnolo, most of these were accustomed to assemble. The San Galli, Cronaca, Filippino, Granacci, and sometimes Buo-

[1] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 170.

[2] The meeting took place on the 25th of January 1504. See the record in Gaye, Carteggio. II. 455 and foll^{s}.

narroti met there,[1] and perhaps in the heat of debate on one of these occasions Michael Angelo declared to Perugino that his art was "absurd and antiquated". This was too much for the equanimity of Vannucci, and he committed the folly, we are told, of suing his younger rival for defamation. From this action, which naturally went against him, he deservedly reaped ridicule,[2] but he was not yet beyond learning a lesson from the sarcasm of enemies; and he resolved to show his antagonists that, although he was not partial to the school in which Michael Angelo shone, he could still emulate the more congenial qualities of Leonardo. We attribute to this time the Madonna and saints of the Certosa at Pavia, now in the National Gallery.

To most Englishmen the Madonna of Pavia is well known. The Virgin, kneeling with upturned head, looks at the child before her. It seems as if she had just addressed a thanksgiving to heaven and then sent her tender motherly glance downwards to worship the infant, whose form is supported on a white cushion by an angel. Unusual beauty adorns the babe; excessive tenderness and solicitude are suggested by the attitude and expression of the angel. The composition of the whole group is full of merit, the type of the Virgin's face nearer perfection than any that the master ever realized; and as we admire the easy movement of the frame and the neat arrangement of the hair in its net and veil, we fancy Perugino has idealized his wife, of whom Vasari says, "she was so handsome, he delighted in seeing her well attired, and often dressed her with his own hands".[3] At different times Perugino tried to repeat the subject, but the Madonna of the Pitti, which is one of these repetitions, is not equal to this one.[4]

The archangel, in jewelled helm and burnished steel, with mace and shield, stands at one side of the Madonna,

[1] Vasari IX. 224.
[2] Ib. VI. 46.
[3] Vas. VI. 51.
[4] Pitti. gallery. No. 219.

at rest like the Sicinius of the Cambio, or the S. Michael of Vallombrosa, but youthful in features, firm in tread, and noble in aspect. On the other side, the angel leads Tobit—a page in tights, feebly conceived, though rescued partially from fatuity by feeling. All the backgrounds are landscapes.

Perugino's skill in the application of oils reached its highest development in this picture, whilst in respect of conception, sentiment, and design he never went further. His excellence is such that some are inclined to doubt its being all his own. A drawing for the angel and Tobit in the Oxford collection is assigned to Raphael;[1] and the principal charm of the work is attributed to Sanzio. But this is mere assumption. The technical handling of all the panels is the same. It is that of a painter of long experience in the use of his materials, familiar with the difficulties and the tricks of his profession; of Perugino in fact, as contradistinguished from Raphael, whose undeveloped powers are visible in the Sposalizio of 1504 at Milan. Nowhere, indeed, has Perugino more completely combined masterly execution, knowledge of form, and perfection of harmonies with the subtle quality which consists in giving to a scene the tone best in unison with its motives and idea. Nothing can be more attractive than the golden fusion of his flesh-tints except the soft and dreamy depth of vapour that charges his distances. He improves as far as he can the method, of which the earlier examples are the Madonna and saints at the Vatican, the Christ at the Mount in the Florentine Academy, and the Virgin of S. Pietro Martire; the system which may be called peculiar to Central Italy, embodying some of the principles evolved by the Van Eycks and Antonello da Messina, and ripened to the mellowness of the Bellini and Giorgione. Neither Fra Bartolommeo nor Raphael

[1] Since the text was written, we have seen the original drawing by Perugino for the angel and Tobit in the British Museum. It is a fine genuine production shadowed in bistre, with lights gently touched in white.

ever produced anything more remarkable. as regards colour.[1]

We may affix about the same date to the Holy Family in the Museum at Nancy, where Raphaelesque grace and innocence are united in a composition the rules of which are clearly derived from Leonardo da Vinci.[2] The Virgin kneeling in full view, with her right arm on the shoulder of the boy Baptist who adores, with joined hands, the Saviour on a cushion, forms, with those lovely little beings, a pyramidal group, somewhat marred by the two angels on their knees in prayer at her sides. Her affectionate face and air, and the waving lines of the movement, are all enticing. Leonardo alone could have conceived a choicer elegance, and would have avoided the cramped attitude of the left hand. The Christ is at once reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo and of Raphael. A magnificent landscape with slightly leafed trees vanishes behind the two slender angels; great mastery being shown in the alternation of lighter and darker tints in the hills. A clear touch in the grasses and ground on which the infants repose, recalls Raphael's Florentine period. Powerful tone detaching the group from the distance, which recedes, with fine aereal perspective, completes the effect of a picture in which the influence of Florentine example on Perugino is very apparent. He casts side glances at his cotemporaries, and does not

[1] The only portion of the original altarpiece remaining at Pavia is the Eternal seated, with his feet resting on clouds, and surrounded by cherubim. It is quite as fine as the others. The Annunciation has been lost sight of. The three pieces at the National gallery which are numbered collectively No. 288, are arched at the top, but a section of each arched portion is new, and a piece has been added to the base of the central panel. The three angels above the Virgin were originally painted over the blue sky, and the blue now rises through the superposed half body of colour. On the panel containing the archangel Michael one reads: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit". The whole is, considering all things, in a marvellous state of preservation. The three parts in the National gallery were bought of the Duke Melzi at Milan.

[2] We may take this occasion of noticing that the picture assigned to Duccio in this Museum, and noticed in a previous vol. (II. 41) bears a forged inscription as follows: "Duccio me faciebat anno S. CIO.CCLXXXIII". It is a fragment representing the Virgin and child by Taddeo Bartoli.

reach their great perfection of distribution, but he comes very near it, and emulates in other respects with success, Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Raphael.[1]

Little more than a year had elapsed since Perugino's return to Florence, when business again called him to Perugia. As he came there in February 1505, the syndic of the Disciplinati of Città della Pieve inquired for what price he might be willing to paint an Adoration of the Magi. Perugino replied in a very ill-spelt letter that the cost would be 200 florins; but that he would reduce it to half that sum in consideration of the interest he felt for his native place. Upon this ensued a lively exchange of communications. The syndic thought that Pietro's love of country might induce him to grant still lower terms. Pietro held out for his original proposal. On the 1st of March, however, he gave way from 100 to 75 florins.[2] He executed the Adoration of the Magi in the chapel of the Disciplinati, on a square of twenty-one feet with about thirty life size figures, in an incredibly short space of time; for beneath the feet of the Virgin one still reads

[1] This picture (wood) No. 28, in the Museum of Nancy, is apparently one of those that was taken to France before the wars of the great revolution. It was in Louis the XVI^th's time in the collection of Mr. de Brissac, and had been sequestered when he emigrated (see De Ris, Les musées des provinces. 8°. Paris, 1859. Vol. I. p. 315). It has been much injured and restored. Yet it is not wholly flayed; and parts give a fair idea of what the whole once was. The blue sky is new, the face of the Virgin spotted, and half the head of the angel to the right is new. But one traces the process of the master still. The white gesso may be seen through the colours of the distance. The flesh tints are high in surface, and the draperies still higher. Beneath the feet of the youthful Baptist are the remnants of the signature: "P..... P....."

[2] Two letters in this matter were discovered in a most curious manner. In 1835 Giuseppe Bolleti of Città della Pieve was busy in removing a terracing of earth that made the walls of the Disciplinati damp, when he stumbled upon a number of paint pots and a tin tube about four inches long containing the letters in question. These had evidently been buried purposely, and had thus remained intact for more than three centuries. See Mezzanotte. ub. sup. 114 and foll^s, and Marchesi, Il Cambio, p. 482. 483. The payments were to be made at the rate of 25 florins a year, but the Disciplinati were very hard put to it, at last to clear themselves of debt, and only did so in 1507 by handing over possession of a house. See the record in Orsini dated March 29th, 1507, Vita ub. sup. p. 218.

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI, a fresco by Pietro Perugino, at Citta della Pieve

the date AD. MDIIII. and it would thus appear that the fresco was ready before the 25th of March, when according to the old calculation the year 1504 expired. Though willing to labour at a cheap rate, he was not the less alive to his own interests, and knowing probably that the public of Città della Pieve was less critical than that of Florence, he trusted much to his pupils. His composition is the formal one which Umbrians obviously preferred; the Virgin and child with the kneeling king in the centre, S. Joseph and the youngest of the magi erect as sentries at her sides, and to the right and left a massive assemblage; the whole backed by a symmetrical distance in which perspective depth is attained by multiplying little episodes on a middle line. It is a work which makes a fair impression at first sight, but betrays some coarseness on close inspection, well balanced but carried out with haste, and in so far unsatisfactory.[1]

With equal speed and, no doubt, for as small a price, he adorned the walls of the church of S. Sebastian at Panicale with a Martyrdom of its patron saint. On this occasion he probably confided the greater part of the execution to a companion, whose light yellowish flesh-tints only relieved by a pale shadow, whose minute stippling and tender keys of harmonies seem characteristic of Spagna. The slender saint is on a pedestal in the midst of a rich architectural court all filled with polychrome ornament; and four lean and somewhat affected archers are distributed round him in varied action, the spectators being confined to the number of six in two bodies in half distance, which time have, however, almost obliterated. In a triangular space above the Martyrdom, the Eternal appears in the usual attitude of benediction, in a circular glory of cherubim between two angels in

[1] The whole skirting of the fresco, an ornament in monochrome, on yellow ground, has recently been recovered from whitewash. The fresco itself is injured by damp, as ex. gr. in the dresses of the first figure on the right foreground, of the Virgin, of the youth with the sword, and the youth with the crown on the left. The man with a crown on the right is stained.

flight.[1] It is the less improbable that Perugino should have left Spagna in charge here, because in addition to the evidence afforded by the fresco itself, there is a ruined Assumption on a wall in S. Agostino of Panicale, in which the manner of Perugino's Spanish disciple is very clearly to be traced.[2] He lived at Panicale, it would seem, with pleasure, and transferred to the distance of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian the undulating hills about the Thrasimene lake; but Perugino had also this beautiful neighbourhood in his sketch-books, and introduced one of its landscapes into a panel of this time, long in the gallery of Lord Northwick, and representing the Flagellation with truly Umbrian feeling.[3]

Whilst Perugino left his journeymen to finish the vast frescos of Città della Pieve and Panicale, he hurried back in person to Florence, and was thus enabled, in June 1505, to write to the Duchess of Mantua, Elizabeth Gonzaga, to acknowledge the receipt of 80 ducats for the

[1] On a lozenge in the pedestal of the martyred saint one reads: P. . . . . de Castro . . . and on the freezes of four square pillars the date: "A. D. M. DV." A copy of this fresco will be found amongst the publications of the Arundel society.

[2] This fresco is assigned by Orsini, Vita ub. sup., to Perugino. The Virgin is in an almond shaped glory of cherubs; four celestial players at her sides; two high up suspending the crown above her head. Beneath, are the remains of a bishop and another saint. The figures are lean, and in style like those of Todi and Trevi, a mixture of the Umbrian of Pinturicchio and Perugino, and coloured in Spagna's pale yellow tone. The fresco is an independent work not composed for, but probably by, Spagna in person. It will not last much longer being already in a great measure obliterated, as are the angel to the left holding the crown and the foreground. The best preserved bits are the playing angels.

[3] It is true this picture, No. 388, in the Northwick collection, was catalogued under the name of Raphael, but it is by Perugino or some pupil other than Raphael, and done at least in the master's atelier. The figures, three in number, are all nude. The Redeemer is on a low pedestal, a flagellator swinging a cat at each side of him in a palatial court through the arches of which there is a view of Castiglione del Lago. The figures are slender, but well proportioned. The Christ very fine in pose bound to the pillar, the two flagellators a little academical and conventional in action, but drawn in the same style and with the same quaint head gear as in the fresco of Panicale. The pillar is new and the breast of the principal personage repainted; as is also the foot of the flagellator to the right; the distance is also retouched (1 foot 9 by 1 foot 6).

hasty but masterly distemper-sketch of the combat between Amor and Chastity, which now adorns the Louvre.[1] With the assurance which he derived from his fame, he ventures to affirm that he has shown sufficient carefulness to satisfy her Highness' desire and his own honour; adding that he has tried distemper because Messer Andrea Mantegna commonly employed that medium; and offering himself for further productions of a similar kind; but he does not attempt to write to a Duchess in the slovenly style which marks his own orthography, and he improves in spelling for the same reason that he disimproves in painting; that is when he uses an assistant.[2] A fortnight later, he met Lorenzo di Credi, and others, at S. Maria del Fiore to decide on the relative merits of two heads in mosaic by the miniaturists Monte and Gherardo, for the adornment of the chapel of S. Zanobius.[3]

Amongst the contemporaries of Perugino, one with whom he had been in friendly relation had lately paid his tribute to nature. In the last years of his life Filippino Lippi had been employed by the brethren of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi on a double altarpiece, the commission for which, originally given to him in 1503,[4] he had courteously surrendered to da Vinci. Leonardo, however, had neglected the matter, and during one of his frequent absences, the Servites again called upon Filippino for his services. On his death, in April 1504,[5] the upper portion of a Descent from the cross was ready, the lower remaining in embryo. In the summer of 1505, Perugino was requested to finish the piece, and an Assumption intended as a double to it. He acquitted himself of the first part of this undertaking with praiseworthy punctuality and personal

[1] Louvre catal. No. 445.

[2] The letter may be found in Gaye, Carteggio, II. 68, or in the Archivio Stor. ub. sup. II. 324.

[3] The records relative to the competition are in the appendix to the latest edition of Vas. ub. sup. VI. 341. 2. The date of the decision in favour of Monte is June 30th, 1505.

[4] See the authoritative statement of this fact in the notes to Vasari's life of Bastiano da S. Gallo. Vol. XI. p. 200.

[5] This is the real date of Filippino's death as is now proved by the register of deaths ad annum. See Tav. Alfab. ub. sup. ad an. et lit.

diligence. His group of the Virgin fainting in the arms of the three Marys may indeed be classed amongst the nobler conceptions of his brush. It reminds one of a similar episode in Masaccio's Crucifixion at S. Clemente of Rome; and was taken and improved by Raphael in the predella of the Madonna of S. Antonio at Perugia,[1] of which the portion to which attention is called is preserved in the collection of Sir William Miles of Leigh Court. The handling is large and animated; and Vannucci successfully harmonizes his own with the performance of Filippino, uniting the grace of the Umbrian with the imposing grandeur of the Florentine, treating his figures with massive colour and breadth of touch.[2] With the Assumption, now in the Cappella de' Rabatta at the Servi, he dealt differently, nor can one imagine that it should have been produced at the same period. For the arrangement he fell back on the model of the Lyons Ascension repeating the six angels from his old cartoons. Giannicola perhaps did the rest.[3] But Vasari tells us, Perugino was justly criticised for this by all the artists of the time, and particularly because he had reproduced so many things from other pictures.[4] It was vainly that he declared he had only copied anew what had already received public approbation, he did not recover from the blow thus levelled at himself. His school, which in his younger days had been frequented by many pupils, became empty. Bastiano

[1] When last seen, this picture was in the Palazzo Reale at Naples.

[2] Vasari says that Andrea del Sarto and Francia Bigio copied the Descent from the cross. (Vas. VIII. 253). It is mentioned by Albertini. Memoriale ub. sup. p. 13, and Richa says it was painted at the expense of Jacopo Federighi a knight of Malta (VIII. 32).

[3] If the hand of Giannicola Manni is traceable anywhere in Perugino's works, it is here. See antea as to Perugino's habits of repetition. The drawing is hasty and spiritless, the tones without fusion, and the contrasts of light and shade insufficient.

[4] In addition to the foregoing, note in the Servi of Florence, at one of the altars, a picture by Perugino's assistants representing the Virgin and child enthroned between four saints. The surface is much injured by restoring. The raw tone is darkened by time. The character is gentle. The pediment and lunette are bare. This is by Richa, Chiese (VIII. 41) assigned to Perugino.

da S. Gallo, who had recently joined him, deserted his atelier for that of Michael Angelo,[1] and others probably followed his example. From this time, Perugino began, no doubt, seriously to think of leaving Florence. His name is on the register of the Perugian guild in 1506,[2] whilst it ceases to be noted on that of Florence.[3]

He was no sooner at home at Perugia, than he began calling in debts due to him for old commissions. From the Disciplinati of Città della Pieve he claimed a final payment of 25 florins which was liquidated (March 29. 1507) by conveyance of a house.[4] From the authorities of Panicale he required 11 florins, on receipt of which he gave them fourteen little flags with figures painted by himself,[5] to be used at their festival of Corpus Domini. From the guild of the Cambio he asked and obtained 350 ducats for the audience chamber.[6] Having thus settled his affairs, he sat down to new works and endeavoured to forget the slights of the ungrateful Florentines. It was easy enough for him to show that his powers were unimpaired by bestowing his own labour where he usually was prodigal of that of assistants. Under these conditions he delivered to the executors of a carpenter at Perugia the Madonna between SS. Jerom and Francis, now in the Palazzo Penna;[7] and for these obscure patrons he produced a masterpiece combining fine proportions, with natural movement, Umbrian tenderness with facility of brush, and graceful outlines with bright

[1] Vas. XI. 240.

[2] Mariotti Lett. Pitt. 85, and note to 121.

[3] Com. in Vas. VI. 70.

[4] Orsini gives the document in Vita. ub. sup. p. 218.

[5] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 172. 173.

[6] See antea p. 215.

[7] This picture is so fine that it has been usually assigned to an earlier time, but we owe to Professor Adamo Rossi of Perugia the discovery of the following facts regarding it in the Annali Decemvirali for 1507. It is there stated that on the 8th of June, 1507, the executors of Giovanni, a carpenter of Perugia, commissioned of Perugino, then present, a Virgin erect holding the infant "similar to that of Loreto" with S. Jerom in cardinal's dress and S. Francis, for the price of 47 flor. This is a description of the Penna altar piece. The Virgin stands on a pedestal in a landscape, and two angels suspend a crown over her head. The figures are life size, all well preserved.

warm colour. Perugino never succeeded better than on this occasion in giving to the infant Christ the grace which we are accustomed to call Raphaelesque, nor can a more touching group be found than that formed by Him and His mother as he springs in the Virgin's arms and looks round at S. Jerom. A minimum of subordinate aid may be assumed in the frescos with which Perugino decorated the semidome of the SS. Annunziata or Nunziatella of Foligno. Although he did not alter the form of a composition repeated in more than one of his predellas, the Baptism of Christ here designed, with figures of life size, is fair, with pleasing heads and slender general proportions.[1] It is probable that one might class many undated pieces on panel and on wall as productions of this and subsequent periods; but it is safer to leave these for the present, in order to trace, with what success one may, the closing years of Vannucci's career.[2]

As if to console him for the loss of his prestige at Florence, Julius the Second called Perugino to Rome

[1] This fresco has been shamefully treated. The lunette containing the Eternal giving the blessing and holding the orb, between two angels, has been lined in squares by some copyist. One cartoon is used for both angels, the first being the exact reverse of the second. The same system has been pursued with the two angels in flight above the Saviour. The Christ, S. John and four angels about them, in the Baptism, have been contoured with charcoal. Time also has had its way with the fresco, abrading the gilding of the dresses, and darkening the blue draperies, Damp has injured the lower part of the picture generally, whereby the legs of the Saviour are spoiled. But the latter figure has, besides, been varnished. The lunette is separated from the Baptism by a border on which one reads: "Deo et Beato Joanni Battistæ sacrum pietate Joannis Baptiste . . . .". Traces of a date remain, but the numbers are not to be deciphered.

[2] Vasari notes a picture at Montone (VI. 48) which Orsini describes as representing the Virgin and child between SS. John Baptist and Gregory, John Evangelist and Francis, with a predella of three parts, the Birth of the Virgin, the Marriage, and Assumption. On the step of the throne was the date: "AD.M.DVII". The picture is gone. The predella came in 1787 into the possession of the Marquis Odoardi of Ascoli (Orsini Vita ub. sup. p. 208). Vasari also speaks (VI. 48) of a picture at La Fratta which Orsini describes (Vita ub. sup. p. 208). The subject is the Coronation. The painter, however, is not Perugino, but Pinturicchio (see postea).

about 1507—8. Bazzi and Peruzzi were in employ at the same time, and whilst the latter adorned the room at the Vatican now called dell' Eliodoro, and Bazzi that which bears the name of Camera della Segnatura, Perugino was given the Stanza dell' Incendio del Borgo. There he met his old friends and competitors, Signorelli and Pinturicchio, and dined in their company at the house of Bramante. There he introduced Giambattista Caporali, and made the acquaintance of young Sansovino, with whom he lodged in the Palazzo S. Clemente, long known as the residence of Domenico della Rovere.[1] Slowly and with some of the staidness of age, Perugino proceeded till suddenly Raphael was taken to the presence of Julius the Second.

Vannucci had already yielded at Florence to the rising talents of the sixteenth century. Here again he was supplanted by a younger and fresher genius, by Sanzio, his own pupil. It is pitiful to think of the anxieties of the old man when he saw the ground thus cut away from under his feet. We sympathise with his disappointment when Raphael was placed over his head and ordered to renew his decorations; but we admit at the same time that with such a patron as Julius the Second the result

[1] Many statements in Vasari and other authors prove that Perugino was in Rome in 1507. 8. ex. gr. Temenza in his life of Sansovino says that the latter went to Rome with Giuliano da S. Gallo, in the papacy of Julius the II., and lodged in the Palazzo S. Clemente where Perugino also had a room, being then employed at the Camere. There Sansovino made the acquaintance of Luca Signorelli, Bramantino of Milan, Pinturicchio Cesare Cesariano, and others (Temenza vita di Jacopo Sansovino. 4°. without imprint, p. 6). The same facts are repeated by Vasari (XIII. 73). In another place Vas. (VIII. 40—1. and XI. 146) says Bazzi was taken to Rome when Julius the II[nd] was employing Perugino to adorn the Camere; and when Raphael came, Julius dismissed both Bazzi and Perugino. Again Caporali (G. B.) pupil of Perugino, born circa 1476, says in a note to the Vitruvius which he reprinted from that of Cesare Cesariano: "Finalmente Julio, sommo pontefice per singulare amore quasi contra la voglia di esso Bramante . . . lo fece ricco . . . e con questo, insieme con Petro Perugino, Luca di Cortona et . . Pinturicchio ne siamo ritrovati in casa sua da esso invitati ad una cena", This passage is at length in Vermiglioli's Pinturicchio (ub. sup. p. 5). Further, Vasari says (VI. p. 41) that Perugino painted in the Camere the very subjects which we see there now.

was inevitable; and with respect to the progress of art, even desirable. Much has been said of Raphael's consideration for Perugino evinced in the saving of the subjects in the Camera dell' Incendio. It is probable that the young painter was rejoiced to be able to show this mark of friendship; but we must recollect that he did almost as much for Bazzi and Peruzzi. In the meanwhile it must be owned that Perugino's ceiling which represents the Eternal in different glories in four medallions, is not advantageous to his fame, for the principal parts are somewhat careless, and the circumscribing ornaments in dead colour, interspersed with heads of females or of Roman emperors in rounds, are heavier and in less refined taste than at the Cambio.[1]

With Signorelli and Pinturicchio, Perugino left Rome on his way homewards. He stopped perhaps at Assisi to decorate the outer face of the Sanctuary of S. Francis in the Chiesa degli Angeli, with a Crucifixion which has almost perished;[2] and then went on to Sienna, where he sold a large picture to the family of the Vieri, valued at its completion on the 5th of September 1510 by Girolamo di Benvenuto, Pacchiarotti, Genga, and Pacchia,[3] and a

[1] In one round, the Eternal, in a glory of cherubs' heads between two angels kneeling below, left, a female imploring, right, a female with a sword and balance.

In a second round, the Eternal seated amidst angels in benediction.

Third round. The Eternal between two angels, below, on the left, Christ with angels in attendance; on the right, Satan bearded, and horned with a loaf in his hand as the tempter.

Fourth round. The Eternal, below him, Christ in benediction amongst the kneeling apostles, the dove below all.

[2] On the side of the Porziuncula facing the choir, a piece of a Crucifixion has been recovered from white-wash (the upper part perished at the demolition of the choirs, says the author of "Gloria della Sacra Porziuncula or Compendio stor. di S. M. degli Angeli. Perugia. 1858. p. 78). The remains comprise a group of the fainting Virgin composed like that of the Descent added to Filippino's altarpiece at the Servi, with still more movement. The figures have a gentle character. Another fragment in the same place, a Virgin reading, is too injured for an opinion, but seems an Umbrian production beneath which one reads: "A. D. 1830 Antonius Castellani restauravit".

[3] See the record in Doc. Sen. III. 47. The picture perished in the fire of 1655 at S. Francesco of Sienna. See also Fineschi's Guida ub. sup. 162.

Crucifixion for Prince Chigi's altar in S. Agostino. From the ruined condition of the latter it is hard to judge of Perugino's ability, but though conventional in arrangement, it is full of feeling in the faces, and peopled with figures of good proportion and shape.[1]

From thence Vasari might lead us to suppose that Perugino returned in 1510 to Florence, where he appraised an Annunciation by Mariotto Albertinelli;[2] and executed according to Orsini, a Virgin and child between SS. Peter and Paul for Agostino Spinola of Savona, bishop of Perugia.[3] It is unfortunately difficult to trace Perugino's doings between 1510 and 1512, in which year he invested his savings in land and houses at Perugia.[4]

During the campaign fought by Gaston de Foix for the possession of the Romagna in 1512, one of Baglioni's captains, a Perugian called Boto da Maraglia was taken prisoner (15th of February) by the French; and on his release, he ordered a votive portrait in remembrance of his troubles, which is still in the church of the Minorites at Bettona. In this hasty distemper on canvass, Boto kneels cap-a-pie, and looks up to a life sized S. Anthony holding in one hand the fire, in the other a book. The date of the vow and the name of Perugino are on the lower part of the canvass, which has pretty much the appearance of a Virgin of Mercy between SS. Manno and Jerom, with male and female patrons under her cloak, in

[1] Both pieces are mentioned by Vasari VI. 38. The Christ in the Crucifixion is retouched, and the shadows and outlines have become black and hard, but the proportions are fine and true. Two female saints kneel in prayer at each side of the cross, to the right of the cross too, the Evangelist erect grieving, the Baptist pointing to the Sufferer, and S. Jerom prostrate looking up, with the stone in his hand. Left, the Virgin erect grieving, one of the Marys behind her, and a friar on his knees in front. An angel in flight at each hand gathers the blood in a vase. The distance is a rich landscape. The whole piece, restored, threatens to scale away (wood, oil, figures life size).

[2] Vasari VII. 185.

[3] Ratti ap. Orsini in Mezzanotte, Vita di Perugino, ub. sup. p. 130.

[4] Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 177. He is recorded to have furnished the design of a ship of silver with ornaments of horses and foliage and nineteen figures. See the record in Mariotti ib. p. 171.

the same church.[1] Both pieces are characterisic of the period. They are painted with slight transparent colour. The figures are fairly drawn, in good proportion, and easy motion; but the old carefulness of the master is obviously giving way to a neglectful facility.

We now find Perugino entering anew into negotiations with the friars of S. Agostino of Perugia, for whose convent he had promised ten years before to deliver an altarpiece;[2] but though the vast complex of this work occupied him much till 1514, it was left unfinished for the sake of other commissions at Città della Pieve. A feeble Virgin in glory, adored by SS. Protasius, Peter, Paul, and Gervasius, was then completed for the prior of the church of S. Gervasio in Perugino's native town,[3] together with an enthroned S. Anthony the abbot, between SS. Paul and Macarius, and an Eternal in a lunette, a fresco in S. Antonio, since detached from the

[1] The inscription on the canvass runs: "Boto de Maraglia de Peroga, quando fo pregione de Franciose che fo adi XI de febraio MDXII. Petrus pinxit de castro Plebis". The surface is now discoloured and washy, the sky bare to the thread. The lower part of the legs (incased in red hose) of Boto is gone.

In the Virgin of Mercy there is nature and truth in the action of Mary, youthful character in S. Manno. S. Jerom kneels with his arms across. The male patron on The left foreground is aged and dressed in grey, with a cap of the same colour. A female in black kneels behind S. Jerom. Two splits cut, severally, the Virgin and S. Jerom vertically in half. The blue mantle of the former is partly in its old state, but dimmed by time. The red tunic is repainted, the heads of the Virgin and of the two saints are injured. Of two angels in flight above the Virgin, one is partially damaged; and some of the sky is renewed. The base of the panel (oil), (6'|4 foot by 4'/2) is repainted.

[2] A note of the 30th of March 1512 in Perugino's own hand, and marked by his usual ignorance of spelling and grammar is preserved. It is one of those discovered at Città della Pieve. Its tenor is a request to the prior of S. Agostino to deliver a sack of grain on a receipt from the "garzone" Bartolommeo. See the original facsimile in Mezzanotte, ub. sup. p. 300.

[3] Two angels in flight are in prayer at the sides of the glory of cherubs' heads that surround the Virgin. The SS. Protasius and Gervasius carry flags bearing the arms of Città della Pieve. On a wall behind the four saints, one reads: "Petrus Cristofori Vanutii de Castro Plebis pinxit. MD.XII.I." Tavola oil, now in Duomo at Città della Pieve, ordered in 1513 by Marchisino Cristophori Manni prior of S. Gervasio and others to be finished within a year, for 120 flor. of eleven bolognini (Orsini Vita ub. sup. p. 122).

wall and now in S. Agostino.[1] The first probably owes its vulgarity, the flatness of its washy tones, and the slightness of its relief to assistants, the last is broadly treated with very slight marks of stippling.

Equal freedom and haste are apparent in the fragments of a Descent from the Cross, dated 1517, in S. Maria de' Servi, of old Compagnia della Stella, at Città della Pieve. A group of the fainting Virgin, supported on the ground by two of the Marys, shows how Perugino clung to an arrangement which he had found successful in the Descent from the Cross, finished after Filippino's death. Nor have years deprived him of feeling.[2]

The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian of 1518; at S. Francesco de' Minori Conventuali of Perugia, may be by Perugino's pupils, and is at all events much damaged.[3]

The groups added to Raphael's fresco in S. Severo in 1521 are too badly injured to permit of any comment.[4]

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[1] S. Anthony, of colossal size, sits in benediction with a staff in his left hand, an ornament of imitated marble surrounding the principal picture and lunette. The sky is seen at the sides of the saint's throne, and right and left of the Eternal, an almond shaped glory. The wall of S. Antonio was shaken by the earthquake of 1860, and the fresco was subsequently taken down, transferred to canvass, and placed in S. Agostino.

[2] The edifice in which the remains of Perugino's frescos are still partly visible, has been much altered by the introduction of floors. The result is that the lower parts of his frescos (which alone are preserved) can only be seen with lanterns. On one of the walls as stated in the text, is the Virgin fainting on the left, then comes the foot of the cross with two ladders, both held by one person, on which the legs of two men are placed, and to the right four figures. On the wall at right angles, to this are almost obliterated outlines of an Assumption with the inscription beneath it as follows: "... esta hopera fero depengere la compagnia della S . . . . Cossì dicta in li anni dñi MDXVII." Professor Rossi notes in addition (Marchesi's Gambio p. 323) the word: "Petr.", but that is now absent. It has been usual to assign these frescos to the year 1514 (see com. Vas. VI. 63).

[3] Wood, now in the gallery of Perugia (No. 164). On the pedestal of the saint are the words: "An. D. 1518". The scene is in a portico through which there is a landscape view. The figures are half the life size. They are only three in number, including the martyr and two archers in the act of shooting.

[4] SS. Jerom, John Evangelist, Gregory, Boniface, Scolastica and Martha with the inscription: Petrus de Castro Plebis. Perusinus tempore domini Silvestri Stephani Volaterrani a dexteris et sinistris Div. Cristophoræ sanctos sanctasque pinxit A. D. MDXXI.

But there are well-preserved frescos of the latter period in S. Maria Maggiore of Spello, and an Adoration of the Magi in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi, which perfectly illustrate the power that still remained in the great old man at the advanced age of seventy-five. The most authentic of the Spello frescos is on a pilaster near the high altar of the collegiate church of S. Maria Maggiore. Perugino's name and the date of 1521 are on two signs hanging from the dais of a throne. The subject is the Virgin seated, with the corpse of the Redeemer on her lap; the Magdalen and Evangelist mourning at the sides of the foreground. The faces and expression of Mary and of Christ are fair and melancholy; but the small shoulders and ill-foreshortened left arm of the Saviour, and the slovenly character of the drawing in drapery are an unmistakeable symptom of decline, whilst the tenuous yet tremulous outlines tell of physical weakness. But the fluid colour is bold and skilful. The effect is rendered with such ease, indeed, that the surface is but slightly covered and the pouncing is visible in every part.[1]

The companion fresco on the opposite pilaster near the high altar simply represents the Virgin and child between S. Catherine and a saint in episcopals. It illustrates the same phase of Perugino's art, with feeble and defective forms in the Virgin and child, and contours traced as if by a palsied hand.[2] The colouring is perhaps more hastily

[1] The inscription runs thus; "Petrus Chastro plebis pinsit. A. D. MDXXI". On the base of the Virgin's throne are the names "Michāl āgelus Andinej". A low screen behind the throne allows the sky and a hilly landscape to appear. A cherub's head is at each corner of the dais; a vase on the parti-coloured floor before the Magdalen. The decline of Perugino is noticeable in the eyes which are drawn angularly to express grief.

[2] The Virgin's head is round, and rests on a very slender neck. The child looks aged, and the group, generally, is feeble (the blue of the Virgin's mantle is injured). S. Catherine holds the palm and book. The wheel is at her feet. She is in graceful action, and has a fine head. On the panelling of the throne one reads: "Ex spēis Joanne Bernardelli. A. D. M.DXXI die XXV aprilis".

laid in than before, as the ground serves for the lights of the flesh-tints. But these are exactly the characteristics of the Adoration of the Magi at Trevi, which is perhaps the most superficial production that ever issued from Perugino's atelier.[1] As he was busy with it, the Vice-legate of Perugia wrote to the Podestà of Trevi (Sept. 1521), advising him that the prior of S. Agostino had appointed a valuer for the picture lately hung on the high altar, and asking him to apprise Perugino, who was then living at Trevi, of the fact; — a precious letter this, which proves the date of the Adoration of the Magi, and that of the altarpiece of S. Agostino.[2] With some difficulty and not without tedious journeying can this great work be reconstructed in imagination at the present day. It had two faces. On the centre of the first was the Nativity and a Pietà, and at the sides, SS. Sebastian and Irene, SS. Jerom and Mary Magdalen, all resting on two predella pieces. On the centre of the second was the Baptism of Christ, surmounted by an Eternal in glory; at the sides, SS. Augustin and Philip, SS. James the less, and one in episcopals, and two predella pieces. Eight rounds with the four prophets and the four Evangelists, two others with the angel and Virgin annunciate, completed the whole. Of the first face, the Nativity, SS.

[1] The Virgin sits in front of a pent-house, two kings kneeling right and left of her, presenting their gifts, one receiving the benediction of the child, the other the acknowledgment of the Virgin. S. Joseph is a little in rear to the right. To the left in the pent-house, the ox and ass, and in distance, the angel appearing to the shepherds. Right and left, two groups, the whole seen through an arch-way in the sides of which stand S. Peter and S. Paul. The left hand group including the S. Peter, is much damaged. The infant Christ is a hunch-back with a protruding belly. The figures are all poor, the Virgin and S. Joseph less so than the rest. The ground acts as light. The shadows are dabbed of a greenish grey, hatched only here and there with a trembling hand. The extremities are ill drawn with the nails in false places. The flesh tints are coarse, and raw from the excessive use of red. On the base of the Virgin's throne: "Petrus de Castro Plebis pinxit". In the spandrils of the arch are the Virgin and angel annunciate. A square frame in relief surrounds the fresco.

[2] We are indebted for this record to Professor Adamo Rossi of Perugia.

Jerom and Magdalen, the predella, are in S. Agostino; the Pietà in S. Pietro of Perugia; the SS. Sebastian and Irene in the Gallery of Grenoble. Of the second face, the Baptism, the Eternal, the predella, are in S. Agostino; the SS. Augustin and Philip in the Gallery of Toulouse; SS. James the less and his companion in the Museum of Lyons. Two of the four prophets are in the Perugia Gallery. The two others are probably those in the Gallery of Nantes. The four Evangelists are in S. Agostino, together with the angel and a copy of the Virgin annunciate by Sanguinetti; the original of the Virgin, erroneously called S. Appollonia, in the Gallery of Strasburg. None of the panels exhibit the earlier style of the master. The two principal ones of the Nativity and Baptism are not wanting in grandeur of composition or design, but the flat colour and its feeble rounding recall the Virgin of Mercy of 1512 at Bettona; and they might be assigned to that time, were not uncertainty created by their restored condition.[1] The remainder, with the exception of the predella and the four Evangelists, are similar to each other; they have all a powerful tone, and are drawn with little of the looseness apparent at Spello or Trevi. They recall the period when Perugino laboured in the Compagnia della Stella at Città della Pieve. The Pietà is remarkable for the bright transparence of its colour, as well as for the mastery with which the outlines are given with the brush at the last. The Saviour sits on the edge of the tomb; his body supported by Joseph of Arimathea, his arms by the kneeling

[1] The Nativity which, since the text was written, has been numbered No. 23 in the gallery of Perugia, is a little feeble and pallid in tone, the white gesso being seen through the flesh tints. The Virgin and S. Joseph kneel at each side of the infant who lies on the ground. Two angels fly in the upper part of the pent-house. In the distance, the angel appears to the shepherds. The figures are life size, in oil, on panel. The sky is in part repainted.

The Baptism is of the same character and size as the Nativity, but has slender figures, and is much restored. An angel is at each side of the principal group in a landscape. In the sky is the dove of the Holy Ghost between two seraphs. The blue sky is retouched, No. 41 in the Perugia gallery.

Virgin and Evangelist. The composition reminds one of the fine conceptions of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli. There is an elasticity in the naked frame, a precision in its proportions rare in Perugino.[1] The Eternal in benediction, holding the orb, is noble in features, bold, natural, and dignified in movement, with a good contrast of light and shade, and a powerful warm tinge in the flesh.[2] Similar praise may be awarded to the erect saints in couples.[3] The predella and the Evangelists, possibly completed after Perugino's death, would perhaps deserve attention as productions of Manni or Eusebio di S. Giorgio,[4] were they not seriously injured

[1] This panel was given to S. Pietro at the peace of 1815 in lieu of the Ascension (Mezzanotte ub. sup. p. 144). It is on a wall to the left as you enter the church. The colour, half body, is so transparent that it shows the underground. In the feet and other parts of the flesh tints the ground is left as high light.

[2] This piece is in the right transept of S. Agostino, and above a door. The panel is composed of five pieces without cloth in the gesso. The Eternal sits on a cloud, in an almond shaped glory of cherubs' heads, and surrounded by similar heavenly apparitions.

[3] SS. Jerom and the Magdalen, wood, oil, now No. 56, in the gallery of Perugia, the first erect with the stone beating his breast, the lion at his feet, the second holding the cup of ointment. The yellow foreground is higher in surface than the remaining parts. The colour, of full body in shadows and drapery, of half body in lights, with occasional hatching in the flesh tints. The feet lightly laid in; the detail, (nails) with body. The drawing is a little loosely conventional.

SS. Sebastian and Irene, No. 51, in the gallery of Grenoble, not seen by the authors.

SS. Augustin in episcopals with book and crozier, and Philip pointing at a passage in a book, both erect, in a landscape. No. 42, Toulouse Museum. The S. Augustin grand in pose. Same character as to handling as in the panel at Perugia (No. 56). Vertical split.

SS, James the less, and S. Gregory, No. 155. Museum of Lyons. On the banner of S. Gregory, the arms of Perugia, same character, as above. Two vertical splits.

The angel annunciate, now No. 9, Perugia gallery. The Virgin annunciate called S. Appollonia, gallery of Strasbourg.

[4] Predella. Adoration of the Magi, No. 247. The Sermon of John the Baptist (not numbered). The Marriage in Cana (not numbered). The Circumcision (No. 237) in the gallery of Perugia. The first, better preserved than the rest, the second much injured, the third and fourth very weak, and much damaged. The four Evangelists (rounds) are now in the choir of S. Agostino, and very feeble. Two prophets, Daniel and David, (No. 42 and 24) are in the Perugia gallery. Besides these, eight small panels of saints: SS. Nicholas of Tolentino, Lawrence, Augustin, Monica, Lucy, Jerom, Ercolano and Agatha (doubtful whether they

by the effects of time. The altarpiece of S. Agostino may thus be assigned to an interval stretching from 1512 to 1517. It testifies that to the last Perugino could by personal exertion still yield a work of undoubted merit.

It is to be deplored that records should fail to reveal to us the details of his life in the final period of his pictorial activity. Were these to be discovered, we might perhaps affix to a picture in the Museum of Marseilles, the same date as to the principal portions of that of S. Agostino. This was long an ornament of the monastery of S. Anna at Perugia, and was transferred in the eighteenth century to S. Maria fra Fossi.[1] It represents the Marys of scripture as mothers, Christ and many of the apostles as infants. S. Anna recommends the Virgin who sits on a wide throne with the Saviour on her knee; S. Simon and S. Thaddeus playing as babes on the step. To the left, S. Mary Cleofas caresses S. James the less, and S. Joseph protects S. Joseph Justus. To the right, S. Mary Salomé stands with S. John in her arms, the old S. Joachim behind her, and the boy S. James the elder, at her side. All the figures are of the size of life, very fairly arranged, and in good proportion. The drawing is grand; the handling free and bold; and the colour is laid on without much impasto, but with great breadth of touch and at one painting.[2]

belong to the altarpiece), now in the Perugia gallery, and are by the same hand as the predella. The altarpiece of S. Agostino is mentioned by Vasari (VI. 44).

[1] Mezzanotte ub. sup. p. 150.

[2] No. 169. Museum of Marseilles. The names of the saints are written in the nimbuses, the whole scene within an arched space. One sees the drawing beneath the flesh tints. The children, generally, are a little broad and heavy, particularly SS. Simon and Thaddeus. On the upper border of the pedestal of the throne one reads: "Petrus de Castro Plebis pinxit", wood, life size. Two or three vertical splits. Some heads are spotted, and the landscape behind the throne is in a great measure repainted.

An old copy of the picture is in the Castelbarco gallery at Milan. An old copy also, on canvass, of S. Simon and Thaddeus, assigned to Raphael (Passavant II. 5) is in the sacristy of S. Pietro at Perugia.

Finally a small old copy of the whole piece, on paper stretched on canvass, is in the Duke of Northumberland's collection at Alnwick.

The latest frescos of Perugino, in the monastery of S. Agnese at Perugia, and in the church of Fontignano (1522) have been sawed from the walls on which they originally stood. The latter, which ought to have been kept in Perugia, is in the Kensington Museum; and may be compared with the Madonna of the National Gallery to illustrate the difference between the art of Vannucci in his prime and on the eve of his decease. The marked inferiority of the Virgin and saints at S. Agnese may be due to Eusebio da S. Giorgio.[1] At Fontignano, we observe, as it were, the flicker of an expiring flame, a heavy infant Christ, but a fine type of the Madonna; a black wiry outline, broken at intervals and taken up anew with an uncertain hand; a feeble imitation of nature in the extremities, and a painful ease in the mode of dabbing on the local tones; — an injured relic this, yet superior to the Adoration of Trevi.[2]

As the aged artist laboured at Fontignano, industrious and indefatigable to the close, a plague broke out in the Perugian districts, and ravaged the whole country. A disgraceful panic overspread the land. It was decreed that the ceremonies of religion should be omitted in

[1] Fresco of the Virgin erect with her arms uplifted. Above her, two angels. Below, SS. Elisabeth of Portugal, and Elisabeth of Hungary, and in niches at the sides, a good figure of S. Anthony the abbot and S. Anthony of Padua, all but obliterated. The Virgin is ill outlined and unnatural in action. The figures are drawn with straight lines, and stand unsteadily on the plane of the picture. The drapery is without style. The execution reminds one of that of Eusebio di S. Giorgio, yet Mezzanotte (ub. sup. p. 163) states that the fresco was signed in the fringe of the Virgin's mantle: "Petrus pinsit", and that beneath, was the date 1522. The fresco sawed from the wall, is now in the Cappella della Consolazione where one sees, in the same style, a Virgin and Evangelist at the sides of a wooden cross, and two angels above (life size figures) plus, a S. Sebastian of less stature, defective in form, though animated in action, a S. Roch, and the Eternal.

[2] The figures in this fresco are above life size. The whole piece was transferred to canvass, and remained till 1862 for sale in the shop of Signor Angelo Morrettini at Perugia. The child lies in the centre of the foreground in front of the pent-house between the kneeling Virgin and S. Joseph. The shepherds kneel or stand to the right and left. Two angels, now mere outlines, fly above. The whole piece is much injured. A S. Roch and a S. Sebastian originally at the sides, are said to have been sold to one Conte della Porta.

all cases where death ensued from the contagion.[1] Perugino died and was buried in a field at Fontignano. His sons[2] piously contracted with the monks of S. Agostino (1524) that his body should be taken out of its unconsecrated resting-place to hallowed ground.[3] In return for this service they agreed to pay for the completion of unfinished portions of the altarpiece of their father.[4] If, during the subsequent days of disturbance which history has chronicled, their tender solicitude was deceived, it is not to them that blame can be attached. The mortal shell of their father remained in the grave to which it had been first consigned, and no one knows where lie the bones of Pietro Perugino.[5]

A duty that now claims performance is, to notice works of Perugino (or bearing his name in various galleries) which have not been described in the foregoing narrative:—

Perugia.. S. Maria Nuova, but now in Gallery, No. 2. Transfiguration, wood, tempera. This is a reduction from the cartoon of the same subject used for the fresco of the Cambio; the figures being reversed. Old varnish has given a crystalline reddish appearance to it. Extensive retouching has also taken place. The predella (now unnumbered in gallery) contains the Nativity between the Annunciation and the Baptism (tempera). The beauty and freshness of its colour tell how fine the Transfiguration may have been. The compositions are the usual ones. The conception of the Annunciation recalls that of the Fano altarpiece; and the Virgin's movement is a Florentine reminiscence. The Baptism is in so far varied that

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[1] Mezzanotte ub. sup. 184, and Tranquilli in Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. p. 189.

[2] Perugino left three sons, Francesco, Michael-Angelo, and Giov. Battista. See the root of the family in Orsini, ub. sup. p. 237.

[3] It had been Perugino's wish that he might be buried in S. M. de' Servi at Florence; he had purchased a burial place there for himself and his descendents in 1515. The record is in Gualandi, Memorie ub. sup. Ser. IV. p. 115.

[4] The record in full is in Mariotti Lett., notes to pp. 182 and foll[s].

[5] Vasari says (VI. p. 51): that Perugino was honorably buried, but there is every reason to doubt this assertion. See the Memorie of Giacomo Giappesi in Mariotti, Lett. p. 186.

two nudes are added to the right of the principal group. The Transfiguration and its predella must be assigned to Perugino's best time. (Vasari speaks of an Adoration of the Magi in S. M. Nuova at Perugia by Vannucci, VI. 42. This Adoration we have noted in the life of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.)

Perugia. S. Francesco de' Minori Conventuali, but now in Gallery No. 33. S. Francis between SS. John the Baptist and Jerom, Sebastian, and Anthony of Padua, wood, oil, figures life size. Has lost its lightness and transparence. The Baptist and Jerom being the least damaged, have more of Perugino's character than the rest. The three others are coloured anew; and it is hard to decide whether the author be the master or his assistants.

Perugia. Confraternità di S. Bernardino, but now No. 31, in Gallery. Canvass, oil, figures life size. The Virgin sits in glory with the infant between two angels. Two cherubs are above her head, and three others support the cloud on which she reposes. Eight brethren kneel in the middle of a landscape, in the distance of which there is a view of the city of Perugia. The brethren are placed between the kneeling SS. Francis and Bernardino. This piece is greatly injured, yet full of softness and feeling. The types are like those of Perugino in 1495, though the canvass is probably of a later date.

Perugia. S. Francesco al Monte. Fresco, lunette of the Nativity transferred to canvass, repeated from the cartoons of the same subject at the Cambio (life size figures), half ruined, and abraded in colour throughout. The remains of an Adoration of the Magi, also transferred from the walls to canvass, offers but a few heads to view, the rest being obliterated. Some bits however, are in possession of Signor Fantacchiotti at Perugia. A third lunette representing S. Francis receiving the stigmata, rudely handled, of a red colour and ruined, but certainly not by Perugino, is in the sacristy. A fourth lunette mentioned by Vasari (VI. 42), illustrating the Martyrdom of the Franciscans before the Sultan, is entirely gone.

Perugia. Galleria Connestabili. In this collection there are fragments of frescos; a Virgin and child, almost of life size, between two angels, in a landscape; a S. Ercolano and a shield of arms supported by two children. They are all much damaged, but they bear a Peruginesque stamp.

Perugia. Gallery. No. 6. A figure of S. Giacomo della Marca by Perugino, distemper on canvass, of 1512 (circa).

Same Gallery. No. 38, but previously in S. Martino, a S. Jerom (canvass) of the same character as the foregoing.

Same Gallery. No. 7. Originally in the kitchen of the Palazzo pubblico. Three half lengths of the Virgin and child, between S.

Joseph and another Saint, a little under life-size, of a light red colour, with spare shadow, one of the late and feeble productions of the master.

Perugia. S. Agostino, above the sacristy-door, a panel of the Virgin, between SS. Bernardino and Tommaso da Villanuova, assigned by Vasari to Perugino (VI. 45), but perhaps by Manni (see Manni postea).

Corciano, near Perugia. Parish church, choir. Wood, life size figures, oil. Assumption. The Virgin, of square form and short stature, with angels, in attitudes slightly differing from those of the Caraffa altarpiece at Naples. Flat rosy flesh colour, absence of chiaroscuro. Some gaudiness would prove that the pupils of Perugino had the chief part in the work. S. Thomas kneels below, between the apostles, most of whom are repeated from those of the Ascension of Lyons. In the sacristy of the church a part of the predella with the Adoration of the shepherds and the Annunciation exists. In the first, the S. Joseph is new.

Borgo S. Sepolcro. Duomo. Ascension, wood, oil, in the left transept. This is a fair replica of that of Lyons, much restored, and red in consequence. (Done at Florence, says Vasari VI. 40.)

Naples. Duomo. Assumption, painted for Cardinal Oliviero Caraffa and sent to Naples from Florence (Vasari VI. 40). Wood, oil, arched above. The Virgin, in graceful movement, in an almond shaped glory, between four players, two angels suspending the crown above her head, four beneath her feet with instruments. Below, S. Thomas looking from among the apostles with whom, right, S. Paul holding the sword. To the left, Cardinal Caraffa kneeling, is recommended by S. Januarius. The lower part of the foreground figures is entirely renewed together with the landscape and sky. Perugino freely employed his aids on this large piece.

Naples. Museum. No. 267. Virgin seated on a grass mound, in a landscape, in which the Magi and their suite form groups. (Wood, oil.) The Virgin is a little broad of shoulder for the smallness of her head, and affected in bend and expression; but the brown tone is admirably fused, and the small figures of the distance are like many afterwards produced by Raphael and Spagna.

Montefalco. S. Francesco. Fresco of the Nativity, with the Eternal in a lunette. The first has been mentioned as a repetition of the subject at the Cambio. The Eternal is from the same cartoon as that in the Nunziatella at Foligno. Much drapery and other parts in the fresco have been repainted, ex. gr. in the left hand angel, at the side of the Eternal, the Virgin, child, and S. Joseph. The foreground also is new. Above the lunette, by the same hand, the figures of the Virgin and angel annunciate are parted by a monster.

THE LAST SUPPER, a fresco in S. Onofrio at Florence.

The handling of this fresco is not by Vannucci, the colour and drawing being hard and dry (see Melanzio postea).

Cantiano, near Gubbio and Cagli. A Holy family at this place (not seen) has recently been sold.

Castiglione del Lago. S. Agostino. Fresco, sawn away and transferred. Subject, the Virgin and child on clouds, and two angels with the crown. Damaged fragment ascribed to Perugino, and stamped with the character of his school. It is said that frescos and a Crucifix by Perugino exist in the Isola Maggiore, at the Osservanti, and in the church of S. Angelo nel Campo.

Florence. Pitti Gallery. No. 42. Bust of Mary Magdalen resting one hand on the other, of powerful tone, with bright brown shadows, fine (1496—1500), wood, oil.

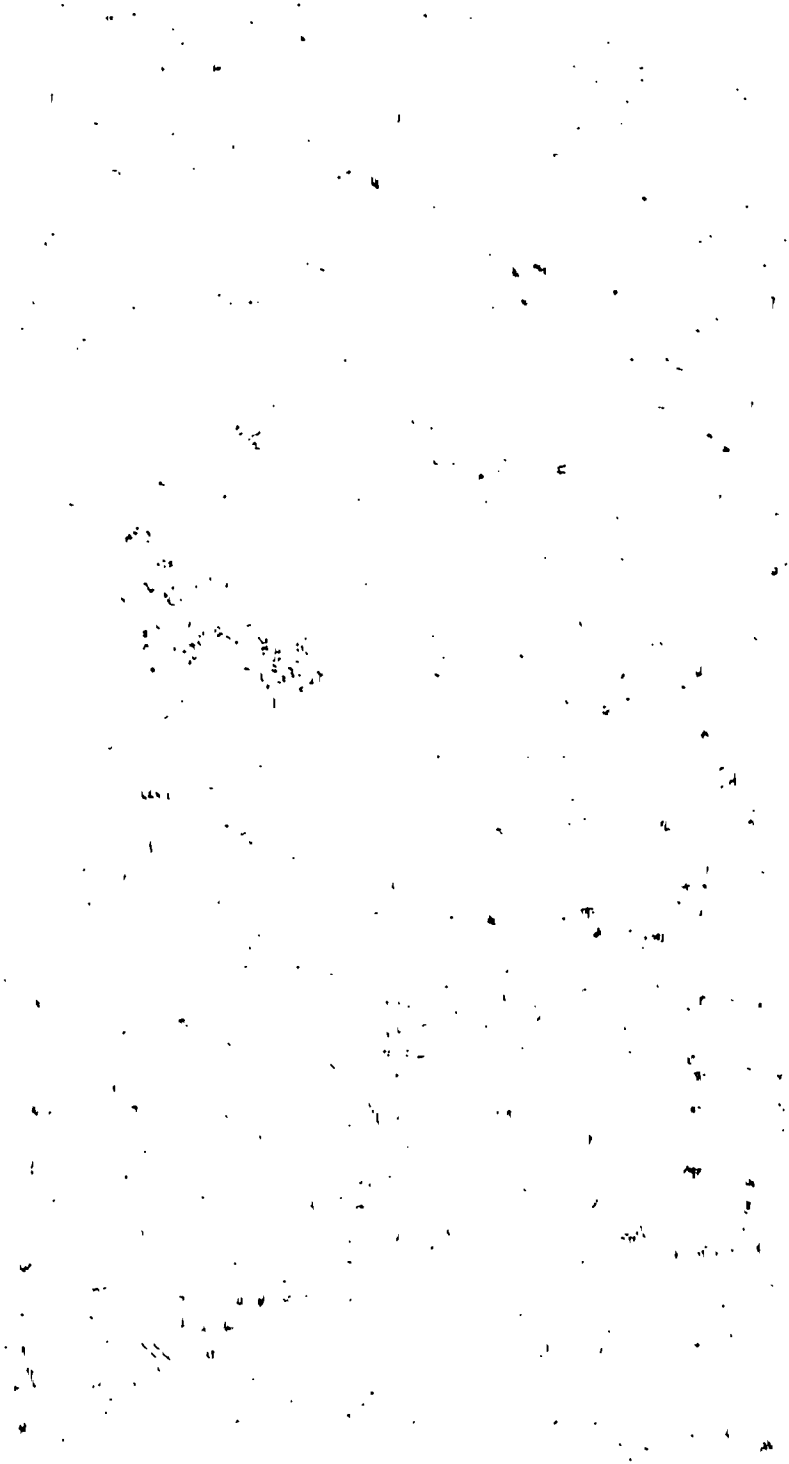
Florence. Pitti. No. 219. Wood, oil. Nativity on the model of that of the National Gallery, red and hard from restoring.

Florence. Pitti. No. 340. Wood, oil. Virgin and child, with two female saints in rear, copy (old) of Perugino's authentic panel at Vienna (Belv. Room III. No. 12. Rom. School).

Florence. Church of La Calza. The crucified Saviour with the Magdalen at the foot of the tree, between SS. Jerom, Francis, Giovanni Colombini and John the Baptist (wood, oil), assigned by Vasari (VI. 36) to Perugino. There is something Peruginesque in the Baptist who points at the cross, in the S. Gio. Colombini and S. Francis, more of Signorelli in the S. Jerom and in the Magdalen (the latter is the best figure here). The picture is of good impasto, with occasional hatching in the shadows. The colour is chill and raw and unlike that of Perugino. The vulgar Christ is reminiscent of Filippino and Raffaellino del Garbo. It is difficult to ascribe this piece either to Perugino or to Signorelli.

Florence. S. Onofrio. The Last Supper. Fresco. Annexed is an engraving of it in its present condition. The apostles sit at the Saviour's sides in the following order (moving from left to right). SS. James the less, Philip, James the elder, Andrew, Peter, the Saviour, John Evangelist, Bartholomew, Mathew, Thomas, Simon and Thaddeus. In front alone, Iscariot. The figures are life size. The composition is Florentine, modelled on that of Domenico Ghirlandaio at S. Marco of Florence; but the execution is Peruginesque. The distance, with the incident of Christ on the Mount, especially so. It is apparent that the fresco has been worked over. (It was for years so dim as to be almost invisible). The colour of the table partly abraded, and partly renewed. Outlines of furniture on the cloth have been left. The green embroidery on the screen is new and out of harmony, the engraved outlines having become black. The flesh tints are laid in with much

impasto of a ruddy tinge, free and from a full brush. The drawing is poor, the lower limbs feebly rendered, the fingers of hands and feet incorrect. A great inequality is obvious in the types, some being finer than the rest, S. Thomas even Raphaelesque. An inscription on the hem of his dress might with some difficulty be forced into the following order: "Ra. . . Ur. . . anno MDV.", but there is a cross mark between the D and the V. The V itself has a stroke on the right limb, and the letters have been overrun. The heads of S. Thaddeus, S. James and S. John are Peruginesque with Raphaelesque traits, those of S. Andrew and S. Philip not without beauty. The Saviour like the rest has a double balled forehead, prominent cheeks, and a parted chin in puffy contours exaggerated in S. Peter. The straight lined draperies have much of the Florentine, but they want style. The colour is that of a practised and coarse hand, which is neither Raphael's nor Perugino's. Amongst the names which suggest themselves, three may be selected. They are those of pupils of Vannucci, Giannicola Manni, Eusebio, and Gerino da Pistoia. The high forehead, the parted eyes and puffy drawing of the head of Christ are like Manni's, ex. gr. in the Perugia gallery and in the chapel of the Cambio. Eusebio is an imitator of Raphael with some of Manni's peculiarities, a marrowy touch and sharp flesh tone. Gerino da Pistoia is, however, more likely to have been employed at S. Onofrio than either. Although Vasari calls him a pupil of Pinturicchio; his panels at Pistoia are those of a disciple of Vannucci. In his picture of 1509 at S. Pietro of Pistoia, many figures recall Raphael's first manner, and remind one of the fresco of S. Onofrio. His colour is also of the ruddy kind noticed in the latter. But further, the studies for four figures in the Last Supper have been preserved (they are on coloured paper, touched in white, exhibited in the room), and testify in favour of Gerino as against Raphael. A painted frame surrounds the Last Supper. Within it are five busts of friars, of which the three highest are Florentine and earlier in date than the two others or than the Supper. This circumstance would confirm the belief that Gerino, if he be the person here engaged, repeated anew a composition which existed before on the same wall; and this presumption is strengthened again by the existence of an engraving in the library of Gotha which has been by Passavant given to Perugino (he assumed it to be taken from the fresco of S. Onofrio as it now stands), but which is a Florentine work of the close of the fifteenth century. The engraving reproduces the attitudes, action, and extremities of the fresco in its present condition, but in a Florentine, not an Umbrian style. The architecture is not a colonnade and screen, but a closed room with windows. On the end of the seats are: a rider followed by a page, and the Capture on the Mount, and these are replaced in the fresco by an arabesque ornament. The question arises, where



MADONNA AND CHILD : portion of a picture by Perugino, in the Gallery of Bologna

was the fresco of which the Gotha engraving was a copy? Was it the original at S. Onofrio which some Peruginesques repainted at a later period under orders from Perugino to whom the commission had been entrusted? (Vasari mentions the existence of a dead Christ between the Virgin and Evangelist, in S. Piero Maggiore, VI. 39. Borghini states in his Riposo II. note to p. 151, that it had come in his time into the cappella Medici. The annotators, Vasari VI. 39, tell us that it is now in the Palazzo Albizzi in Borgo degli Albizzi at Florence.)

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra. No. 26, wood, oil, life size. S. Sebastian at the pillar in front of an arcade through which a landscape is seen. On the basement one reads: "Sagittē tuē infixē sunt michi". A genuine Perugino.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. Wood, oil. S. Jerom penitent, in a landscape, much injured, attributed by Vermiglioli (Vita di Pinturicchio, p. 113) to Pinturicchio, is painted in Perugino's manner, but may be due to Spagna.

Rome. Galleria Doria. Room 2. No. 80. S. Sebastian at the pillar (half life size), named Perugino, is a fine panel by Marco Basaiti.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. No. 34. Virgin with the child erect on her knee, wood, oil, named Perugino. The hard execution and glassy colour might prove it to be by Gio. Battista Bertucci of Faenza.

Rome. Gallery of pictures at the Capitol. No. 78, wood, oil. Virgin and child in a niche, between SS. John Baptist, Paul and Peter, and Andrew, John Evangelist, and Francis (under life size). This is not by Perugino, but reminds one of the painters of Bologna and the Marches, being a mixture of Cotignola and Francia. The three saints, the Baptist, Paul, and Peter, are by a different hand from the rest. A long inscription closes with the date of 1513.

Rome. Gallery of pictures at the Capitol. No. 127. Called Perugino. Round of the Virgin and child, feeble and red in tone, by a follower of Lorenzo di Credi.

Bologna. Gallery. No. 197. Originally in the Cappella Vizzani at S. Giovanni in Monte (Vas. VI. 40. Orsini; Vita ub. sup. 197). The Virgin in glory, wood, oil. The Virgin in a tender attitude holds the naked infant with graceful action. Her glory of cherubs' heads is supported on clouds. She is attended by two angels in flight. SS. Michael, Catherine of Alexandria, Appollonia and John Evangelist stand in devotion below. The S. Michael is a little slender and stiff, but has a good face. The movement of S. Catherine's head is

finely foreshortened, the Evangelist grandiose in movement as in the fresco of the Cambio. The flesh tones are powerful and well fused, and of a lower substance than the draperies. The picture belongs to Perugino's fine time being brighter in colour than the altarpiece of the Vatican (1496), browner than the Madonna of S. Pietro Martire (1498). The arrangement of the group of the Virgin and child is very charming and original, condition excellent, signed: "Petrus Peruginus pinxit." The figures are life size.

Bologna. S. Martino Maggiore. Assumption, by Perugino, according to Mezzanotte (37. 8.) and Orsini (199.), is by Lorenzo Costa.

Venice. Academy. No. 265. Previously in the Manfrini collection. Christ washing the feet of the apostles. This piece is certainly not by Perugino, but by a Lombard, and has something of Boccaccino.

Venice. Collection of the Duchess of Berri. Round, Virgin, child, and youthful Baptist, feeble and not by Perugino.

Venice. Manfrini Collection. No. 322. Round, wood, oil. Virgin with the child, reading from a book held by an angel, with a second angel in rear, of small merit, by a feeble Peruginesque following the school of Manni and Eusebio.

London. National Gallery. No. 181. Wood, tempera. The Virgin, child, and S. John. Landscape distance; bought by Mr. Beckford at Perugia. This panel, of pale bright tone, is very carefully executed and signed on the border of the Virgin's dress: "Petrus Peruginus". If it be admitted that Spagna was Perugino's pupil and the companion of Raphael, one might suppose that he had a share in this work which shows more conscientiousness than freedom of hand. Still it has much of the spirit of the master.

London. Lord Taunton. Formerly at Stoke Park. Wood, oil. Christ supported on the tomb, reminiscent of that of S. Agostino, inscribed: "Sepulcrum Christi. Petrus Perusinus pinxit." Originally in Venice and, before it was retouched throughout, undoubtedly one of Perugino's fair creations.

London. Collection of Alexander Barker, Esq. Predella; tempera on canvass, in five parts, numbered at Manchester: Nos. 70—4. Noli me tangere, conceived without the religious poetry of the earlier time. Christ stops in his walk, leans his left hand on a stick and listens to the Magdalen who kneels in prayer. In the distance between the two, the sepulchre guarded by angels, right and left a couple in converse. The warm tone of the tempera is like that of the predella of the Transfiguration (unnumbered in Perugia gallery) or that of the Louvre distemper of 1505. The Resurrection. Christ rises with the banner out of the sepulchre, as in the Rouen pre-

della. In the distance to the left the guard runs as in the Vatican Resurrection and Munich predella (in the latter the position in the picture is reversed). In the distance to the right, another guard seated, sleeps with his hands on his shield. In the foreground, right, a fine youth asleep leaning on his target, counterpart of that in the Resurrection at the Vatican called the portrait of Raphael, and with a slight variation, like the same figure, bearing the name of Raphael on the target, in the Munich predella. In the foreground to the left, a young soldier in helmet and breastplate as in the Vatican Resurrection and Munich predella, but with a shield behind his left arm (at the Vatican there is no shield; at Munich the shield is on the right arm). The Samaritan woman at the well. The Saviour, conventional and ill-conceived. The Samaritan woman, graceful in movement. The Baptism of Christ. The usual arrangement, but in that respect as well as for proportions more particularly akin to the fresco of the Nunziatella at Foligno. The distance a fine landscape. Nativity, the familiar composition of that subject with a neat type of the Virgin, warmly coloured and firmly handled.

London. Late Northwick Collection. No. 257. No. 75 at Manchester, and originally at Lucca, wood-tempera, life size. The Virgin and child, under a dais festooned with corals and flowers, between SS. Jerom and Peter, hasty, brownish red in flesh tone, and somewhat dimmed by age. The type of the Virgin is poor (mantle much restored).

London. Dudley House. Two rounds of the Virgin and Evangelist in one frame, with a modern inscription: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit", unimportant, and of the school.

London. Collection of the late H. A. J. Munro, Esq. (Mrs. Butler Johnstone), wood, oil. Crucifixion, the Virgin and S. John, and SS. Jerom, and Francis kneeling at the sides. This picture is assigned to Perugino, but has the character of Tiberio d'Assisi (small).

Same Collection. (Small panel.) S. Francis receiving the stigmata, is in the style of Timoteo Viti.

Hampton Court. No. 355. Portrait of a lady, bust, wood, oil. School of Francia and Lorenzo Costa, recalls Boateri though beneath him in execution (see a Holy family by this rare Bolognese at the Pitti).

Hampton Court. No. 233. A female saint bearing a cross. Wood, oil, the flesh tint abraded. This piece is also Bolognese and brings to mind the manner of Chiodarolo, another follower of Francia and Costa.

Hampton Court. No. 582. Portrait of a gentleman, small panel, representing a man in full front dressed in black, with a bridle bit in his hand. It is not by Perugino, nor by any Italian.

Dulwich. Gallery. Nos. 306. 7. S. Anthony of Padua and S. Francis. These two predella saints are part of Raphael's altarpiece for S. Antonio, of Perugia, and have been properly catalogued under his name after having been long under that of Perugino.

Bowood. Seat of Lord Lansdowne. Virgin and child, wood, oil, half length; much injured by restoring. A feeble production of Perugino's followers.

Panshanger. Seat of Earl Cowper. Wood, oil, half length, life size portrait of a man, aged about fifty, of melancholy face, but regular, and somewhat long, form. He stands leaning both hands on a book on a parapet. Behind him a landscape. This portrait, at first sight suggesting the name of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, is hard in drawing, without brightness or transparence, and of a low livid tone. The shadows are dark and tending to purple, with a sudden transition from them to the lights. These would be characteristic features of Innocenzo da Imola.

Gosford House. Seat of Earl Wemyss (Scotland). Virgin, child and youthful Baptist in a landscape, much injured (wood, oil, half the size of life). This seems to be by an imitator of Perugino.

Paris. Louvre. No. 443. Half length, Virgin and child between SS. Joseph and Catherine (replica, with the exception of the S. Joseph, of that at Vienna, Belvedere, Room 3. Ital. schools. No. 12), injured in the lower parts, but broad and warm.

Paris. Louvre. No. 444. Round, of S. Paul, hasty and feeble, light, and of the master's late period.

Paris. Louvre. No. 441. Nativity, wood. The composition may have its origin in the sketchbooks of Perugino. It is the same as that of the Vatican Nativity known as "Presepio della Spineta", attributed to Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael jointly, but clearly by Spagna. At the Louvre, the cartoon is reversed and the angels kneel. The character is that of the Adoration given to Raphael in the Museum of Berlin. The same remarks apply to the numbers at the Louvre registered in the "school" of Perugino. No. 447. 448. and 449.

Paris. Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. Ex-Campana Collection. No. 196. Now classed in the Umbrian school, at Rome called Perugino. Eleven apostles in a boat. There is something Venetian here as the catalogue justly states.

Caen. Museum. No. 2. Wood, oil. S. Jerom penitent, in a landscape, less than half the size of life. At the foot of the cross before which the saint kneels, one reads with difficulty: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit". Completely flayed.

Nantes. Museum. Two panels (rounds) representing the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah. (Not seen, but, no doubt, part of the altarpiece of S. Agostino.—See antea.)

Bordeaux. Museum. No. 411 Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Augustin (not seen by the authors), probably the same described by Constantini (Guida, p. 138) as in S. Agostino of Perugia, and said by him to be by a pupil of Perugino.

S. Petersburg. Collection of Count Sergei Stróganoff. Half length, Virgin with the infant standing on her knee, in a landscape (wood, transferred to canvass), pretty and graceful; taken from a design by Perugino, but in the mixed mode derived from him and from Raphael by a later scholar, such as Eusebio di S. Georgio or Gerino da Pistoia in his youth, indeed not unlike the latter's manner in an altarpiece of 1509, at Pistoia (see postea Gerino).

S. Petersburg. Collection of H. I. H. the Grand-Duchess Marie, widow of the Duke of Leuchtenberg. A Virgin and child composed like the foregoing (wood, figures one third life size), and evidently of Perugino's school, is to be found here (injured).

Same collection. Christ in the tomb supported by two female saints, and S. John Evangelist (wood, small). The composition is Perugino's, the execution by a journeyman.

Vienna. Belvedere. Room 3. Ital. Schools. No. 12. Wood, oil. Virgin, child, and two female saints, replica, with the exception of the female saint to the left of the Madonna, of No. 443. at the Louvre. The colour is bright and powerful, signed: "Petrus Perusinus pinxit". A replica again is No. 340, at the Pitti of Florence (an old copy).

Vienna. Belvedere. Room 3. Ital. Schools. No. 19. Baptism of Christ (small), a copy of no great age (wood).

Vienna. Lichtenstein Gallery. The Nativity (round, wood, oil). The Virgin kneels in prayer before the infant supported on a sack by an angel on his knees. To the right the shepherd's dance. The same idea as to composition as at the Pitti (No. 219) and as in the Pavia piece in the National Gallery. The landscape is more like Raphael's than Vannucci's. The forms are clean, the faces fairly expressive, and the handling is careful, though below that of Perugino, and nearer to that of Eusebio or Domenico Alfani. On the ground to the right one reads in gold the inscription: "Petrus Perrusinus (sic) P."

Vienna. Harrach Gallery. No. 235. Wood, round. The Virgin and child, S. M. Magdalen and another saint; adaptation as to arrangement of the subject in the Louvre panel, No. 443, repainted, but an imitation of Perugino with the modern signature of: Petrus Perugínus fec. MDVIII.

Dresden. Museum. No. 22. Head of a young S. Crispinus; rude work in the style of Melanzio.

Dresden. Museum. No. 23. S. Roch, a pretty little thing, but not by Perugino.

Berlin. Museum. No. 146. Wood, oil. The Virgin enthroned with the child in benediction, between SS. James the less and Anthony the hermit, Francis and Bruno. Perugino's design and type by some one in the shop, perhaps by Tiberio d' Assisi. The colour is dull and hard.

Berlin. Museum. No. 140. Round of the Virgin and child, between two angels, by an imitator of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

Berlin. Museum. No. 138. Round. Nativity, better than No. 140, but raw and poor; of Perugino's school.

Munich. Pinakothek. Cabinets. No. 581. Tempera, wood, called Raphael. Baptism of Christ, usual arrangement, much injured and repainted. Amongst the drawings in the Stædel collection at Frankfort, there is one of the Baptism of Christ, with an angel at each side. This drawing is assigned to Pietro Perugino. It differs somewhat from the picture at Munich. On the back of this drawing is a S. Martin dividing his cloak and giving it to the beggar (the latter wears the horns of Satan). These figures are drawn like those of Raphael in his youth, to whom Passavant would give them. There is no ground in this for attributing to Raphael the Munich Baptism which is clearly by Perugino. Purchased from the Inghirami heirs at Volterra and transferred, in 1818, to Ludwig I. of Bavaria.

Munich. Pinakothek. Cabinets. No. 593, so-called Raphael. The resurrection. The Saviour rises from the tomb (Vatican and Mr. Barker's predella). To the right the soldier runs away. In the foreground, right, the sleeping guard, on the border of his shield twice repeated: "Rafae Santius". This inscription is of doubtful originality, the piece being much injured and restored. The sleeping soldier to the left is the same as in the Barker predella. The signature of Raphael even though considered genuine by Passavant (Raphael vol. I. p. 64) cannot be sustained, the panel being obviously Perugino's.

Munich. Pinakothek. Saal. No. 390. Wood, oil. The Virgin, life size, stands between SS. John Evangelist and Nicholas, in rear of the infant who lies on the middle of the foreground; fine, very devotional, and of bright transparent flesh tone. The child very plump, purchased in Paris, in 1815.

Munich. Pinakothek. Saal. No. 550. The Virgin and child, wood, oil, much damaged by cleaning. Disagreable mask of the Virgin,

not a good production of the master, bought at Florence, in 1831, for king Ludwig I.

Munich. Pinakothek. Saal. No. 561. Vision of S. Bernard. There is a copy of this Vision in S. Spirito at Florence, the original being given by Vasari to Raffaellino del Garbo (VII. 193). But the picture here is a genuine Perugino, much altered by cleaning, youthful and fresh in the forms, and powerful in tone. Bought of the Capponi family at Florence in 1829—30 for king Ludwig I.

Altenburg. Lindenau Collection. Nos. 118. 119. S. Helen. Wood, oil, in a niche. S. Anthony of Padua, wood, tempera, in a niche, both life size, and perhaps a part of the sides of the altarpiece at the SS. Annunziata de' Servi in Florence. These are pleasing and of Perugino's later time; hasty and slight in execution (the tops of the niches have been cut down).

Frankfort. Stædel Gallery. No. 36. Wood, oil. The Virgin holds the infant on her knee. He turns towards the young S. John, in prayer to the Virgin's left. The figures are finely proportioned and grandly designed. The tenderness and feeling in the infant and Baptist, equal those imparted by Raphael to the Terranuova Madonna at Berlin. The sky is slightly injured.

Brussels. Museum. No. 273. Round of the Virgin and child, wood, not in Perugino's manner.

Brussels. Museum. Not catalogued. Virgin, child and S. John, almost life size, very poor and with difficulty to be ascribed to a follower of Giannicola Manni.

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[1] The following works of Perugino are lost or unaccounted for. Florence. S. Martino delle Monache, frescos. Vas. VI. 32. Santa Croce, altar of the Serristori; panel representing the Pietà with ornaments on a frame by Andrea di Cosimo (Vas. VI. 39, and IX. 110. Albertini Memoriale p. 15). Camaldoli; fresco of S. Jerom before a crucifix (Vas. VI. 32), copy of the same on panel for Bartolommeo Gondi (Vas. VI. 32), but see Caen in text. Casa Filippo Salviati; round of the Virgin and child, partly by Perugino, partly by Rocco Zoppo (Vas. VI. 51). S. Jacopo fra Fossi; Penitent S. Jerom (Borghini. Riposo, II. 150). S. Marco, cappella de'Martini, pictures (Richa. Chiese. VII. 120.) Gualfonda citadel, Pietà and other figures (Richa, Chiese. IV. 15). In possession of G. B. Deti, a large marriage of S. Catherine (Riposo, II. 151).

Perugia. Duomo, frescos in cappella de' Oradini, destroyed in 1795 (Orsini vita ub. sup. p. 185).

CHAPTER VIII.

BERNARDINO PINTURICCHIO.

Pinturicchio, the partner of Pietro Perugino, has been described by Vasari with unusual bitterness as more favoured by fortune than gifted by nature or education.[1] Rumohr mitigates the severity of this judgment, at the expense of Pinturicchio's character, and says, we must discriminate between the fresh creations of his early time, and the empty dexterity of a later period in which everything is sacrified to the lucre of gain.[2] Yet, his youthful productions are missing and there are no clear traces of works undertaken on his sole account previous to the completion of the Sixtine chapel.[3] No certainty is attainable regarding his birth, unless we accept Vasari's statement that he was fifty-nine years of age when he died.[4] Assuming this, he was born in 1454, and his independent career began at thirty. He was christened Bernardino, to which were added Betti (Benedicti) Biagi; but his acquaintance often called him Sordicchio because of a deafness and the paltriness of his appearance.[5] He was best known, however, as Pinturicchio; and he probably commended the use of this alias, in order that he might

[1] Vas. V. 264.

[2] Rumohr (Forsch. ub. sup. II. 331).

[3] Rosini (stor. della Pitt. ub. sup. III. 182) assigns to Pinturicchio's early time a figure of S. Ansano in S. Antonio e Jacopo (S. Caterina) at Assisi. This figure and two others, near a fresco representing an incident from the life of S. James, are however by a painter who lived after Pinturicchio (see antea p. 124 in Pietro Antonio).

[4] Vas. V. 274.

[5] Francesco Maturanzio, chron. Verm. vita ub. sup. 29.

be distinguished from a Perugian cotemporary, also called Bernardino, whose mediocre pictures are often confounded with his.

Pinturicchio is the genuine representative of Perugian art as it was felt and carried on in the ateliers of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. He never mastered the difficulties of oil medium, but remained almost invariably true to the system of tempera and to the customs of the old Umbrians. His Virgin and child in the collection of Sir Anthony Stirling in London is one of the first links that connects his manner with that of his predecessors. It is the earliest of his works with which we are acquainted, a panel in which forms and types, style of drawing, and handling, only differ so far from Fiorenzo's, that they receive an additional polish, and combine more grace with greater accuracy of execution, better design with more pleasing colour.

When Pinturicchio went to Rome, he did so as Perugino's partner. Vasari says, that they laboured in company at the Sixtine,[1] and the probability of this statement has already been discussed. As the chapel approached completion, perhaps before it was finished, Pinturicchio had gained access to Cardinal Domenico della Rovere, whose most pressing care after his elevation to the purple (1479)[2] had been to erect a palace in Borgo Vecchio, on the front of which his arms were painted by Pinturicchio.[3] His next object was the adornment of a chapel dedicated to S. Jerom, the first of its kind in S. M. del Popolo which Sixtus the Fourth had begun rebuilding,[4] on the plans of Baccio Pontelli. On the altar-

[1] Vas. V. 268.

[2] Feb. 3. 1478. (o. s.)

[3] Vas. V. 268. The palace was contiguous to that which Bramante afterwards built for Raphael on the Piazza Rusticucci. See Leo the Tenth's brief ratifying the sale of Raphael's house in 1520, a record in which the exact position of Domenico's palace is described. Giornale degli archiv. Tosc. ub. sup. vol. IV. 248—53.

[4] Ecclesia S. M. de populo a Syxto IIII fuit ab ipsis fundamentis cum claustro instaurata." . . . Albertini, opusc. ub. sup. p. 50.

face, Pinturicchio placed the Adoration of the Shepherds, with his patron in full robes on his knees before the new born Christ. In five lunettes he represented scenes from the life of S. Jerom, introducing a number of slender personages into them with such skill as one might expect from a man who had witnessed the progress of Perugino. He gave a graceful movement and a fair shape to the infant Saviour in the mode afterwards repeated at Spello and elsewhere. His landscapes are already a medley of rocks of fretful curves tunnelled into holes, and clothed with spare verdure, a permanent feature in him, and essentially characteristic of the Umbrian.[1]

About the time when these frescos were completed, Giovanni della Rovere, Duke of Sora and Sinigaglia, died (1485). He had also built an oratory in S. Maria del Popolo, with the intention of being buried there. His monument, as well as the rest of the sacred space, was decorated by Pinturicchio, probably at the request of Domenico, or of Cardinal Giuliano the deceased's brother. At the altar, the Virgin and child are enthroned between SS. Francis, Augustin, and two other friars, the third person of the Trinity above in a lunette half-length, giving the blessing, the whole in a rich white marble tabernacle, bearing the della Rovere arms. To the left, the Virgin is taken to heaven by angels, whilst the apostles stand about the tomb. In the pointed alcove of Giovanni's monument Christ is supported in the sepulchre by two angels, and in the remaining lunettes five scenes from the life of the Virgin are depicted. These pieces are in a framework of fictive architecture, — columns supporting a real cornice and resting on imitated plinths that start from a skirting

[1] In the distance of the Nativity, the procession of the Magi is given. To the right the hut with the ox and the ass. The blue mantle of the Virgin is repainted. The blue dress of one shepherd, the yellow one of another, the heads of all, are in ruin. The blue starred ceiling with its new colour increases the bad effect created by the damaged condition of the fresco. The incidents from the life of S. Jerom are much damaged.

filled with chiaroscuros. Between the plinths a feigned panelling incloses simulated bas-reliefs in monochrome, of S. Peter before the Emperor at Rome and his crucifixion, S. Augustin surrounded by various personages, the Martyrdom of S. Catherine, the accusation and decapitation of S. Paul. In the midst of once rich ornaments of foliage and children in the vaulted ceiling are the remnants of four busts of prophets and an angel playing, in rounds, almost obliterated by damp.

Whilst the failings handed down by Fiorenzo are illustrated in the feeble aspect and drooping shoulders of the Virgin at the altar, the lower attainments of a pupil are apparent in the small heads, in the thin forms and broken draperies of the angels of the Assumption. The Nativity is a composition often repeated later by Pinturicchio's disciples at Sienna. The scenes from the lives of the saints, in monochrome, are the best in the chapel as regards arrangement, action, and proportion of figures. They reveal Pinturicchio's contact with Signorelli and the temporary transmission of some of his energetic feeling into the weaker frame of his Perugian cotemporary.[1]

Cardinal Costa was another dignitary, who had founded a chapel in S. M. del Popolo after he received the hat, in 1479.[2] For him Pinturicchio furnished half-lengths of the doctors of the church in four lunettes, and a scutcheon supported by two children in a fifth — all much abraded by the effects of time.

[1] The S. Augustin and his companion friar on the right are darkened and spotted by restorers. The Virgin of the Assumption is in an almond shaped glory of cherubs' heads, raised from below by two angels attended by four others playing instruments. Behind the tomb about which the apostles stand, is a landscape. The feeble execution of the angels might point to the name of Pinturicchio's disciple Matteo Balducci. The distance (landscape) of the Pietà in the monument of Gio. della Rovere is much damaged and repainted. The scenes from the life of the Virgin are, besides the Nativity, the Presentation in the temple, the Marriage, the Visitation (injured by damp) and the Virgin seated amongst angels.

[2] The chapel was founded by him in 1479. See Plattner and Bunsen &c. Beschreibung Rom's. 8°. Stuttg. 1842. Vol. III. 3. Abth. p. 217.

The most important and successful of Pinturicchio's commissions in this church was, however, the laying out of the choir-ceiling, at the request of Giuliano della Rovere,[1] which he did with masterly distribution and pleasant colouring. The Coronation of the Virgin in a large central medallion; the four doctors of the church standing in niches in the angles, with a recumbent sybil in a shovel-frame above them, and an evangelist in a round between each sybil are a telling proof that Pinturicchio possessed the Umbrian taste for decoration, in the absence of higher qualities essential to the production of great masterpieces. His labours in S. Maria del Popolo were closed in the chapel of Lorenzo Cibo, founded in 1486, but afterwards renewed by a second cardinal of the same name.

The family, of which Lorenzo was a member, was one of the most potent in these years at Rome, because its head occupied the chair of S. Peter under the name of Innocent the Eighth. Scarcely less enterprising as a builder than his predecessor Sixtus the Fourth, this pontiff raised the Palace of Belvedere from its foundations; and in the rooms subsequently transformed by Pius the Seventh into the gallery of statues called Museo Pio Clementino, Pinturicchio covered the walls with a panorama of the principal cities of Italy, the entrance-door being adorned with a fresco of the Madonna.[2] The changes introduced since then have left but formless vestiges behind, respecting which one can only say that the Perugian character of Pinturicchio's time is still traceable in them.

A more complete destruction awaited the frescos executed for Sciarra Colonna in the Palazzo di S. Apostolo,

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[1] "S. Maria de Populo. Sunt multæ capellæ variis picturis et marmoribus exornatæ, majorem vero capellam tua beatitudo (Julius the Second) fundavit, ac variis picturis exornavit manu Bernardini Perusini. in q . . . . ." Albertini opusc. ub. sup. p. 50.

[2] Vas. V. 268.

and an altarpiece of the Madonna ordered by Innocent the Eighth for a chapel in S. Pietro.[1]

In the midst of these occupations Pinturicchio was perhaps surprised, in the spring of 1491, by the reappearance of Perugino in Rome, in the employ of Giuliano della Rovere. The protracted and fruitless negotiations between Vannucci and the Orvietans, which now took place, ended as we have seen by the call of Pinturicchio to Orvieto, where he agreed to paint two prophets and two doctors of the church, near the choir of the cathedral. Having finished these, as, in the absence of the figures themselves, we infer from the record of a payment of 50 ducats,[2] he was put to further works in one of the tribunes, which, it would seem, consumed a great quantity of blue and gold. The superintendents discovered, indeed, to their dismay that they had exhausted the means of purchasing more. In the absence of these indispensable materials, Pinturicchio protested that he could not go on any longer and in a legally drawn up paper (Nov. 17. 1492) declared himself free from any responsibility that might attach to him in consequence of his not fulfilling the contract within the specified time. One of those growling spirits, which are so frequently to be found in councils like that of Orvieto, was for turning Pinturicchio out at once, as a squanderer of the church-moneys and an incapable artist. But more generous views prevailed; and Pinturicchio remained. Three weeks, however, expired before an order was placed on the minutes (Dec. 14. 1492) "for raising funds to buy blue and gold for the ceilings"; and it is probable that, rather than be idle any longer, Pinturicchio took horse and returned to his old residence at Rome.[3]

During his absence, Alexander the Sixth had been elected to succeed Innocent the Eighth, and had ordered

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[1] Vas. V. 268.

[2] Vas. com. V. 273.

[3] See the proof for the whole of these facts in Della Valle; Storia del Duomo di Orvieto, in Vasari's annot. V. pp. 270. 1. and Vermiglioli ub. sup. app. XL. and fols.

a suite of rooms in the Vatican to be built for his special use. Pinturicchio was instantly engaged to decorate the first that was ready, and not only finished it, but five others at intervals within two years. This suite, known as the Apartamento Borgia, has undergone very little alteration since that time. The first room, or Sala, exactly beneath the present hall of Constantine, was denuded of Pinturicchio's frescos by order of Leo the Tenth, and redecorated by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga.[1] Five others, occupied at present as a library, are still in their original condition. Of these, three communicating with each other through the Sala, are lighted severally by one window opening on the Cortile di Belvedere, and are longitudinally divided by an arch resting on pilasters; the fourth has also a window facing the Cortile, but no division; the fifth faces the Cortile at a less obtuse angle than the rest.

First Room, next to the Sala of Giov. da Udine and Perino. On the wall facing the window, and divided into two lunettes, the Annunciation and the Nativity with the papal arms between them, in a rosette supported by three angels. In the two lunettes to the right, the Adoration of the Magi and the Resurrection, with a fine kneeling portrait of Alexander the VI^th^ in the latter. In one lunette, to the left, the Assumption and a Cardinal kneeling by the tomb about which the apostles stand. In one lunette, above the window, the Ascension, and in the two ceilings a tasteful ornament of animals and devices on a blue ground, and eight half lengths in rounds. None of the compositions are remarkable. Some, as the Nativity and Ascension, are ill arranged. A certain breadth in the draperies of the annunciate angel reveals Pinturicchio's partial familiarity with the Florentine examples of Domenico Ghirlandaio or Lippi. Coarseness characterizes many forms in the Nativity. A certain rudeness is apparent in the execution, and the dull grey colour is but slightly relieved by light and shadow. Coldness and lifelessness are combined in the colour and figures of the Adoration. Want of style and minuteness of detail are to be noted in the draperies of the Resurrection, and the Redeemer is altogether poor. The Ascension, being in the dark, is doubtless

[1] Vas. X. 144.

by assistants. The best preserved subject is the Adoration, the worst the Resurrection.

Second Room. This room is better done than the previous one, not only with respect to composition, but as regards the successful design and the correct handling of the several parts. The ceilings are filled with mythological incidents in triangular spaces formed by diagonals, with the papal arms at the central intersection. In the vaulting of the arch which divides the room, episodes are neatly placed in gilt stucco ornaments. Opposite the window the whole field is occupied by S. Catherine arguing before Maximian, the latter well proportioned, the former delicate and dignified, the action in both not too highly strained. Amongst the listeners in turbans and quaint costume, one presents his back to the spectator and points to a passage in a book held up by a kneeling page. Most of the heads seem portraits. The draperies are ill cast and bundled into superfluous straight folds. The buildings in the background are gilt stucco, and an arch in the distance stands out in relief. Two lunettes of the wall to the right of the foregoing are filled with S. Anthony sharing bread with S. Paul the Hermit, and the Visitation. The first is well put together and powerfully coloured, and the movements of the Saints breaking the bread are natural and lively. In the second, there is more beauty in single groups of females spinning and sewing than unity in the distribution. An aged woman seated and a girl twirling a reel as she walks, are particularly deserving of attention. The wall to the left contains the martyrdom of SS. Barbara and Giuliana, and S. Barbara flying from her father. A fountain in the former is raised and gilt. The S. Barbara in the latter is graceful, slender, and rather affected. Above the door on the same side is a half length of the Virgin surrounded by cherubs' heads on gold ground. She is teaching the infant to read in an open book. The head is said to be the portrait of Giulia Farnese, but Vasari's description (V. 269) includes a portrait of Alexander the Sixth in adoration which is not to be found here. Above the window, there is a plain and well intended composition of S. Sebastian not without breadth in the nude, but much restored, more so, indeed, than any part of these paintings which have all undergone more or less retouching.

Third Room. The lunettes of this room are entirely occupied by allegorical impersonations of Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music and Astrology which are dealt with in a higher style of art than before, with a touch here and there of Peruginesque character. The heads are frequently successful in selection of type, the draperies often of satisfactory flow; yet one still traces in most parts the pupil of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. A figure which most recalls Perugino is one holding a sword in its

right hand, and a golden ball in its left, with a head reminiscent of those in the Hague Madonna at the Louvre. In front are children and adults; amongst the latter one bearded and draped in the flowing folds of a mantle after the fashion of Vanucci. Music is of a refined form, enthroned and playing the violin, whilst two angels in rear supporting a tapestry, two boys playing on the steps, and others around similarly occupied, are handsome Peruginesque conceptions. This fresco alone might prove that Pinturicchio was the assistant of Perugino in the Moses and Zipporah at the Sixtine chapel. The sacred and profane subjects in the vaulting of the arch, the parting of Jacob and Laban, Lot's departure from Sodom, an allegory of Justice, Trajan and the widow, and another episode, are not in Pinturicchio's manner and if originally by him, have been altered by a painter of the close of the sixteenth century.[1]

Fourth room. The frescos here have hitherto been omitted without just cause from the catalogue of Pinturicchio's works in the Apartamento Borgia. They consist of twenty four half lengths. In the centre of the ceiling are the words: "Alexander Borgia p. p. VI. fundavit", and on a "cartello" in the ornament are the ciphers: "MCCCCLXXXXIIII".

Fifth room. The walls are divided into three lunettes, each containing a male and female couple in converse seen to the knees. Most of these are repainted. In the spandrils of the springing curve of the ceiling are the planets with small allusive incidents beneath them; as, people fishing below the Luna, persons reading and talking under the Mercury, and (severally, accompanying the Venus, Apollo, Mars, Jove and Saturn) a wedding, a pope and a king seated, a fight for the possession of a female, a hunt with falcons, and a massacre. As compositions, these subjects, where uninjured by restoring, rival the beauty of those in the Cambio of Perugia, and are adorned with equal taste. In small rounds are the papal arms and other pictorial illustrations. The spirit of these pieces differs but immaterially from that of the rest of the series. The name of the Borgia: "A. P. M. VI." on a "cartello" in one of the curves shows that they date from the same period; and they may be assigned to Pinturicchio.

Vast as these decorations are, they were completed between the close of 1492 and the middle of 1494, an interval

[1] Between the lunettes, two to each wall, are the papal arms in the spandrils. The figure of Geometry is the best preserved fresco of this series, that of Astrology is the most injured, the head and hands being covered by restoring. All the figures, however, have suffered from repainting, and are on blue grounds painted with gold.

which might at first sight appear too short for one person, were he to spend every day without rest; yet Pinturicchio did not devote the whole of his time to it. He was subjected by the Orvietans to a pressure like that previously exerted on Perugino; and though a brief from Alexander, dated the 29th of March 1493, required them to wait till "his palace" was done;[1] they succeeded in bringing him back for a while, so that the Pope was obliged, in March 1494, to send for him again.[2] During that year and 1495, the rooms of the Vatican received their last adornments, and a large series, of which not a wreck remains, was painted in the Castle of S. Angelo.[3]

The secret of Pinturicchio's fecundity lay, as Vasari truly says, in the great practise which he had gained, and in the employment of numerous assistants;[4] and this very facility in carrying out great commissions at a quick pace, for patrons desirous of obtaining and enjoying whatever they undertook without delay, may be the true cause why he was so much in request. His performances at Rome were those of a man without genius, living at a period when great precepts were generally known and used. They were good as representing the skilled labour of art, without great claims to admiration as embodying exceptional talents. As a composer, he had no fertility of original thought. He was biassed by different influences at various times on that account; but these did not enable him to conceal his deficiencies, although he frequently succeeded in single episodes. He had, in the main, the faults and the qualities of Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, corrected later by the companionship of Perugino. A more pleasing system of landscape-painting and more meditative types were, no doubt, derived from the latter, yet Pinturicchio never seriously rivalled Vannucci. His very best landscapes are overcharged with details, and full of minute touches;

[1] Della Valle; Storia del Duomo di Orvieto ub. sup. and Verm. app. XL.

[2] Annot. Vas. V. 271.

[3] Vas. V. 269. 70.

[4] Ib. ib. 264.

and his cotemporaries, who were certainly not partial to the works of the Netherlanders, taunted him with being a Fleming in habits.[1] His models of Virgins are, like Fiorenzo's, slender, yet not free from heaviness, modest and timid, yet not completely refined; those of children and angels are in the same character, combining sentiment with coarseness, the heads covered by more than luxuriant crops of frizzly hair. Pinturicchio adopts the Umbrian moulds from custom, and sometimes gives them a pleasing tenderness, but the heart is not engaged in the work as it is in Raphael's. As a portrait-painter he excels, and he gives with fidelity the features and expression of his sitter. His draperies are very full, but seldom perfectly cast; and it often happens that the folds are both numerous and out of place. His drawing is broken, asserting its form less by curves than by frequent junctions of lines at angles of varying obtuseness. In perspective he naturally acquired what Perugino knew, and he followed the progress of his age as an architectural draughtsman. Ornament is applied with skill, but the combination of gilt stucco with fictitious relief is open to serious criticism.[2] With less excuse than Crivelli, Pinturicchio continued an old and time-honoured custom of the Umbrians, at a period when it contrasted too strongly with the general spirit of the age to be permissible any longer. His dresses are, on the same principle, overladen with rich borders. He was far too busy during his lifetime to give much thought to oil medium, and as he had not the constancy to perfectly acquire, he seldom attempted, its use; he therefore tinted walls, as he did panels, on the system of Fiorenzo and Bonfigli; and without any of Perugino's feeling for colour. Gaudy liveliness, or sombreness are the two extremes most commonly met with in his pictures. The vehicle is copious, and the brush full, so as to produce

[1] Vas. V. 268.

[2] Vasari is hard on him also for this. (V. 269).

layers of thick substance and rough surface. The flesh is stippled over verde, and enlivened even at the outlines with red according to the oldest methods of tempera.

Pinturicchio deserves, and is likely to hold no higher place in history than Spagna. Both were of the same capacity. But Spagna, being younger, was enabled to master the changes in the *technica* which Pinturicchio neglected, and was not precluded by habit from imitating Raphael.

In 1495, Bernardino was repaid for the industry and skill exhibited at the Vatican and in the Castel S. Angelo by a lease of lands at Chiugi near Perugia, subject to an annual payment of thirty *"corbe"* of grain, which was commuted at a subsequent period.[1] During this or a later stay, he covered a chapel at Araceli with frescos in a purer and better style than any other that he had brought to completion in Rome. The date of these is not ascertained, but the chapel is said to have been founded to solemnize the fortunate extinction of a feud between two families.[2] It is called Cappella Bufalini to this day, and may have been adorned at the request of some one of that house holding an office in Rome, as the Bufalini did who signs his name to the decree of

[1] The deed of gift is in Vermiglioli's appendix (p. VIII). It is dated in 1495 without particulars of day or month. The deed of commutation in the same author (p. X). Pinturicchio's complaint that the yearly payment of thirty "corbe" is too heavy is recited, and admitted as well founded on the part of a "faithful and devoted servant of Alexander and the church, to whom a recompense is due for his art in painting and adorning our apostolic palace and our residence in arc. castri Angeli". The commutation is to a yearly payment for three years of two pounds of wax. It is dated July 28th 1497. A further brief of Oct. 24th, 1497 is issued to enforce the commutation ignored by the papal authorities on the spot. A third brief of May 16th 1498 confirms possession of the land and tenements near Perugia (Chiugi), even in the event of non payment (Verm. app. XIV and XXV). A fourth brief of Febr. 5th 1499 extends the commutation of July 1497 for a further term of years (Ib. ib. XVII).

[2] Lattner and Bunsen, Beschreibung Rom's ub. sup. III. 1. Abth. p. 355.

1495, granting lands to Pinturicchio near Perugia.[1] The theme illustrated by these frescos is the life of S. Bernardino.

To the right as one enters, the saint kneels in prayer with a cloth about his hips, surrounded by his friends preparatory to taking the vows as a Franciscan monk. On the spandril of an arch in the convent where the scene is laid, an angel bears a buffalo's head, the cognizance of the Bufalini. In a round above the arches is the Virgin and child, and at an opening resembling a window above her, the Eternal amidst angels giving a blessing. In the space next to the vows (beneath the chapel window) the saint discourses and points towards heaven, in the presence of four brethren and friends, all apparently portraits. Near that again, he is accompanied by a friar and sees in extasy a vision of the crucified Saviour. In an opening above, a peacock stands on the sill. On the wall to the left, in the lunette, the saint in the hairy dress of a penitent, is in the wilderness reading a book, and observed by a group of people on the foreground. Below, his body is exposed on a bier with women on the left, and men on the right, amongst the latter, two traditionally known as portraits of Bufalini and his son (?). On the altar face, the Saviour in glory attended by two seraphs shows the stigmata, whilst four winged players stand on clouds under him. Two angels, beneath these, suspend a crown above the head of S. Bernardino, erect, in the act of preaching, between SS. Anthony of Padua and Louis. The scene is laid in the country about Sienna, a view of the city filling a part of the distance. Four Evangelists are in the triangles of the ceiling; and on a border in monochrome beneath the whole series are imitations of basreliefs representing a triumph, figures of men on horseback, nude females held by guards, naked captives in bonds, and an emperor on a triumphal chariot. Amongst the accompanying ornaments, heads of emperors are interspersed, and two angels hold the ribbands of a panel on which the name of Jesus is written.

None of Pinturicchio's frescos illustrate more completely than these his tendency to receive impressions from the works of his cotemporaries. The Evangelists, assigned without valid reasons to Francesco di Città di Castello,[2] fully represent Pinturicchio's original style. They are not free

[1] He signs: "Bufalinus, apostolicæ cameræ clericus" (Verm. app. X). Vermiglioli says, it is probable that the Bufalini who ordered the frescos, was Lodovico of Città di Castello who was "avvocato concistoriale" at Rome, and who died there in 1506 (Vita ub. sup. p. 68).

[2] Lanzi ub. sup. I. 349.

from faults in type and drapery; but the partial coarseness of the first, and formlessness of the second do not conceal the painter's individuality, or his derivation from Fiorenzo. In the Apotheosis of S. Bernardino we are often reminded of Alunno, whilst in other places we think of Perugino or of Signorelli. The spirit of the latter is indeed singularly marked in the monochromes of the borders. Sometimes the draperies are broadly cast, or float with natural curves in a breeze; sometimes they are paltry. A pleasing face gives charm to one angel, coarse features detract from the beauty of another. In action and attitude, a figure like that of S. Anthony of Padua is striking for its propriety and truth. The movement of another, such as the S. Bernardino kneeling in a hip-cloth, is equally remarkable for rigid awkwardness and bony dryness. In general, at Araceli, the compositions are better conceived than usual; but the dramatis personae though marshalled with more art than before, are too often stiff, straight, and lean. The dim grey of flesh-shadows, and thick body of colour are more like Alunno than Fiorenzo.[1]

Other frescos of uncertain date at Rome might be added to the list of those completed there by Pinturicchio, the most interesting being the Eternal and Evangelists in the ceiling of a chapel, now the sacristy, at S. Cecilia in Trastevere,[2] and a Virgin and child between SS. Stephen

[1] In the ceiling, the lower part of S. John Evangelist is obliterated. The two angels at the sides of the Saviour in glory are much injured. Of the four lower ones, the first on the left has no head. The faces are reminiscent of those of Fiorenzo and Perugino. But the movement of one on the extreme right tuning his viol, is like one by Signorelli. The angel to the left holding the crown over S. Bernardino, is handsome, the angel to the right less so. The draperies of the S. Anthony of Padua are well cast. The broadest style of handling to be found in the series as in the lunette where the saint sits in the wilderness dressed in a skin. The condition of the whole chapel is remarkable, although some parts have suffered from time and restoring. The resemblance of some figures to those of Perugino in the Moses and Zipporah at the Sixtine have perhaps caused the wall paintings of the cappella Bufalini to be assigned to Signorelli, because, it may be recollected, the Moses and Zipporah has also been attributed to him.

[2] The division of this ceiling is the same as that of the Cambio. In the central lozenge sits the (re-

and Lawrence, inside the choir of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.[1] At S. Croce in Gerusalemme, a semidome decorated with scenes from the life of S. Helen and the Eternal in benediction; and at S. Onofrio, a tribune containing a Coronation of the Virgin and scenes from the legend of the cross, have been classed without proof in the same catalogue; but the latter is very properly noted by Vasari amongst the works of Peruzzi,[2] and the former seems a medley of Bonfigli, Signorelli, and Pinturicchio, such as might be expected from one of the numerous inferior Umbrians who acted occasionally as journeymen in the capital at the close of the fifteenth century.[3]

On leaving Rome, about the beginning of 1496, Pinturicchio returned to Perugia where he entered into a contract on the 14th of February with the brethren of S. Maria de' Fossi, now S. Anna, for an altarpiece, to be delivered within two years.[4] On the following 15th of March he proceeded to Orvieto, under an agreement to paint two doctors of the church in the choir of the Duomo; and he remained there till the 5th of November, when he received his last payment and dismissal.[5] Unlike Perugino, who corresponded with the Orvietans and never did anything for them, Pinturicchio left numerous specimens of his art in various parts of the building, but it is surprising how few of them have survived. We look round the choir, and amongst the scenes from the life of the Virgin by Ugolino d'Ilario, a S. Gregory,

painted) Eternal in a glory of cherubs. Six triangular spaces formed by producing the sides of the central lozenge contain the four Evangelists, and the arms of a patron in an ornament of arabesques and figures. These arms are said to be those of the Ponziani, but Lorenzo Cibo when cardinal had the church restored, and the damaged ceiling exhibits the same style of art as the Borgia chambers (see Plattner and Bunsen ub. sup. III. 3. pp. 639. 644).

[1] Here also the style is that of the apartamento Borgia. The painted architectural ornament with busts of saints in rounds and scutcheons is ruined by repainting. The S. Stephen is injured from the same cause.

[2] Vas. VIII. 221.

[3] See postea G. B. Caporali.

[4] In full in Verm. ub. sup. app. p. IV.

[5] Vas. com. V. 271. 279, and IX. 109.

and some prophets and angels bear the impress of his manner, yet they are so rudely handled and so dull in tone, in consequence of original neglect or of subsequent injury that were there no records, one might believe Pinturicchio never visited Orvieto at all.[1] The effects of time have been equally disastrous to the frescos which he undertook in a chapel of the cathedral at Spoleto, where a small tribune contains the Eternal on clouds amongst angels, a Virgin and child between SS. John the Baptist and Stephen, and an Ecce Homo, all more or less verging on total obliteration.[2]

About the beginning of March 1498, if Pinturicchio punctually performed his obligations to the Brotherhood and chapter of S. Maria de' Fossi, the altarpiece of the Virgin, child, and Baptist, with its side panels, pinnacles, and predella, were delivered, and it is but fair to say, that no one was now more solicitous to furnish careful and thoroughly finished work. If we consider the time in which this masterpiece[3] was produced, and think of the numerous graceful variations on the same theme, composed by Perugino and Raphael, with the suggestive help of Leonardo, we are struck by the old fashioned Umbrian air of Pinturicchio's conception. The Virgin sits in a wide and highly ornamented niche bordered with "grotesques" as they were called at this time, a head of Medusa in the key of the arch, a griffin and a satyr on the arms of the chair, candelabra with pendent corals on the capitals of the pilasters. With a sentimental bend of her

[1] On the same wall, the Annunciation and the Visitation seem by a painter following Pinturicchio's manner at the close of the sixteenth century. Two angels on the bottom wall of the right nave in the Duomo support the arms of the "Opera"; they have also some character reminiscent of Pinturicchio.

[2] These frescos are in the first chapel to the right of the entrance. The Eternal, seated on a cloud, gives the blessing in an almond shaped glory of cherubs' heads, a figure in Pinturicchio's manner and softly coloured. Of the two angels at the sides one is almost gone. The Ecce Homo is scarcely visible; the child and saints in a similar condition. The frescos of the Baptistery at Spoleto are by another hand (see postea Spagna and Jacopo Siculo).

[3] Now in the gallery of Perugia No. 30.

small veiled head, she keeps watch over the child, resting on a cushion on her knee. He holds a pomegranate in his left hand, and grasps with the right a slender cross, presented by the youthful Baptist. An awkward affectation marks the action, gait, and costume of the latter who stiffly comes forward in a yellow tunic, leggings, and buskins. A book lies on the ground together with a brace of apples and nuts. The Virgin's face is youthful, her hair falling in abundant tresses on a drooping shoulder, her arms disproportionately short, the drapery festooned, with the branching loops of fold. The child is puny, heavy of head, copiously furnished with hair, sharing these peculiarities with the Baptist near him. At this advanced period of Pinturicchio's career, he produces a picture every part of which recalls the style of Fiorenzo, in character, type, and drawing. It is warm in tone, successfully fused in the flesh-tints, delicately finished, and happily harmonized in strongly contrasted hues of drapery, but without unity in composition. The landscape is touched up in the distant trees with gold, and done with a minuteness worthy of Memling. The handling is tempera of abundant impasto, stippled up in the verde, with yellow hatchings in light, and red in the half shades. A similar delicacy of finish, and copiousness of detail are in the S. Augustin and the S. Jerom of the side panels. A half length of the Saviour, well proportioned but lean, is supported in the tomb by two angels in languishing attitudes of sorrow. Youthfulness, freshness, and even elegance are marked in the half-lengths of the Virgin and angel annunciate; and severe gravity, sometimes heaviness in the six Evangelists and saints of the predella.[1] Gay, gaudy hues are everywhere pre-

[1] The S. Augustin fully robed, holds the crozier and heart. The apostles on his stole, are imitated embroidery of the most minute detail. S. Jerom with the lion at his feet, book in hand. In the Pietà, the angel to the left supports with both hands the arm of the dead Christ. The angel to the left does the same. Abundant locks cover their heads which are like those of Fiorenzo. They wear collars of pearls. The blood flows from the lance wound. The colour is rich and juicy. The angel annunciate is young and one of the best by

VIRGIN, CHILD, AND DONOR; an altarpiece by Pinturicchio, in the Duomo of S. Severino.

dominant. The altarpiece is, in a word, the most careful that Pinturicchio ever finished, and at the same time that in which he introduced the greatest feeling.

It is equalled in this respect by the Virgin and child in the Duomo of Sanseverino, which falls short of its companion only in the roughness of its distemper handling. A line engraving, annexed to these pages, renders description unnecessary, but it will be seen that the masks are full and fleshy, and gravely sedate without being ideally select; that the portrait is correctly taken from nature, and that the landscape is minute to a surprising extent. It is a picture which illustrates of itself the derivation of Pinturicchio's style from that of Fiorenzo, and the improvement produced by the lapse of years, and by familiarity with Perugino.[1] Its date may be approximatively that of the Holy Family at S. Maria de' Fossi. Both were probably produced at Perugia.

Pinturicchio, having received a grant of land at Chiugi in payment for his labours at Rome, had settled in his native town, as the best place for the pursuit of his art, and the most convenient for administering his property. He was fortunate enough in finding patrons but he soon discovered that he had made a bad bargain with the Borgias, because his rent swallowed up the greater part of his revenue. Having complained of this to the Apostolic Chamber, he was lucky enough to find immediate response; and the Cardinal of S. Giorgio replied (July 28. 1497) to his address in the name of Alexander the Sixth, commuting the dues in kind to an offering of two pounds of wax, but limiting the com-

Pinturicchio, reminiscent of one by Alunno at La Bastia. There is much gentleness and grace in the Virgin. The S. Mark of the predella is full of character. The S. John Evangelist is coarse and heavy. All the predella figures are half lengths.

[1] In a lunette the Eternal (kneepiece) in benediction in an almond shaped glory, with four cherubs' heads. Other pictures at S. Severino are by Bernardino of Perugia, the cotemporary of Pinturicchio.

mutation to a term of three years.[1] He had, no doubt had occasion during a long stay at Rome and from a constant connection with churchmen, to convince himself that their money-dealings were often attended with delay and misunderstandings; he now experienced the inconvenience of transacting business with the papal agents at Chiugi who distrained on his property in defiance of papal briefs. He was too confident, however, of his interest to submit to this injustice, but complained again, and had the satisfaction of discovering that a reprimand had been addressed to the overseers at Chiugi, and of obtaining restitution of the produce which had been unjustly taken from him (October 24. 1497).[2] In the following year (May and October 1498) he had the additional pleasure of obtaining the extension of the first commutation for the whole time of his lease, and a brief of Alexander the Sixth confirming possession of the lands at Chiugi to him and his descendants even though he should omit the yearly presentation of two pounds of wax.[3]

His prospects being thus improved, Pinturicchio determined to build himself a house, and thus proclaimed his intention of living out the rest of his days in Perugia.

Nor was the help of the Borgias withheld from him even on this occasion. As Cesar, Duke of Valentino, overran the Romagna in 1500, and was visited by the artist in his camp at Diruta, he issued an order from thence, dated the 14th October 1500, requesting the vice-treasurer Alfani to get permission for Pinturicchio to sink a cistern in his house at Perugia. But this is not so interesting as the Duke's statement, "that he has again taken to his service Bernardino Pinturicchio of Perosa, whom he always loved because of his talent and gifts;

[1] The commutation in full in Verm. app. pp. X. and foll^{s}.

[2] Ib. ib. pp. XIV. and foll^{s}.

[3] Ib. ib. pp. XVII. and foll^{s}.

and he desires that in all things he should be considered as 'one of ours'".[1] It is clear from this that Pinturicchio had been employed at Rome by the son of Alexander the Sixth. Whether he reaped any further advantage from the connection is hard to say, though it seems likely that the Duke of Valentino was too much absorbed from that time forward in his purpose of carving a principality out of Tuscany to think much of painting.

We are too little acquainted with the relations between Pinturicchio and Perugino at this period to describe their relative position at Perugia. But it is obvious that Vannucci held a higher rank than his friend, having been called from Florence to the Audience of the Cambio when Pinturicchio might have been engaged on the spot, but there is no suggestion in books or in tradition of the existence of any jealousy or rivalry between them. Both had their patrons; both had frequently more orders to execute than they could well attend to.

Whilst Vannucci was finishing the Cambio, Pinturicchio was beginning a series for Trojolo Baglioni, protonotary and prior of the collegiate church of Spello.[2]

In this remote locality, visited twenty years later by Perugino, the wallpaintings of Pinturicchio are slowly mouldering away from the effects of damp. The Annunciation, the Nativity, and Christ disputing with the Doctors, are the subjects of the walls; four sybils are depicted in the ceiling; they are highly characteristic of the master.

The composition of the Annunciation, essentially Umbrian in its conception, and rich in the luxuriant architectural adornment peculiar to the Perugian school, is

[1] This order is in the Connestabile-Alfani Archive at Perugia, and was communicated by Conte Gian Carlo Connestabile della Staffa to Mr. Alfred Reumont who published it in No. 47 of the Kunstblatt (Stuttgart and Tübingen) for 1850.

[2] Archiv. of S. M. Maggiore di Spello in Verm. ub. sup. pp. 88. 242.

brightly coloured and carefully executed. The palace in which the Virgin is surprised by the angel as she reads at a high desk, is vast. Its fenced garden is bounded by an arch and colonnade, through which one sees a distant view of the hills about Spello. The attitude of the Virgin is chaste and calm, her features pleasing, with a regular forehead, a slightly hooked nose, and prim mouth; her form a little dry and lean, but fairly, if not perfectly proportioned. Gabriel's is a handsome apparition reminiscent of the angels in the altarpiece of 1496; a noble improvement on the types of Bonfigli and Fiorenzo, gaudily dressed however, and gorgeously attired. A gentle expression in the soft features of the Eternal appearing in the vaulting, in a glory resting on a cloud, gives him a somewhat feminine appearance, and the long thin face, inclosed in lank falling hair, is like a creation by Alunno. The dresses, the ornaments, and the architecture are all in true harmonies.

The Nativity is a much less successful effort, and creates the impression as if Pinturicchio felt himself incompetent to fill the space effectively. He overloads the ground in front of the penthouse; yet each figure is without connexion with its neighbour. S. Joseph erect; the Virgin, two angels, and three shepherds, kneeling, are in a semicircle of which the centre is occupied by the child, of graceful form, stretching its tiny arms to its mother. To correct the stillness of this group, a youth is introduced to the left in violent action, dragging up a goat as a companion-offering to the basket of eggs held by his brother shepherd. The procession of the magi advances from afar, and other incidents fill the landscape, whilst on the clouds ten gentle angels stand and sing a chorus. Except in these, and the Virgin and child, feeble coarseness of shape, stiff and awkward action are frequent, and the draperies are too obviously arranged to be natural. The ornament and gilding obtrude more than usual under such circumstances, and the sacrifice of mass to details in the hills and edifices becomes too apparent.

The Christ among the doctors before the temple is a novel interpretation of a scriptural incident, and gives Pinturicchio occasion to remember Perugino's fresco at the Sixtine in arranging a court with a floor of parti-coloured marbles and a temple. In the centre and somewhat in rear of the rest of the company, the youthful Saviour disputes with the audience at his sides, whose books strew the ground. One on the left is seen from behind addressing Christ. Near him Trojolo Baglioni with a follower, holding a purse, stands listening. To the right is another group, in front of which S.t Joseph points out the Saviour to the Virgin. A reminiscence of Signorelli may be traced in the comparative grandeur of her forms, whilst her mien is modestly composed. S. Joseph has a double-balled nose and wizened aspect.

Pinturicchio appears to have considered himself at Spello as the direct competitor of Perugino, whom he imitates in his distance and accessories. A life size portrait of himself hangs on a wall in the Annunciation beneath a shelf on which volumes are lying. The panelling under it is inscribed with the words: "Bernardinus pictoricius Perusinus —"; and between the strings of beads that fall from the frame, a palet and brush, his cognizance, are added. It would not be easy to find a more perfect contrast than that afforded by the two self-drawn likenesses of the partners in art at the Cambio and at Spello. Vannucci is florid and fleshy; Pinturicchio sallow and lean. Pietro is jocund and healthy; his friend looks sour and sickly. The pinched features of Bernardino are indeed those of an habitual sufferer. His eye is small and sunken; his nose broadly barrelled, but parted at the end by the splitting of the cartilage; the cheeks deeply furrowed and gathered into a few marked wrinkles. The upper lip is short, the chin long and dirty from lack of shaving, but a melancholy air in the face may be due in part to the abrasion of colour, and the scaling of the surface. Pinturicchio also indicates the time in which he finished his work by the date "M.CCCCCI." on a pi-

laster of the Annunciation;[1] but the chapel of the Sacrament is not the only one he decorated. He painted a half-length of the Virgin and child above the altar of the sacristy, and the same subject on an altar in the church, both a little less than life size, and in the same style as the large series — leaving to his assistants other and less important commissions in different parts of Spello.[2] He had been elected in Perugia a de-

[1] A ditch has been sunk outside the wall of the chapel to draw off the damp, but with very slight result. The annunciation is the least damaged of the series. Each subject arched at the top, in an architectural border and pilaster richly covered with grotesques.

In the Nativity, the landscape and foreground are worked with almost Flemish minuteness. There are grasses and weeds on the foreground, a bottle and pack saddle. A peacock is on the top of a ruin, the ox and the ass at the base and in front of the pent-house. The draperies are all touched up with gold. The hatching in the shadows of yellows and blues has been blackened by damp. The base and left side of the fresco are most damaged; and some pieces in the distance and elsewhere are scaled. In the dispute, two statues are placed in the porticos at the side of the temple. The second figure to the right of the Saviour, in a grey dress, holds a scroll on which the word: "Pintorichio" may be read. The face is not that of the painter. Baglioni is a man of fifty attempting a smile, in a purplish dress and cap. Four little figures are in the opening of the temple. The perspective here, as in the other frescos, is good. The figures on the left side are dimmed by damp. But in addition to the natural causes of damage others are superadded. The whole chapel has been restored. The diagonals of the ceiling are covered with arabesques on gold ground. The sybils sit reading on thrones behind which the sky is seen. On an antique altar near the Erythrean, the lines of an inscription are illegible. The Erythrean sits reading, the European with her hands joined in prayer, the Samian looking up. The Tiburtine prophesies in a dancing attitude. The frescos of Spello have been published by the Arundel Society.

[2] Opposite the ex-convent of the Franciscans of Spello, the front of a house (No. 30) is adorned with a fresco. The subject, a Virgin and child, much abraded, but recalling the style of Pinturicchio, and at all events of the Perugian school.

On the hills outside Spello lies the ex-convent of S. Girolamo. In the choir of the church is a fresco of the Marriage of the Virgin, the usual Perugian composition with a temple in the distance inscribed: "Cappela Sči Josepi." The figures are feeble round-headed, with small circular eyes, all tinged with a pale colour without relief. Draperies and hair are done in Pinturicchio's manner; and what little shadow there is yields a reddish hue. It is a second rate fresco such as Matteo Balducci might have painted, with some character akin to that of Gerino da Pistoia.

In the cloister chapel, a Nativity by a follower of Pinturicchio's school — and ruder than the foregoing, a Virgin, saints, S. Sebastian,

cemvir in succession to Vannucci, and took office on the 1st of April 1501;[1] so that either he finished the frescos before that date, or after his retirement from office, on the 1st of June.

Shortly after their completion, Pinturicchio was invited to Sienna by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini to prepare for the decoration of the library in the Duomo.

Ever since the elevation of Æneas Sylvius to the papal chair under the name of Pius the Second, the Siennese had treated the family of Piccolomini with exceptional liberality. The interdiction which excluded all nobles from the magistracy, had been raised in their favour. Their wealth was great, their influence paramount; and a clever propensity on their part to rise in the highest preferments of the church, expanded that influence alike over Rome and Sienna. Francesco Piccolomini, the nephew of Æneas Sylvius, had lived for a long time at Rome where his palace, near that of the Orsini, was celebrated for containing the antique group of the three Graces.[2] As early as 1485 he erected a chapel in the Duomo of Sienna, and lined it with Ligurian marbles quarried and carved expressly for him by the Milanese Andrea Fusina.[3] Michael Angelo received a commission, in 1501, for fifteen statues, of Christ, the apostles, and two angels, for its internal ornament.[4] By

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and other figures — half ruined fresco in a ground floor chapel.

Near S. Girolamo, a room, of old sacristy to the church of S. Andrea, but now a shop for the sale of wood belonging to the ex-convent, contains a Virgin adoring the infant on her knee between SS. Jerom and Sebastian, — a common fresco of the Perugian school in the mixed style of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

In the cloister, further, a S. Sebastian of which the head alone remains — also a Virgin, child, and S. Roch, coarse and reminiscent of Tiberio d' Assisi.

[1] Mariotti. ub. sup. 218.

[2] Albertini (opusc ub. sup.) says "Dom. rev. Francisci Piccolominei Card. Sen. non longe est á prædicta (palace of the Orsini) in qua erant statuæ gratiorum positæ."

[3] See a letter from Platina to Lorenzo de' Medici recommending Andrea and alluding to this work, and note to the same in Doc. Sen. II. 376. and see the will of Francesco Piccolomini in Pungileoni's Raphael from which it appears the chapel was allotted to Andrea for 2000 florins of gold (p. 59).

[4] The allotment is published in full in Doc. Sen. III. 19 and fols.

its side he began, in 1495, the erection of a library in which he proposed to place all the books bequeathed to the family by Pius the Second,[1] the marbles of the entrance and outer face being intrusted to the Siennese sculptor Lorenzo di Mariano,[2] the bronze doors (1497) to Antonio Ormanni,[3] the wood-carving of the inside (1496) to Antonio Barili.[4] Pinturicchio was to paint the walls and ceiling, and signed a contract to that effect on the 29th of June 1502.

It is difficult to suppress a genuine surprise at this last determination, nor is it easy to determine by what canons of taste Cardinal Piccolomini was governed when he patronized at one and the same time two men who may be said to have stood at opposite poles in art. A prelate who was fond of classic sculpture and could appreciate the value of the antique, who was about to transfer the three Graces from his palace at Rome to this very library, would naturally admire the creations of Buonarotti; but that he should immediately afterwards pen an agreement showing that he was partial to the peculiar Umbrian style of Pinturicchio, is a contradiction that still requires explanation.

One of the first conditions to which Bernardino bound himself was, that so soon as he should have settled to painting in the library he would undertake nothing else, either at Sienna or elsewhere. The ceiling was to be as brilliant and gay as possible, designed with fanciful spacings, colours, and subjects, in the style "at this day called grotesque", the shield and arms of the Piccolomini being in the centre. On the walls were to be ten stories illustrative of the memory of Pius the Second, the "figures to be laid in with fresco, and retouched

[1] The beginning of the library in 1495 is proved by a record in the Siennese archive granting freedom from entrance dues for the materials used in the building. See Verm. annot. 250. and Vas. com. V. 282.

[2] Doc. Sen. III. 77.

[3] Ib. ib. II. 458.

[4] Vas. com. VIII. 93.

'à secco'", "the cartoons and their transfer to be done by himself; and all the heads finished with his own hand". In consideration of all this, the Cardinal consented to pay 200 ducats at Venice for the purchase of gold and colours, and 100 ducats at Perugia for the transport of baggage and hire of assistants, 50 ducats for the completion of each compartment, and the rest at the close. Besides, Pinturicchio was to have a house gratis to live in near the Duomo, wood for scaffoldings, lime, and sand; and corn, wine, and oil, according to his wants, from the overseers of the Cardinal. All that he was called upon to do in addition was to give security for the advance of three hundred ducats, upon which he immediately returned to Perugia, taking with him the descriptions furnished by Cardinal Piccolomini.[1]

Pinturicchio had necessarily nothing more pressing to do there than to despatch his family and tools to Sienna, where he had a prospect of residing some time. But he had also to look out for aids at Perugia, and we have no doubt that he is correctly described by Vasari as having engaged many of the apprentices and workmen in the school of Perugino.[2] We shall find that amongst these young Raphael was probably included. Time elapsed, however, before all matters in connection with this change were regulated, and it was spring of 1503 before the labours at Sienna commenced. The ceiling was the first part of the library that was taken in hand, and some months went by before its elegantly relieved frames were coloured and interspersed with pictures and monochromes representing mythological incidents. In compliance with the contract, the arms of Piccolomini were emblazoned in shields on the ceiling, and the introduction of the cardinal's hat into them determines their date.

Cardinal Piccolomini was elected on the 21st of September 1503 at the conclave which met after the death

[1] This most important and interesting contract is in Doc. Sen. | ub. sup. III. 9—13.

[2] Vas. V. 265.

of Alexander the Sixth, and took the name of Pius the Third. Had his arms been placed in the ceiling after that time, they would have been decorated with the tiara and not with the cardinal's hat.[1] Anticipating the approach of death as early as April 30. 1503, the Cardinal made a will in which he expressed a desire "that the works allotted to Pinturicchio should be carried on by his heirs, if they were not perfected in his lifetime".[2] We may therefore conclude that the ceiling of the Piccolomini library was begun and finished between May and September 1503. The death of Pius, on the 18th of October, interrupted the further progress of the undertaking and forced Pinturicchio to seek other patrons. He was fortunate enough to find one in Alberto Aringhieri, a knight of S. John of Rhodes, who then filled the office of rector in the cathedral of Sienna; for whom, by the middle of 1504, he had carried out a series of frescos in the circular chapel of S. Giovanni in the Duomo.[3] It pleased Alberto, to be represented young as he took the habit of a knight of S. John to the left of the entrance, and to the right as an old and bearded man in civic dress. Both figures kneel; between them are two compartments with the Nativity and Decapitation of S. John; in an upper course, the Baptist in the desert, the Baptism of Christ, the Visitation, and the Sermon of John.

[1] This remark has very justly been made by Passavant (Raphael ub. sup. I. 72. 3.), but before him by Pungileoni. Raphael. ub. sup. note to p. 60.

[2] See the extract from his will in Passavant (ub. sup. note to p. 73) and in annot. (Vas. V. 291), also a longer and fuller in Pungileoni. Raphael. note to p. 59.

[3] August 14. 1504. Archiv. Duomo of Sienna annot. Vas. V. 291. price 700 lire. — The name of the patron is given in Landucci; codex MS. in Sienna library C. II. 30. p. 82, but besides, read the following on the floor of the chapel:

"D. O.M.
Quidam D. Albertus d. Francisci aringherii
Eques Rhodi nitidæ dé templi hujus decorationi
Instaurationique solerti cura ac industria.
Operarii officio functus IIII et XX annis.
Insudans, sacellumque hoc divo Bapt. Joanni
Extruens. Hoc sibi ut ergastulum vivens liber
Tradatur, sponte curavit
A. D. MDIIII."

Three of these pieces were in such poor condition at the close of the sixteenth century, that they were renewed by Francesco Rustici, in 1608,[1] and the rest are damaged from various causes.

But, whilst Pinturicchio was busy on these frescos, and waiting for the settlement of the Piccolomini succession, he was also painting for Andrea the brother of Pius the Third a picture in the family chapel at S. Francesco. It was ready in September, and exposed to public view in November (8th) 1504, a great scandal being caused by the celebration of a mass at the altar to which the canons were forced by Pandolfo Petrucci in spite of the interdict flung over the city by Julius the Second.[2]

In the meantime, Andrea and Giacomo Piccolomini had probably administered to the will of their brother Francesco. In September (1504) they renewed the contract with Michael Angelo for the statues of the chapel in the cathedral of Sienna;[3] and they probably went through the same formalities with Pinturicchio.[4] Yet, the frescos of the Library, if resumed at all in the spring of 1505, did not exclusively occupy him; and in March (13th) he furnished the cartoon of "Fortune" for the floor of the Duomo.[5] Nor did chance seem as yet to favour the energetic prosecution of a great pictorial enterprise on the part of the Piccolomini, as in June the death of Andrea entailed fresh delays and difficulties.

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[1] Landi. MS. ub. sup. The repainted frescos are in a worse condition than those of Pinturicchio which remain. They are, the Baptism, the Visitation and the Decapitation.

[2] Tizio in Della Valle. Lettere Sanesi, ub. sup. III. 9. The picture perished in the fire of 1655.

[3] The contract, is of the 15th Sept. 1504, and recites the original of 1502.

[4] That Pinturicchio entered into a new contract with Andrea Piccolomini is proved by a record, of Jan. 18. 1509, in which he is stated to have received final payment for the frescos of the library: "Cum hoc sit quod Bernardinus &c. . . . . fecerit multa opera et picturas olim magnifico domino Andree olim dom. nannis de Piccolominibus, et ejus heredibus videlicet Librariam in ecclesia catedrali Senensi . . . . &c." Doc. Sen. III. 14.

[5] Doc. Sen. III. 13. and com. Vas. V. 291.

There is no certainty whether Pinturicchio remained in Sienna during the summer, autumn, and winter of 1505.[1] A lease of land at Chiugi, made to him in July 1505 by order of Julius the Second, would rather suggest the likelihood of a journey to Rome or Perugia;[2] and a wish to reside in the latter city is apparent from the registry at that very time, of Bernardino in its guild of painters.[3] In summer or autumn, however, he returned to Sienna, where his wife bore him a son in November, who was christened Julius Cæsar, after a Perugian lawyer of that name, to whom the property at Chiugi was afterwards sold; and he took the most active steps to render his stay a permanent one.[4]

It was the opinion of Pinturicchio's cotemporaries at Sienna, that he excelled Perugino in the art of painting, though he was far from possessing the good sense and prudence of Vannucci, and he was noted for the emptiness of his talk.[5] It is worth while indeed to note the amusing pomp and bombast of a petition for immunities, addressed to the Balià of Sienna in March 1507, in which this feature in Pinturicchio's character is illustrated.

"Bernardino Pintoricchia. who now addresses the most respected officials (of the Balia), is the servant of your Lordships, and not the least (known) amongst renowned painters; for whom, as Cicero has written, the Romans in early times held but little. Yet after the increase of the empire in consequence of the Eastern victories, and the conquest of the Greek cities, they called the best from all parts of the world, not hesitating to seize all the finest pictures and sculptures that they could discover. They admitted painting to be supreme, similar to the liberal arts, and a rival of poesy. And artists being usually esteemed by those who govern republics, the said Bernardino has elected Sienna to be his home

[1] He purchased property from the heirs of Neroccio in 1504. Verm. 134.

[2] The grant is addressed to Pinturicchio from Perugia under date August 18. 1506, with an inclosure from Rome dated the 19th of July (app. in Verm. ub. sup. p. XXXII).

[3] Mariotti Lett. ub. sup. 218. Verm. 135. 200.

[4] Com. Vas. V. 280.

[5] Petrum enim Bernardinus ipse superasse in pictura fertur; minoris tamen sensus atque prudentiæ, quam Petrus visus est, atque insipidi sermonis. Tizio. MS. apud Pungileoni (Raphael. note to p. 63).

hoping to live and reside there; (therefore) confiding in the clemency of your Lordships and considering the adverse nature of the times, the smallness and diminution of profits and the weight of his family; having heard also that craftsmen taking up their abode here receive grants of immunities, he prays exemption for thirty years from all taxes whatever, whether present or to come . . . ."

This petition was favorably heard by the Balia, on the 26th of March 1507,[1] perhaps through the influence of the Piccolomini, perhaps also through that of Pandolfo Petrucci. It was but one of a series of distinctions extended to him at Sienna, having been preceded by a grant of lands at Montemassi in 1506.[2]

During that year and 1507, he had the good fortune to complete the Piccolomini library.

The first of ten compartments into which it is divided, represents the departure of Æneas Sylvius for the council of Basle in the suite of Cardinal Capranica, and is engraved in these pages. The next are:—

Aeneas received by James the First of Scotland as envoy from the council of Basle. He is crowned a poet-laureate by Frederic the Third. He appears as ambassador of the Emperor before the throne of the pontiff Eugenius the Fourth. He escorts and presents to the Emperor his bride, infanta of Portugal, at the gates of Sienna. He receives the cardinal's hat from Calixtus the Third in the Vatican. He is carried in processional pomp after his elevation to the pontifical chair under the title of Pius the Second. He presides at Mantua the assembly in which a crusade was proclaimed. He canonizes S. Catherine of Sienna. He gives the signal for the departure of the crusaders from Ancona.

In pictorial decorations of great compass some parts are necessarily better than others, whether it be that the draughtsman labours at one time with peculiar elasticity and vigour, at another with a certain languor; or the transposition of the drawing to the wall is alternately confided to a more or less gifted disciple. The master

[1] The petition and deliberation are in Doc. Sen. III. 33—4.

[2] Verm. ub. sup. 135.

himself seldom keeps the same level in composition. The ten frescos of the Piccolomini library vary for this reason in perfection of distribution and in vigour of handling. Still, as examples of Umbrian industry they are the most successful creations of Perugian art. They have the local stamp of that school and show us Pinturicchio following the path opened by Bonfigli and Fiorenzo. During the career of the first, it seemed likely that some of the broader features of Florentine composition would be transplanted into Umbria; but the sequel proved that the soil was not entirely favorable; and Fiorenzo, by degrees, reverted to the gentler, more meditative manner of his countrymen. Pinturicchio who followed, and who had occasion to admire the frescos of the Ghirlandai, Botticelli, and Lippi, felt their power in a slight measure so long as he remained in Rome, but showed no further signs of their action when he retired from thence. He is more completely Umbrian at Sienna, which is close to Florence, than he was in the Eternal city. Whilst creative genius is but slightly traceable in him, he is evidently disposed to assimilate all the pleasing qualities peculiar to the latitude in which he works. Without losing his own originality he does not remain uninfluenced by the later productions adorning Perugia at the opening of the sixteenth century. It is surprising how much freshness and softness he maintains, and how much he reminds us of the earliest examples of Raphael's skill. Vasari was obviously struck with this impression when he visited the Piccolomini library; and he was induced by its vividness to assign "the designs and cartoons" wholly to Sanzio.[1] He had seen specimens of both, which he thought were by Raphael, and this confirmed him in his idea; but he had not compared them with the frescos, or he would have seen that these are conceived, and in every case technically, in the system of Pintu-

[1] In the life of Pinturicchio he says all the sketches and cartoons were by Raphael. In that of Raphael he says some of the sketches and cartoons were by Raphael (Vas. V. 265. and VIII. 5).

ricchio.[1] The character of Bernardino allows us to think that he would be willing to take advantage of the precocious talents of such a youth as Raphael, if only in giving him rough sketches from which to make more finished drawings; and the resemblance of style between those of young Sanzio now at Venice and others which repeat scenes depicted in the Piccolomini library strengthens the belief that he did so. Of the latter, one reproducing the departure of Æneas Sylvius with Cardinal Capranica is in the collection of the Uffizi, pencilled on whitish grey paper, and outlined with pen, shadowed with touches of bister, and lighted up with white. The squares by which the transfer of the composition to cartoon was made, still chequer the surface. There is little or no difference between this magnificent piece and the fresco, except perhaps in the landscape. Another, of similar execution, in four parts pasted together and somewhat rubbed, belongs to Signor Baldeschi at Sienna, and differs from the wallpainting in more than one particular. The attitude of Æneas between the Emperor and Infanta is changed in the latter, and the figures of the middle distance on a background of hills is replaced by a view of the Camollia Gate at Sienna. In the sky to the left are the words "questa è la quinta" .... to which earlier writers add .. "No. V... afae";[2] but it is supposed that the lines are more modern than the drawing. A third at Chatsworth represents Æneas before Eugenius the Fourth.[3] Were Raphael's name to be withdrawn from these sheets, it would be necessary to reconstruct a catalogue of his designs. At Venice there are figures which seem counterparts of those we have described, especially as regards feeling. The same hand traced them all. One point alone

[1] His description of them shows a carelessness not pardonable even when one considers that he disliked the works of Pinturicchio. He speaks of the birth of Æneas Piccolomini as one of the subjects on the library walls which is quite imaginary (Vas. V. 265).

[2] Com. Vas. 296.

[3] A curious mischance prevented the authors from seeing this drawing at Chatsworth; but it is described by Geheimerrath Dr Waagen in Treasures. III. 454.

remains obscure. If any one should inquire what has become of Pinturicchio's drawings, the answer would be very unsatisfactory. He must have made many, yet all those attributed to him are unworthy of his skill.

Coincidences of an equally remarkable nature are apparent in other, and those amongst the best, frescos of the Piccolomini library. The coronation of Æneas, is a beautifully arranged subject. The Emperor is enthroned to the left in a fine court in front of a triumphal arch. He places the crown on the head of the poet laureate in the presence of the nobles of his court, the knights of his suite and their pages. The gentleness and affected grace which characterizes Raphael's sketchbook at Venice and his pictures in the period of 1501—4 are noticeable in many parts of the fresco. The predella of the Vatican which formed part of Raphael's Coronation of the Virgin, offers the most curious analogies with it. Not only is the group behind the young king, in the Adoration of the Magi belonging to that predella, in the same spirit as that on the right in the Coronation of Æneas at Sienna; but a youth in a light dress turning his back to the spectator and looking round, as he leans his hand on a stick, is the same in both pictures. Single figures in each are conceived in Raphael's manner, such as the kneeling king in the predella, a type in Fiorenzo's mould reminiscent of Perugino and Pinturicchio, draped with their peculiar cast of fold.

The inferences from all this are clear. Raphael is necessarily connected with the production of these frescos. Sanzio must have been in contact with Pinturicchio. It is only a question of when and where. Without taking Raphael from the school of Perugino to place him in that of Pinturicchio we suppose that circumstances occurred which made it possible for the younger to join the elder artist at Sienna. It is even likely that they may have been together before; that when Pinturicchio worked the ceiling of the library he gave his rough sketches in part to his assistant to make up into

drawings after the fashion so graphically described by Vasari in his introduction, and with the help of studies for single personages and drapery. Raphael was capable of performing a duty of this kind, and Pinturicchio would not be disinclined to employ a youth who might have learned much from the example of Perugino after the successful termination of the Cambio Hall. Raphael, in the outset of his career being more remarkable for genuine feeling than for perfect art, snatched, one should think, at an opportunity to increase his knowledge by visiting the atelier of more than one master. There are pictures at Perugia, such as the Virgin, child, and saints from S. Girolamo, now in the gallery, betraying a contact not only of Pinturicchio with Raphael but of both with Spagna. It has been assigned to all three separately, and there is reason for each theory. The Virgin has all the freshness of Sanzio, the angel to the left points to Perugino, that to the right and a S. Francis, to Spagna, the rest, including the landscape, to Pinturicchio. But the technical handling is not the old one of tempera to which Pinturicchio was faithful during his life time. The colour is moistened with oil, and used according to the system of Raphael at the period just preceding his adoption of the Florentine manner, the time when Sanzio and Pinturicchio might exchange ideas; and the former take from the latter the dry, lean, and somewhat bony forms which are to be found in the Milan Sposalizio.

The most telling proof however of the companionship between the two artists is this. When Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini found that his library had been completed (independently at least of the paintings on the walls), he caused the three Graces to be brought to Sienna.[1] They remained for a considerable time the ornament of the Library, and are now in the Academy of Arts. They are all mutilated, the central one having lost its

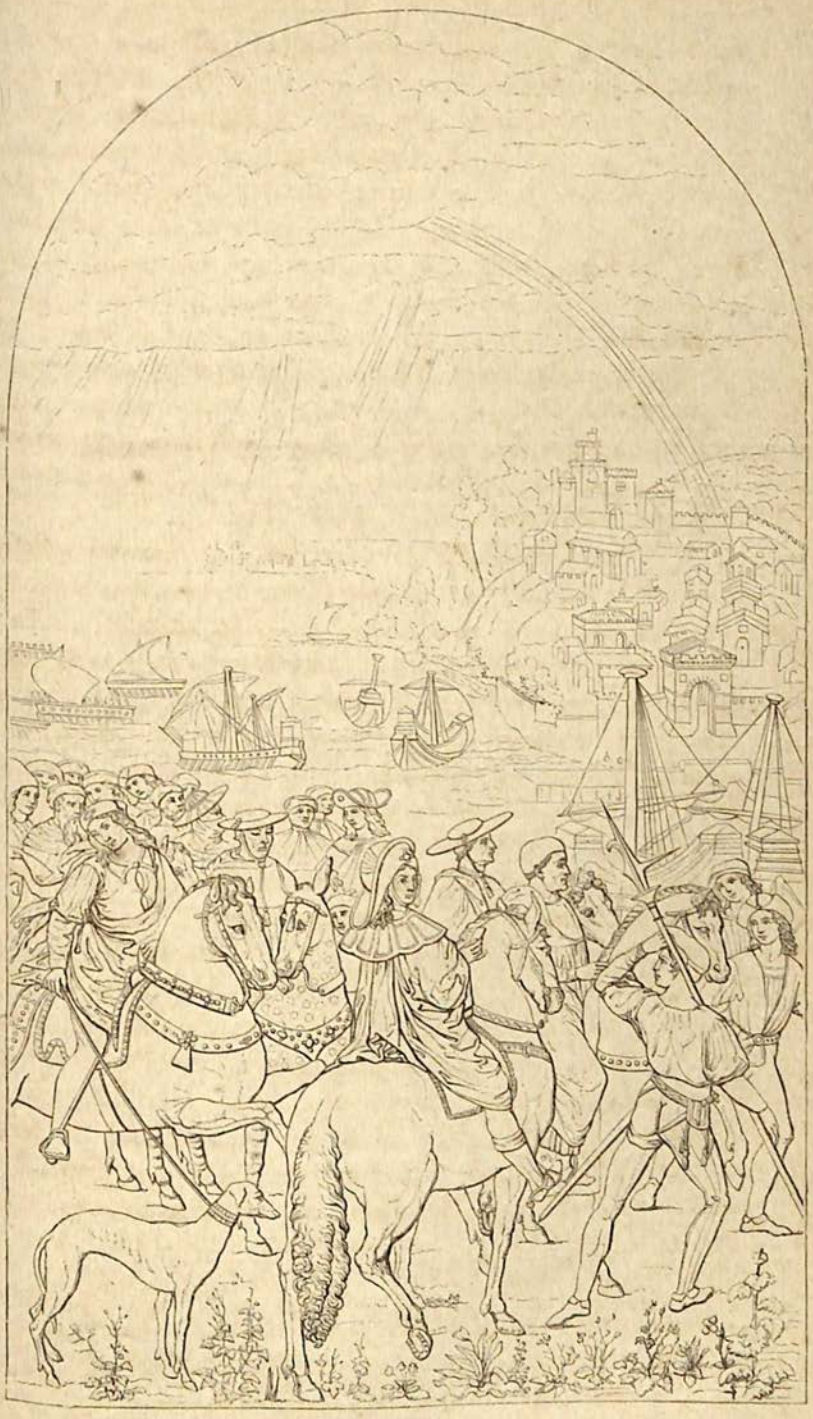
[1] Vasari V. 267. Albertini, writing his opusculum (Guide of Rome) in 1508. says, the group had been in the Piccolomini palace at Rome.

head and the left leg below the calf; those to the right and left being deprived of an arm each. Raphael sketched two of them, treating the form with a certain freedom, but copying the movement exactly in the sketch-book now at Venice;[1] at a later period he produced the three Graces, now at Dudley House, on the antique model. It is thus probable that Raphael and Pinturicchio were at Sienna together in 1503, and that they had parted before the frescos of the walls were undertaken. That these were only finished later, is shown by the frequent reproduction of the Piccolomini arms, either with the tiara, or with the cognizance of Castile and Arragon, granted by the two Kings, Ferdinand and Henry, to Giacomo and Andrea, the brothers of Pius the Third.

The Piccolomini library is fairly preserved, though slightly retouched in some places and discoloured in others. It is one of the few halls in Italy that has retained its original character. Each fresco is enclosed in an arch, the vaulting of which is seen in perspective, supported on fictive clustered pillars with capitals of gilt stucco, resting on plinths. The pictures are gracefully united by angels supporting scutcheons on the plinths; and in spite of their coarseness in consequence of the execution being left to assistants, they add much to the unity and harmony of the whole series. The best composed fresco of the ten, is that of Æneas and Cardinal Capranica proceeding to the council of Basle, in which Piccolomini on horseback in front is conspicuous. Great care is lavished on its foreground of herbs and flowers.[2] The embassy before James the First is richly put together, and more than usually characteristic of Pinturicchio in the minute detail of the landscape behind the throne and screen. Some of the faces and even whole

[1] I. e. now in the collection of drawings at the Venice Academy.

[2] This fresco is fairly preserved. Parts of the sea and distance are retouched, as well as the green sleeve of the man holding the lance. The execution is, according to contract, fresco retouched when dry.



ÆNEAS PICCOLOMINI GOING TO THE COUNCIL OF BASLE:
a fresco by Pinturicchio in the Library at Sienna

figures are reminiscent of Perugino's at the Cambio.[1] An elegant carriage and Raphaelesque freshness may be noticed in most of the personages in the Coronation; though here and there want of firmness in pose and tread are striking. But this failing is partly concealed by the prettiness of the groups. Piccolomini before Eugenius is also fine; whilst in the meeting of the Emperor and his bride, the distribution is artful, and the liveliness in the arrangement of the middle ground is praiseworthy; the only drawback being the profuse application of gilt-work. The investiture of the hat is like Benozzo Gozzoli's "Augustin in his chair at Rome", a wallpainting at S. Agostino of S. Gimignano. The subsequent pieces are less masterly. The general tone is bright but without massiveness or power, and therefore less attractive than Perugino would have made it. The keys of harmony are gaudy and the surface rough, and much of the ornament is, as usual, raised.[2] On a pilaster to the left of the first subject, and in two scrolls on the ceiling above the seventh and eighth, the initials B. R. have been interpreted as those of Bernardino and Raphael, but they are probably intended to perpetuate the memory of Romano Bembo, one of Pinturicchio's helps.[3]

Outside the chapel, and to the left of the high portal in the Duomo, Pius the Third receives the papal crown inside a lodge filled with people in front of which two vast groups of spectators are parted by a halberdier. They are kept in order by horsemen, whilst trumpeters proclaim the decision of the conclave. With the exception of the Pius, which is a statue, the rest is a fairly preserved fresco, disharmonized by the bleaching of the foreground. At the hours when light is thrown over the

[1] The blue dress of the foreground figure on the left is scaled.

[2] In general the blues and greens of draperies have all been more or less injured by retouching; and a slight discoloration may be noticed in the chequered pavements. All the white draperies are slightly raw from abrasion.

[3] See com. Vas. VII. 181.

wall, one sees that Pinturicchio devoted more of his own personal labour than was his usual wont.[1]

The departure of Pinturicchio from Sienna at the close of 1507, or beginning of 1508, is indicated by the facsimile of a letter introduced into the "Virgin, with the child and saints" in the ex-church of the Minorites of Spello. The letter, written by Gentile Baglioni from his castle the Rocca di Zocco, is dated April 8. 1508, and urges Bernardino to return to Sienna, where his presence is desired by Pandolfo Petrucci. It proves that the Spello altarpiece was finished in the summer of that year. As a work of art it adds little to Pinturicchio's fame being carried out with great attention to detail, but without aerial perspective or vigour of relief. Nor is it easy to understand how the infant Baptist on the steps of the Virgin's throne should be assigned to Raphael.[2] Pinturicchio had done better things at an earlier period, such as the Holy Family ordered by the nuns of the convent of Campansi,[3] the Virgin in glory between two saints in Montoliveto near S. Gimignano, the Coronation of the Virgin at the Vatican, originally in the church of La Fratta near Perugia, and the Assumption in the Naples Museum, commissioned for the neighbouring convent of Montoliveto.[4]

The probabilitity of Pinturicchio's visit to Rome in 1508 has already been spoken of in the lives of Signorelli and Perugino. On his return to Sienna in 1509, in company with the former, who stood as godfather to his son,[5] he received from the heirs of the Piccolomini the small sum of 14 ducats and a half, remaining due for the pictorial labours undertaken for that family.[6] He

[1] Amongst the spectators one is accompanied by a dog, which Tizio describes as the favorite of Pandolfo Petrucci. Tizio MS. in Verm. app. LXIII.

[2] Orsini and Verm. 178.

[3] No. 45. Stanza dei quadri di diverse Scuole Acad. of Sienna.

[4] For all these pieces see poster catalogue of Pinturicchio's works.

[5] Born Jan. 7. 1509. Vas. com. V. 280.

[6] The receipt is in Doc. Sen. III. 13—14. Vermiglioli also cites a record of this year in which Pinturicchio is described as inhabiting

then probably entered the service of Pandolfo Petrucci, in whose palace he left a series of subjects in fresco. We have seen how these decorations, which were but the continuation of similar ones by Signorelli and Genga, were allowed to fall into neglect, and how the only remnant of them is the Ulysses and Penelope, or Lucrètia and Collatinus, now in possession of Mr. Barker in London. The last authentic picture of Pinturicchio is a beautiful cabinet-miniature of Christ carrying his cross, now in the Palazzo Borromeo at Milan, finished in 1513. In that very year he died, it is said of hunger, at Sienna on the 11th of December, and was buried in SS. Vincenzo and Anastasio, now Oratorio della Contrada dell' Istrice.[1]

The following catalogue completes the classification of Pinturicchio's works.

Spello. Ex-church of the Minorites. The Virgin and saints of 1508 has been alluded to in the foregoing life. The Virgin supports the naked child on her knee. He clutches his mother's dress at the bosom, and casts his right arm round her neck. Two cherubs' heads and two flying angels in prayer are at her sides. The Virgin's face is small for her frame. The infant Saviour is long and lean, and strained in attitude. A pleasing mask is that of the angel in

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the contrada S. Vincenzo at Sienna. Verm. 182. In Oct. (8) of the same year he sells property to Pandolfo Petrucci. Com. Vas. V. 280. In 1511 he sells his Chiugi property (Verm. app. XLIV), and buys another at Sienna (Mariotti 219 and Verm. 182).

[1] The only authority for believing that Pinturicchio met with an unnatural death is the diary of his cotemporary Tizio of Sienna, who says: "Rumoribus ferebatur, Paffum quemdam peditem in foro Senensi cum uxore Bernardini commisceri, nec ab illis ad Bernardinum ægrotantem admissum quendam præter mulierculas quasdam ex vicinis nostris, quæ mihi postmodum retulerunt Bernardinum audivisse querentem se fame deperire". See the extr. in Della Valle Lett. San. III. 246. and Verm. app. LXIII. Yet his wife Grania was not brought to trial for any offence, and she quietly inherited two thirds of his property, as may be seen from Pinturicchio's will dated in 1513, and in which he says he is "sanus mente" but "corpore languens". That he had a quarrel with his wife after making his will seems to result from a codicil of Sept. 13. 1513 in which he reduces her share, but he revoked the codicil by another of October 14. (Doc. Sen. III. 62. 4).

flight to the left. The Baptist holding a reed cross sits writing on the step of the throne, in a forced position. In front of him is a desk with a pair of nippers and other instruments, and the letter of Baglioni. To the right stand S. Francis, a good type, and S. Lawrence with the gridiron, reading. In the border of his dress a rich embroidery represents the crucifixion. To the left, S. Andrew, and S. Louis in prayer. The throne and its steps are minutely ornamented. The method of drawing recalls that of Perugino. The colour is slightly abraded in some places, and with this exception the altarpiece is fairly preserved. The distance is a landscape (wood).

Spello. Ex-church of the Minorites. On the front of the pulpit in this church is a half length of the Redeemer in a round (oil) much darkened by time and restoring. A flaw cutting the elbow and pit of the stomach has been filled up and coloured. The panel is also vertically split in half. The hips of the Redeemer who holds a banner are in a red cloth. The type is good, recalling those of Fiorenzo and Benozzo, lean too, and probably executed by Pinturicchio about 1500.

Sienna. Academy. Stanza de' quadri di Scuole diverse. No. 45. (Round, wood, tempera.) In its old gilt and ornamented frame. Holy Family. The Virgin sits to the left in a graceful attitude on a mound with a book in her left hand. Her face is perhaps one of the most pleasing that Pinturicchio ever created. Neatly trimmed hair is tied in a veil, the whole quite Raphaelesque. She points with her right to the Baptist who walks away from her arm in arm with the youthful Christ; the latter wearing a hair dress, the former a white flowered tunic. The ground is overgrown with herbs and flowers; a fountain is in the middle ground. In the distance to the right is S. Jerom in prayer, and to the left a friar, S. Joseph behind the Virgin holding a barrel and bread. The head of the latter is well modelled, but somewhat pinched in features, his forms precisely defined. The action of the Baptist is a little affected, the youthful Christ heavy in frame and limb. The colour is rich, the touch clear and firm, the ornament minute and profuse; and the panel is one of the exquisite ones of Pinturicchio, dating about the time when the first Piccolomini frescos were completed.

Sienna. Academy. No. 353. Wood. Nativity. The child, in a pretty movement, lies on the foreground, pinguid in form; near him, left, the Virgin, pretty and plump like one of Spagna's Peruginesque Madonnas. S. Joseph, on the right, of paltry aspect, sits behind the

[1] Noted in annot. Vas. 271—2. 292. in Verm. XLIII. and 178.

infant, and raising its veil, causes it to awake and look round at the Virgin. In rear are two shepherds in prayer, in the sky, three injured angels. In the distance the angel announces to the pastors. To the left an edifice. The panel, in its old gilt frame, is broken and angular in drawing, the colour washy and of slight relief. It seems to be of Pinturicchio's later time, carried out in part in his atelier by Matteo Balducci or some other.

Monte Oliveto, near S. Gimignano. Virgin enthroned between two saints (life size, wood, distemper), ascribed by Rumohr to Pacchiarotti (Forsch. III. 45), but more properly by Gaye, (Carteg. II. 434) to Pinturicchio. It is to be borne in mind that this master had many journeymen at Sienna (Matteo Balducci amongst others) and that his style was not without influence on Pacchiarotti. We do not trace the hand of any pupil in particular at the Piccolomini library, nor can we do so in the panel at Monte Oliveto. Like the foregoing it still hangs in its old frame. The Virgin sits on the clouds and prays. Rays issue from her almond shaped glory in which there are eleven cherubs' heads. The distance is one of Pinturicchio's usual ones. To the left in front kneels a Pope of slender frame with the twelve apostles in the embroidery of his stole. To the right, a kneeling bishop. The touch is very careful in every part, the colour rosy and light and fairly relieved by light and shade, the draperies straight. The landscape has the green freshness of spring. The general aspect is that of a bright but opaque miniature.

Sienna. S. Maria degli Angeli, better known as Il Santuccio. A Nativity called Pinturicchio (Taia, Guida ub. sup. 104. Faluschi, Guida ub. sup. and Verm. 184) of a low tone and flat, and more like a work by Pacchia than any other Siennese.

Rome. Vatican Museum. No. 19. Originally at La Fratta, near Perugia (wood), a Coronation of the Virgin with the twelve apostles below in two groups, (life size) and five friars including S. Francis praying on their knees in front. This picture has been catalogued by Orsini and Mezzanotte (Vita di Perugino pp. 127. 8) as by Vannucci. It has become untransparent and heavy from successive varnishes, but was originally a fine Pinturicchio of about the year 1500. The figures are pleasant and of a youthful mould.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. No. 49. 51. Scenes from the life of Joseph, part of a "cassone", hastily handled in the manner of Pinturicchio.

Rome. Museo Cristiano. Press XIII. Marriage of S. Catherine. Small tempera panel quite like a Pinturicchio.

Same Gallery. Press XIV. A pope at the mass between S. Jerom and S. Thomas receiving the girdle, a small Umbrian panel of a reddish tone, reminiscent of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

Florence. Pitti Gallery. No. 341. Adoration of the Magi (wood). On the base of this small picture are the arms of the Vitelli of Città di Castello. The distance is very rich in episodes. A dull tone, unsatisfactory drawing, and rude touch, create doubts as to the authorship of Pinturicchio. It may be by one of his pupils.

Florence. Galleria Lombardi (wood). Virgin and child with a pretty and careful landscape distance, a small and fair creation of the master.

Florence. Collection of the Duca Strozzi. Christ on the mount with the three apostles asleep in the foreground. This is a small panel in Pinturicchio's style.

Florence. Torrigiani Gallery. Nos. 11. 13. 23 (wood). Incidents of a marriage, small and not without merit, in the master's manner, but handled without his usual power, and perhaps executed by a pupil or imitator such as Tiberio d'Assisi.

Naples. Museum. Originally in the Cappella Paolo Tolosa at Montoliveto near Naples (Vas. V. 170). Assumption (wood, tempera). Three angels at each side of the Virgin, S. Thomas in the middle of the foreground, with the apostles about him. The figures are a little under life size. The tempera is injured and hard from repeated varnishing. Some heads are still fine, and the piece was originally a good one.

Città di Castello. Duomo. Sacristy. Wood, tempera, figures half life size. Genuine half length of the Virgin holding the infant erect in the act of benediction, with the youthful Baptist at one side. Landscape distance, much injured by the scaling of the flesh.

Città di Castello. S. Gio. Decollato. In this church is a banner with a figure of S. John. It has been given by Vermiglioli to Pinturicchio (p. 79), but is a low class production already noted elsewhere (see school of Signorelli, antea).

Perugia. Gallery. No. 143. Lunette, transferred to canvass, first in the convent of S. Anna, represents the Virgin and child, but has been injured.

Same Gallery. No. 235. A S. Dominick; — is of Pinturicchio's school.

Perugia. S. Pietro. Annunciation, in a chapel to the left as one enters, assigned to Pinturicchio, but see postea in Spagna.

Milan. Palazzo Borromeo. Wood. Christ on the way to Golgotha. He carries his cross assisted in front by a man drawing it

forward with a cord. An executioner pushes him from behind. As he walks, the Saviour turns round to the Virgin on the left, who follows the procession attended by the Marys. In the distance Golgotha appears. The officers of the execution raise the crosses. A castle crowns a hill, and flights of birds are in the heavens. On the border one reads: "Questa opera e di mano Del Pintoricchio Da Perugia MCCCCCXIII". This miniature panel which seems to have been in Pinturicchio's atelier at his death, is equal in freshness, carefulness, power and richness of colour to the works of his best time. The females move with a grace akin to that of Perugino. The Christ is noble in action whilst the naked man pushes him, but other figures are strained and somewhat angular in drawing. There is great richness in the ornaments and landscape.

Gubbio. Duomo. Nativity in an arched rectangle supported on pillars, in the ornament of which one reads: "Leone X sedente". Vermiglioli assigns this (p. 112) to Pinturicchio though it is clearly of a later time by some itinerant limner in possession of a tracing belonging to the master. The picture is in oil, sharply outlined, incorrectly drawn, and dusky in the shadows. The painter seems the same who worked imitating Spagna at Viterbo.

Viterbo. Chiesa degli Osservanti. Here is also a Nativity. The style is that of Spagna's pupils, such as Jacopo da Norcia, or the Perugian Orlandi who was assistant to Sinibaldo Ibi.

Assisi (near). Torre d'Andrea. Church of S. Bernardo, two miles from S. Maria degli Angeli. On the high altar is a distemper on panel representing the presentation of Christ in the temple (eleven figures) with S. Bernardino kneeling in the middle of the foreground. This is a mediocre production by a pupil.

Bettona (near). Ex-church of S. Simone. The walls of this abandoned church are filled with paintings in the mixed manner of Pinturicchio and Spagna (see the latter, postea).

Amelia (near Spoleto). Church of ex-convent of the Minori Reformati. Wood. Altarpiece. Virgin and child between S. John Baptist and S. Francis, in the mixed character of Pinturicchio and Spagna, and possibly by Tiberio d'Assisi. In a lunette is the Eternal between two angels (goldground, in part repainted).

Dresden. Museum. No. 24. Catalogued as unkown, but in the Umbrian school. (Wood, tempera). This is a portrait of a youth with long hanging hair in a red cap and dress by Pinturicchio. The distance a landscape.

Berlin. Museum. No. 143. The Virgin and child (wood, tempera), the most favourable specimen of Pinturicchio in this gallery.

Same Gallery. No. 134. Annunciation (wood). Umbrian in character, but of small importance and damaged in the flesh tints.

Same gallery. No. 136. Bust portrait of a youth in a black cap, with fair hair, rough in surface and too feeble for Pinturicchio.

Same Gallery. No. 142. 149. Episodes from the life of Tobias. These are good and interesting, but they exhibit marks of Tuscan, mingled with the Umbrian, education.

Same Gallery. No. 132. Adoration of the Magi. Originally in S. Caterina of Faenza, and painted for the Manzolini family of that place. We shall give reasons for assigning this picture to Giovanni Battista (Bertucci) of Faenza.

Vienna. Esterhazy Gallery. No. 49. Tiberius Gracchus, given to Pinturicchio, but probably by some follower of Signorelli (see antea, school of Signorelli).

Altenburg. Lindenau Gallery. Wood, oil. Panels representing busts in rounds and figures of virtues in variously shaped panels, originally part of a ceiling, said to be by Pinturicchio and certainly like a production of one of his scholars such as Balducci.

Schleissheim. Gallery. No. 1116. Virgin and child, between S. Jerom and John. A poor imitation of Pinturicchio and much repainted.

Paris. Louvre. No. 292. Virgin and child, no doubt by Spagna (see postea).

Paris. Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. Nos. 172. 173. The judgments of Solomon and of Daniel, catalogued as of the school of Perugino (wood). These are fairly composed and carefully executed in Pinturicchio's manner, and if not by him, might be by Tiberio d'Assisi.

Same Gallery. No. 174. Virgin and child in the same class as the foregoing, perhaps a little better.

Same Gallery. No. 175. Virgin and child, half length, in a glory of cherubs. A poor work, somewhat like a production of Mainardi's school.

Same Gallery. No. 181. Wood, arched. Nativity assigned to Pinturicchio, but by one of his disciples, coarse and much repainted.

Same Gallery. No. 182. Virgin, child and donor (wood), much retouched, but in the manner of the foregoing.

Same Gallery. No. 195. Virgin and child between S. Gregory and another saint, more in Pinturicchio's style than the above.

London. National Gallery. No. 693. S. Catherine and a kneeling monk, with a landscape background. This is a fair example; but the figures are a little feeble.

Same Gallery. No. 703. From the Wallerstein collection. The Virgin behind a parapet on which the infant stands. A minute but somewhat cold and restored specimen of Pinturicchio's skill.

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. Ulysses and Penelope (? Collatinus and Lucretia), genuine fresco from the palace of Pandolfo Petrucci at Sienna. On the right a female at her loom, a girl near her winding from a skein with which a cat plays. On the left seven youths have entered at a door. A seaport with ships is seen through a window.

Other pieces in this collection of Umbrian character are of less importance than the above.

London. Dudley House. A Baptism between SS. Augustin and Ambrose. A Friar preaching. These small fragments of a predella are either by Pinturicchio or one of the assistants in his school.

Ireland. Brinsley Morley, Esq. The Death of Hector and the Taking of Troy' assigned to Pinturicchio in the Dublin International Exhibition. These two little panels are not purely Umbrian in character, the technical execution being reminiscent of the Florentine school, as represented by the art of Sebastian Mainardi.

A few words on Bernardino of Perugia.

The Marchese Ricci published a valuable work in 1834 entitled: Memoirs of the painters of the march of Ancona. In the course of his search for documents and proofs in support of his narrative, he discovered that Bernardino of Perugia or Pinturicchio (as he supposed) had begun to reside at San Severino in 1509, and that he had done, in 1524, an altarpiece, now in S. Domenico of S. Severino representing the Virgin and child, between SS. Severino, Domenico, Rosa, and Venanzio.[1] At a later period, Signor Giuseppe Ranaldi to whom Marchese Ricci had been indebted for the discovery of records justifying the foregoing statements, furnished Vermiglioli with a fuller notice of them, from which it appears that Bernardino of Perugia made scutcheons for the magistrates of S. Severino in 1502, 3, and completed other labours in the following order: 1509; a Standard for the Duomo of S. Severino (existing in Vermiglioli's time, and signed: "Bernardino Perusino pinxit. Hoc

[1] Ricci ub. sup. II. 85.

opus fieri fecit Pierantonius de Gentilibus Acciacchaferri pro sua devotione, 1509."). 1513; Pennons. 1514; a panel ordered in 1512 for the church of S. M. di Mercato, and an altarpiece for the chapel of the Public Palace. 1519; He is taxed with other citizens.[1] Colucci (Antichità Picene ap. Verm. p. 74) notices an altarpiece at La Bastia, near Fabriano, which he describes as signed: "Bernardini de Perus. pinxit".

We have not seen any of the pieces noticed by Ricci and Vermiglioli, nor have we visited La Bastia, near Fabriano, which is a different place from La Bastia, near Perugia, but we have seen other pieces of interest in this inquiry. Premising that Bernardinus of Perugia who was still living in 1519, cannot be Pinturicchio who died at Sienna in 1513, we note first a Marriage of S. Catherine assigned by Vermiglioli[2] to Pinturicchio, in

Perugia. Church of the Convent of S. Catherine. Second Altar to the right (wood, tempera, almost life size). The Virgin enthroned with the child who takes the ring from S. Catherine. S. Peter stands to the left; S. Mary Magdalen and S. Benedict to the right. In front, the young Baptist holds the reed cross. Four angels fly above the throne; two of them with flowers, two playing instruments. Umbrian character is apparent in the length, leanness, and affected action of the frames and heads. The outlines are mechanically and incorrectly drawn, the draperies without style. The colour of a dull neutral tint and of a dry thin substance, is slightly relieved by red shadow. The treatment of this picture and its peculiar hatching recall to mind the works of Carlo and even of Vittorio Crivelli whose influence extended to the painters of S. Severino.

Perugia. Gallery. No. 65. Catalogued under the name of Bernardino of Perugia. Virgin, child, and infant Baptist between S. Francis and another saint (wood, life size). The group of the Virgin and two children prettily conceived and recalling in that sense only Raphael's in the altarpiece of S. Antonio of Perugia, lately in the Colonna Palace, but in 1859—1860 in the Royal Palace at Naples. The execution, however, as in the foregoing.

Same Gallery. No. 44. Catalogued as above. Wood, half life size. Coronation of the Virgin, an angel at each corner, a conception and movement also recalling those of Raphael, but by an artist unable to realize them. The costumes are fanciful, and gold is profusely employed. The execution a little less rude than the above, yet the manner similar.

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[1] Verm. ub. sup. 74 and foll. | [2] Verm. ub. sup. 39. 228.

Perugia. In private hands, but originally in S. Severo. A Virgin and child with a saint in front, and two more at the sides. Two angels attend in rear. Similar to the last.

London. Dudley House. (Wood, tempera, a third life size.) Virgin holding a bird by a string, the infant Christ in her grasp, within an arch decorated with fruit and flowers. Like the preceding with a mixture of the schools of Squarcione and Crivelli.

The painter of all these pieces is an Umbrian who preserves the stamp of his countrymen in the character, type, and action of his figures. The handling, the system of tempera, costumes and copious gildings are those of the San Severini, of Carlo and Vittorio Crivelli. Either he went early from Perugia to Sanseverino, or he was born there. One traces the effort of a follower of Crivelli to assume the Perugian manner rather than that of a Perugian desirous of appropriating that of Crivelli. The place where the records of Bernardino of Perugia have been found, is S. Severino. The pictures above described are like those of the San Severini and Crivelli, and those amongst them which are in the Gallery of Perugia, are attributed to Bernardino of Perugia. We therefore possess enough to determine the style of Bernardino who was so long confounded with Pinturicchio. Yet, we must not forget that another picture exists under the name of Bernardino of Perugia. It is in

Paris. Louvre. No. 289. Subject; — the Crucifixion with numerous figures. Orsini assigns it (Guida di Perugia) to Pinturicchio with the date of 1518. It is an Umbrian work in oil, by a man of a coarse fibre, but full of power and life, a cotemporary of Giambattista Caporali, Cocchi, and Paris Alfani, but not the same artist as the author of the foregoing series, unless he completely altered his manner.

A few lines also for Matteo Balducci.

This third rate artist was born at Fontignano, and is known by a contract of 1509 (in which his name appears in the capacity of a witness) to have been in connexion with Pinturicchio (com. Vas. XI. 164). He had, however, gained no great proficiency there when Pinturicchio died. In 1517, he was bound apprentice to Bazzi for six years (Doc. Sen. III. 72). Gualandi has published a contract and payments for an altarpiece by him in S. Francesco di Pian Castagniano in Montamiata 1523—1524 (memorie ub. sup. ser. II. pp. 17. 18). There are returns of his property in Città della Pieve for the year 1543, and he was a municipal councillor in that place in 1550 and 1553 (Mezzanotte Vita di Perugino ub. sup. 286).

Matteo Balducci is the author of the following pictures.

Sienna. S Spirito. Cappella de' Borghesi. Altarpiece (wood, oil), assigned (Faluschi, Guida 142. Taia, Guida 111) to Matteo di Giovanni. Assumption of the Virgin. By the side of the tomb, below the glory, S. Francis and S. Catherine of Sienna, and in front two infant angels. Two seraphs at the side of the glory bear flower pots. In a lunette, the Eternal in benediction in a halo with cherubs' heads. The Virgin's face is softly expressive, but the figures generally are feeble, and the colour is dim, washy, and without relief. The angels in front of the tomb resemble those at the base of the plinths in the cappella Piccolomini. Balducci is therefore an Umbrian of the school of Pinturicchio. The predella of this picture representing the Virgin with the dead Messiah on her lap, with S. John Evangelist and the Magdalen, S. Francis receiving the stigmata, and S. Catherine, is in the same style as the altarpiece, and now in

Sienna. Academy. No. 213. There are further in the collection: No. 311. Half length of the Virgin and child, between SS. Bernardino and Catherine. No. 307. An Angel in adoration (small panel). No. 321. Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Francis. No. 310. 316. 312. 318. The two first, in tempera, figures of Justice and Faith. The two last, in oil, Fortitude and Charity.

Sienna. S. Maria Maddalena. Nativity (small), an Umbrian composition on the model of Pinturicchio, of a light colour, and feeble in character, variously assigned to Perugino and Pinturicchio.

Same convent. Virgin and child, and youthful Baptist, reminiscent of Pinturicchio, and perhaps by some other of his pupils than Balducci.

Paris. Louvre. Musée Napoleon III. No. 195. Virgin, child and Saints, classed in the Umbrian school, careful, but feeble tempera, in Balducci's manner.

There is no trace of the influence of Bazzi on Balducci in all these pieces.

CHAPTER IX.

LO SPAGNA.

The most interesting figure amongst the Peruginesques, Ráphael always excepted, is that of Giovanni di Pietro, known in his own time and by posterity as lo Spagna. The darkness which conceals the history of his birth overspreads the greatest part of his career. There is no knowledge of the period when he joined Perugino. His life is a blank until 1507, when he appears for the first time as an independent master at Todi.[1] The qualification of Spaniard appended to his name in a document of that period leaves no doubt as to his nationality; but the artistic education which he received was purely Italian; and he seems to have been bred to the profession of a painter under Perugino and Pinturicchio.

As such he is as a candidate for a share in the execution of the ceiling at the hall of the Cambio, or of the double altarpiece at S. Francesco al Monte, ordered of Vannucci in 1502. The style which characterizes his authentic works in Spoleto may be traced in the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian of 1505 at Panicale, and in a fresco of the same period in S. Agostino of that place.[2] He was the companion of Raphael at Perugia during their joint stay in the school of Perugino, and after Sanzio began to labour on his own account in Città di Castello. His manner is a mixture of the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque, without the high qualities of either; and its ear-

[1] See postea.

[2] See antea. Perugino's life.

liest development is to be found in the youthful and somewhat feeble Nativity at the Vatican, called the Madonna della Spineta from the convent near Todi, for which it was commissioned.[1]

There is very little in this composition calling for special remark. The infant, lying on the foreground, with its fingers in its mouth; S. Joseph to the left, on one knee, expressing surprise by startled action; the Virgin to the right, resigned and in prayer; two angels in rear between them and a third in immediate attendance behind the mother of Christ, form the principal group. In the middle distance, two shepherds, and others on foot and on horseback in a landscape; to the right, the penthouse and cattle; in the air, three angels, erect, singing from a long scroll — this is all. The peculiar traits in the piece which distinguish Spagna, are the long head, neck, and shoulderless frame of S. Joseph, the square and lanky shape of angels, curt proportions of hand and foot, and overcharged drapery. Superadded are, gravity of demeanour, an ashen grey coolness of tone, equal finish of parts in fore and background, minuteness of detail without great relief by light and shade. The picture, though painted in oil, looks washy and pale. It is the first impression of an arrangement repeated with variations in the altarpiece of the Ancajani at the Berlin Museum[2]. The annexed outline of the abraded distemper-

[1] No. 29. Gallery of the Vatican assigned by Vermiglioli (Bernardino ub. sup. p. 42) to Pinturicchio, by Orsini (life of Perugino ub. sup. p. 104) to Vannucci, and in descriptions of the Vatican, to Perugino, Pinturicchio and Raphael. The latter theory seems countenanced by Passavant (II. 5 449) when describing a head of S. Joseph amongst the drawings of the British Museum. The drawing, however, cannot be by Raphael (it is numbered No. 44. ex-Reynold's collection) being too loose. On the back of the sheet is a figure of S. Sebastian, in which Spagna's hand, following the style of Perugino is more apparent. But caution is required before assigning either the head or the S. Sebastian to Spagna. The former is not exactly the same as the head of S. Joseph in the Spineta altarpiece.

[2] Berlin Mus. No. 150. under the name of Raphael. Its removal from S. Pietro in the monastery of Ferentillo and subsequent peregrinations are related by Pungileoni (Raphael ub. sup. p. 18), and by Passavant (Raphael, I. p. 66, and II. p. 16).

THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI: an altarpiece by Lo Spagna, in the Museum of Berlin

may be compared with the Spineta Nativity, and will prove that the Virgin, child, and attendant angels are lined in both from different sides of the same cartoon.

The Berlin altarpiece is an Adoration of the Kings, and was painted for Ancajano Ancajani, who lived fifteen years (1478—1503) abbot of Ferentillo near Spoleto. It was placed in the church of S. Pietro attached to that monastery, and was only removed for the purpose of being restored in the year 1700. That it should have been attributed to Raphael's youth, is due to the Peruginesque mode of its distribution and drawing, and its Raphaelesque accompaniments of type and drapery. Yet, on close inspection, its cold carefulness produces an impression different from that of a Raphael. Purity, delicacy, and refinement are the qualities usually assigned to the figures.[1] It would be truer to say that they are carried out with honesty of purpose and minuteness of detail, but with less feeling or selection than are usual even in Sanzio's earliest performances. Their setting, and air are such as might be realized by a man without great originality of power, of the passionless diligence for which Sassoferrato was remarkable at a later period. The mould of the faces is broadly imitated from that of Raphael, but without his candour and lightness of grace; with more than his usual stiffness, but none of his sentiment. They are simple blocks without waving lines of beauty. The male heads are long in forehead and jaw, pinched and withered in features, often vulgar like those of Pinturicchio, those of females and angels are round and plump, but of an unhealthy fleshiness, unnaturally projected from the neck, with round noses and small prim mouths, a family likeness being traceable through them all, and proving conventionalism and want of vigour in the artist. The drapery is drawn together by hand, and made to fold where nature would have left

Another picture quite with the impress of Spagna, is No. 135. in the Berlin Museum, under the name of Raphael; subject: the Saviour in the tomb (canvass, kneepiece).

[1] Kugler's Hand-book.

it plain and hanging. It is for this reason surcharged, broken or festooned. Without entering into detail, one may note the heavy squareness of the Virgin and of the young king erect on the right, the bony dryness of the kneeling one, and the gaunt leanness of the angels. All the hands and feet are short in shape and cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The landscape, a vale, on the rocky sides of which the king's suite descends, is a mixture of Raphael and Pinturicchio. The colour, abraded down to the cloth, leaves the drawing bare, and seems to have been originally of a pale yellow, slightly shadowed with grey.[1]

The two altarpieces of the Spineta and of the Ancajani, executed for convents in the vicinity of Spoleto, where Spagna usually lived, naturally suffer by comparison with pictures by Perugino and Raphael; yet they are of the greatest interest as evidence of the process by which an industrious and conscientious workman succeeded in combining the manner of his master with that of his comrade, and laid the foundation of a prosperous career by steadiness and attention. The mode in which he concentrated the individuality of Raphael, Perugino and of Pinturicchio in productions of his own, is further illustrated in the large panel of S. Girolamo at Perugia,[2] where a vast inlaid throne, protected by a rich dais, is occupied by a beautiful Virgin and child full of Raphaelesque freshness. A S. Jerom in sweeping draperies stands reading intently

[1] The angles of the frame contain two sybils, SS. Benedict, and Scolastica. The ornament of the frame, which is of Spagna's time has been renewed or retouched.

A drawing (No. 62. MS. Payne Knight. Brit. Museum) is preserved and has been assigned by Passavant (Raphael, II: 547 and Waagen, Treasures I. 226) to Sanzio. It is described as a study for the young king standing to the right in the Ancajani altarpiece. The attitude is not exactly the same, however, and the drawing is inverted. But this is a feeble school work.

The character of Spagna is more decidedly apparent in (No. 63. MS. Payne Knight, Brit. Mus,) a drawing of a group of horsemen and two figures on foot, in black point on slightly tinted yellow paper, with the lights in white. This sheet, once assigned to Raphael is now under the name of Pinturicchio. The style is that of Spagna.

[2] Now No. 25. in the Perugia Gallery.

at one side, with S. Anthony behind him. S. John the Baptist on the other looks round towards the throne to which he points, and S. Francis pensively pauses as he holds a book in both hands. The style which reveals Spagna in the two first and in the angel above them, is modified by a reminiscence of Pinturicchio in the two last, whilst an angel, hovering to the left over the pair, resembles one by Vannucci. In the minute detail and symmetry of the distance, in the finish of the ornaments on the throne, in the cast of drapery in general, one is also reminded of Pinturicchio; but the hand is that of Spagna, whose talent is not sufficient to yield anything of great originality, and who supports himself as he best can by grafting on the old style of Vannucci and Bernardino the younger one of Sanzio, and thus produces a cento of no disagreable kind, but still without the breath of independent genius. Most striking is the use of oil medium on the system pursued by Raphael at the beginning of his change to the Florentine manner, the pale colour being laid in on a white ground. Equally so are the leanness, dryness, and length of forms, and the bony development of articulations and extremities resembling those of the Milan Sposalizio.[1]

But the companionship of Spagna and Raphael is still more apparent in pieces now preserved in private English collections. In a charming little panel in oil at Stafford House in London, Christ crowned with thorns is depicted in the act of carrying the cross. He bends slightly under the dreadful load. His face, of a fine tone, is turned towards the spectator, and the delicate hair of head and beard waves lightly in the breeze. A clear sky verging to pale yellow where the distant hills impinge upon it, an undulating country of varied hues, with trees of simple branch and leaf form a total so completely impregnated

[1] The right side of the panel is most injured, a mishap distinctly marked also in the forehead of S. Francis, in the right hand and lower part of right leg of the Baptist. On a "cartello" in the panelling of the throne steps, an inscription seems once to have stood, which is now illegible.

with Raphael's spirit that the picture bears his name.[1] The Saviour, indeed, is full of tender resignation; the touch is exquisite, the colour warm and pleasing, the landscape bright. The whole is worthy of Raphael, yet really by Spagna imitating Sanzio. The type and forms are less select and grand, the pose less simple and natural than Raphael's. The figure betrays an overstudied elegance, and the drapery an unnecessary repetition of folds in one direction. The colour is more remarkable for softness than force, more careful than bold and masterly. That which in Raphael is a natural gift, the undefinable something which gives its charm to everything he does, is wanting.[2]

Mr. Fuller Maitland's collection is enriched with another attractive specimen of Spagna's imitative capacity; an adaptation on a small scale of Perugino's Christ on the Mount,[3] with the Redeemer in profile, the three sleeping apostles in the foreground slightly changed in attitude, the angel sent back into the distance, and the soldiers in rear in quiet action. Raphael is also credited with this picture. It has not, however, the ease and unstrained action, the sweetness and freshness, the charm of life which please in Sanzio even when his figures are least happy in proportions or general aspect. Nor is the colour in Mr. Maitland's panel treated with the great master's accustomed ease, or bright with his vivid and transparent tone. It has not the pure harmonic chord which vibrates to the depths of the spectator's heart. The difference between this Christ at the Mount and one that Raphael might have produced, is that which must always

[1] No. 61. The catalogue of Stafford House contains a statement that the picture was formerly in the Riccardi (Medici) Palace in Florence, and that it was originally painted for the private chapel of Giovanni de' Medici, who was afterwards Leo the X^th^. An elaborate yellow grey monochrome ornament gives richness to the small pilaster framing (wood, oil).

[2] On the other hand we see the same stamp of art here as in the saints at Dudley House known to be by Spagna.

[3] Academy of Arts at Florence No. 53. See antea p. 200.

be discerned in comparing the creations of two men one of whom is replete with genius, whilst the other is not.

Spagna, the least favoured of the two, is the author of Mr. Maitland's Christ on the Mount. Yet, Mr. Passavant in speaking of it as one of Raphael's youthful efforts,[1] supports his theory on a passage in Vasari, in which it is stated that a highly finished panel representing the subject was ordered by Guidubaldo of Urbino, and after many vicissitudes became the property of the monastery of the Camaldoles of Urbino.[2] From thence Mr. Passavant relates that it was taken to Gubbio, and preserved there in the family of the Gabrielli, one of the members of which had been prior of the Camaldoles; and thence to the Palazzo Gabrielli in Rome. But the whole of this story rests on a fanciful basis. The picture of Mr. Fuller Maitland is that which was in the Palazzo Gabrielli at Rome, but it is not that which Vasari mentions, unless we assume that he described it incorrectly. He distinctly states that the Saviour prays on the Mount, but that the apostles are asleep in the distance. At Mr. Maitland's the apostles are on the foreground. But, even were it true that this very work was done for the Duke Guidubaldo, the name of Raphael would still be incorrect, and we must assume that Spagna executed it in oil at Raphael's request.[3]

The catalogue of the Spagnas in this class is hardly exhausted with the notice of a graceful and exquisitely finished little Virgin and child, a distemper, in the mode of the Ancajani altarpiece, exhibited under the name of Perugino in the Gallery of Rovigo.[4]

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[1] Life of Raphael I. 77—8. II. 31.

[2] Vasari, life of Raphael VIII. 7. 8.

[3] Geheimer Rath Dr. Waagen (Treasures III. p. 5) has already suggested that Spagna had a share in the work. It is in all but perfect preservation with the exception of the head of the sixth soldier to the left, counting from the right hand side of the panel. There are little bits of the drapery of S. Peter and S. John slightly abraded, a spot on the temple of the Saviour, and an abrasion of the halo.

[4] No. 42. Gallery of Rovigo. This is a half length with a ver-

As early as 1507, Spagna begins to leave more certain traces of his passage through the towns surrounding Spoleto. In September of that year he promises a Coronation to the church of the Reformati of Monte Santo di Todi, and agrees to imitate the altarpiece of S. Girolamo at Narni.[1] He stipulates for time and is only ready to deliver in 1511. As at Narni where the painter is an assistant in Domenico Ghirlandaio's atelier, the Saviour crowns the Virgin, on clouds supported by cherubs' heads, under a conical canopy held up by seraphs, in the centre of a company of angels, prophets, and sybils. On the meadow, below, S. Francis kneels in the midst of a score of saints, prominent amongst whom are SS. Jerom, Louis, Bernardino, and John the Baptist. The arching of the upper part is a border with cherubs' heads; and three niches in each pilaster contain SS. James, Mary Magdalen, Louis, Giovanni Capistrano, Catherine, and Bernardino. A better proof of the subordinate talent of Spagna can scarcely be found than is here afforded. The clever and conscientious Spaniard, who commonly imitates the manner of the Umbrians, is now willing to take an entire composition from a Florentine; and he does so with comparative success, moulding the figures according to his own familiar type, and tinting them after his own fashion. It is not difficult to select some fine forms and heads particularly in females and angels, but in general his tendency is to exaggerate the usual length of the human

tical split through the Virgin's face, a little restored, of a pleasing warm colour and somewhat flat. The Virgin's gilt nimbus is new (wood, fifteen inches by 13).

[1] "Die 12 Septembris, actum Tuderti in pede plateæ magnæ presentibus domino Ludovico de Aptis et domino Julio de Tuderto.. testibus videlicet. Hector Joannis Rubri de Tuderto procurator loci Montis Santi . . . prope Tudertum sponte sua dedit et locavit ad faciendam unam tabulam seu ornamentum pro Ecclesia Montis Sancti magistro Joanni, alias Spagna, Yspano, pro qua ipse promittit dare manufactori ducatos ducentum auri, et dictam tabulam. . . dictus magister Joannes promittit facere pictam de auro cum coloribus et aliis rebus ad speciem et similitudinem tabulæ factæ in Ecc. Sancti Ieronymi de Narnia. . . ." Contracts of the notary Gian Antonio di Ugolino Benedettoni an. 1507. p. 148, in "Memorie storiche di Todi" by Lorenzo Leoni ub. sup. p. 119.

frame; and he often fails to give it the proper life and breadth. The round faces are not unfrequently vulgar in look and in feature, and there is a want of breed in the coarse feet and in the large long palms of short-fingered hands attached to thick-set wrists. His study of drapery is superficial, and the result too often unmeaning festoon. The flesh-tints also are not those of healthy individuals in whose veins the red blood flows, on whose cheek it mantles. They are pale and sickly, shadowed with earthy grey, and therefore slight in relief. They are untransparent and raw.[1] Spagna's adaptation of Perugino's manner was thus incomplete, as he did not master the science of colouring, nor compensate for its absence by feeling. His cold and mechanical treatment seems incompatible with the attainment of perfect atmosphere.

In order to copy the Narni altarpiece, it was necessary that Spagna should visit that place. Two saints, the Beato Bernardino da Feltre, and S. Anthony of Padua in S. Girolamo of Narni might prove that he had been there, though they cannot be taken as good specimens of his skill.[2]

At Todi, it is said that he painted six of the cathedral chapels; and the remnants of a Trinity in fresco transferred with success to a wall in the Duomo, shows that

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[1] Three of the male saints in the glory to the right are discoloured by sunlight. The picture is 9 ft. 1/2 in. by 7 3/4, wood, with the "MDXI" at the base. The figures now in the pilaster frame seem the same as those in Dudley House. But they are in oil whilst those of Dudley House are distemper pieces. The pilaster saints at Todi are more modern in appearance than the rest of the picture, and perhaps they are copied from older ones. They are at all events replicas of those which belong to Lord Ward.

[2] Bernardino is represented on panel with the symbol of the Mons Pietatis, which he founded, in his hand. At his feet a miniature figure kneels in prayer. The medium is oil, the work done at one painting, of a low reddish tone showing the under preparation. . . Some flakes of colour are scaled off. This piece is to the left in the church as one faces the high altar. The panel in which S. Anthony stands with a child at his feet, is let in to a circular panel. He holds the lily and shows the flame. The tone is also low and of thin substance. A third panel of a saint holding a calix in the same church seems by another and coarser hand.

when he worked there, his style was in its prime and of the fullest breadth.[1]

In the Coronation, which he completed immediately after 1511 on the model of that of Todi, for the Franciscans of S. Martino near Trevi, he repeated many saints in reversed position, as he had learned to do in the school of Perugino, and he reduced the total number of personages considerably. He placed a very graceful Magdalen and S. Catherine at the sides of the foreground, and in the distance a view of the convent and church of S. Francesco at Assisi as seen from the mill on the old road from Sterpeto to the sanctuary. His drawing and colour on panel remain unchanged.[2]

A more successful production of the same period is the fresco of the Assumption, dated 1512, in the dead-house of the convent. It is far less crowded than the Coronations, and abler in conception and design. The Virgin in her almond-shaped halo stands in a grand and natural attitude and the cherubs in the glory are worthy of Perugino. Two angels in prayer at her sides would be charming, were the long stiff frames lined out with grace equal to that of the heads. As it is, the stiffness strikes one as akin to that of the planets in Perugino's ceiling at the Cambio of Perugia. SS. Jerom, John the Baptist,

[1] The Eternal, under life size, is broadly treated, as likewise the fleshy form of the crucified Redeemer. There is some heaviness in the proportions, which are however correct. The drapery is festooned. The flesh stippled over verde, of a reddish tinge.

A S. Bernardino da Feltre on panel in the interior of the convent of Monte Santo is less able. This is a panel about two feet high, split vertically down the middle. The saint holds a banner on which one reads: "curâ illius ab Mons Pietat". The painting is a little flat and hard.

[2] The upper glory of this Coronation is dimmed by time and dust. Two angels flying at the sides of the canopy are repeated from those of Todi. The frame is not filled with saints, but with arabesques. Two rounds in the spandrils of the arched portion contain the Virgin and the angel annunciate. Up till quite lately two pieces of the predella (wood, oil, 2 feet by 15 inches) were above the door in the church choir. They represented S. Francis receiving the stigmata with the attendant friar (figures with long frames and small heads), and S. Martin sharing his cloak with the beggar. These pieces were missing at a later visit. The altar piece is of the same size as that of Todi, and of the same period.

Francis, and Anthony of Padua, looking up as they kneel, are amongst the finest things of Spagna, the latter especially full of inspired tenderness. The cast of drapery is excellent, especially in the saints in monkish dress, and the pale yellow flesh-lights are fused with ease into the reddish stippling of the half-tones and shadows. Yet the failings traceable through the Spineta and Ancajani altar-pieces upwards, are not entirely absent.[1]

More curious, however, and perhaps of greater interest are the frescos in the church of the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi. In a lunette, S. Ubaldo in benediction sits between rows of kneeling monks, whilst an angel holds up an open book out of which he reads, and others attend with his crozier and mitre. In the Deposition from the Cross, beneath the lunette, as in the chief personage of the lunette itself, a distant reminiscence of Raphael may be discovered. The Deposition is taken from that in the Borghese palace at Rome, or from one of the numerous drawings sketched previous to its completion. But at Trevi the composition is transferred to the wall in Spagna's manner, the figures being slender and square, and carried out with his cold and unwearying diligence.[2] On the pilasters of the altar, two canvasses contain S. Catherine of Alexandria, and S. Cecilia, in natural proportions, both nicely posed and drawn, with a fair share of elegance and refinement in their appearance.[3]

[1] On the lower edge of the fresco is the date: "MDXII", the last cipher abraded. Part of the cheek and three fingers of one of the hands in the Virgin are gone.

[2] These frescos are injured by a flaw running down the centre of the wall. Part of the angel holding the crozier, has scaled away with the lime of the wall. The head of Christ in the Entombment is rubbed off and retouched, and that of a spectator nearest to the man carrying the Saviour's body at the shoulders, is new. The Virgin on the left is in great part damaged. Indeed the whole of the left side of the wall is in a bad condition. A saint is painted in a niche to the left of the Entombment, a S. Joseph in another niche to the right. Above are two half length prophets in medallions on mosaic ground.

[3] S. Catherine holds a book and a sword. Her face is a little vulgar. The blue background is repainted and opaque. The S. Cecilia plays the pipes. Her head is neatly attired, and the feet and hands are better drawn than usual. On the ground are a flute, tambourine, and music. The flesh is not so well preserved as in the S. Cathe-

Had not Spagna renewed his companionship with Raphael at Rome, he could scarcely have done anything so redolent of the great master; but the question arises, where may Spagna and Raphael have met again. Could they have seen each other at Florence or at Rome? Proofs of Spagna's residence at Florence are not forthcoming; nor is there direct evidence of his stay at Rome, but the existence of certain frescos there might circumstantially confirm it.

The summer-residence of La Magliana, enlarged by Julius the Second, was frequently used in the sixteenth century for parties of pleasure. A chapel in the interior of the edifice, erected under the superintendence of the Cardinal of Pavia, was adorned with frescos of the Annunciation and Visitation, a Martyrdom of S. Felicity, and the Eternal in benediction. Although damage of various kinds has been done to these wallpaintings, in the first instance by the opening of a door between the Virgin and the angel of the Annunciation, and by a breach of large dimensions in the Martyrdom; in the next place by the transfer of the remains to canvass in S. Cecilia at Rome; there is enough left for forming a judgment upon them. The Annunciation and Visitation are like designs by Perugino carried out by Spagna. The grouping, movement, and types are affected, tender, and graceful. The Virgin's head in the Visitation is distinctly Peruginesque, and the two angels at the sides with their arms across, recall those in song in the sky of the Spineta Nativity.[1] The most important variation of these pieces from one by Perugino is in the drawing, the faulty nature of which points directly to Spagna. In the Annunciation, lively movements are marred by the exaggerated manner in which the extremities are cramped. The drapery also is like that of Perugino's declining years, or that of the Coronation and Crucifixion of 1502 at S. Francesco al Monte of Perugia.

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rine, and the shadows have become black. But Spagna's execution of the figures in tempera is better than usual. Both are life size.

[1] The angel to the right is somewhat injured.

The colour is that of the Entombment at Trevi, of a pale yellow flesh shaded with greenish grey, without much relief or mass of chiaroscuro. The handling is also like Spagna's. The Martyrdom of S. Felicity is scarcely recognizable in its mutilated condition. But the composition is exactly that of Raphael, as engraved by Marc Antonio, though the execution apparently remained in Spagna's hands, as the colour resembles his in the Entombment of Trevi.

The Eternal is a noble conception, in the spirit of Raphael's best time. The splendid turn of the Father's frame as he looks down from the glory by which he is surrounded, with his left hand open, and the right raised above the forehead in token of blessing, is full of swing, whilst the two angels at his sides casting flowers from out of the clouds, are admirably conceived. These figures are so fine as to leave no room for doubting they were designed by Raphael, of the same stamp as the Sacrifice of Abraham, Moses and the burning bush, and the Dream of Jacob, in the Hall of Heliodorus at the Vatican, or the mosaics at S. Maria del Popolo. But the composition is not carried out by its creator. It is drawn with some hardness and want of feeling. The draperies are an adaptation of Raphael's grand cast without the necessary study of the forms beneath it. The handling is cold, the colour pleasing, but wanting in atmosphere and relief, and treated without breadth.[1] Spagna, not Giulio Romano, or Penni, would have worked out a sketch of Raphael in this way. It might be that in the Annunciation and Visitation he used a cartoon of Perugino's school, taking for the two other frescos, one from Raphael. The impression in general seems to be that the whole series is by the same artist. Spagna's imitation of Perugino and Sanzio would thus be very tangibly proved.

[1] The ground in this fresco which was blue, is now bared to the red under preparation, and only a few spots of the blue remain.

After much wandering in this wise between the capital and cities in the valleys of the Tiber and its confluents, Spagna determined to settle permanently in one spot with his family, and he chose Spoleto for this purpose, perhaps because his wife who was a native of those parts desired it, perhaps because the town was centrally situated with respect to places in which he found most employment.

Before the death of Julius the Second in 1513 he had painted the arms of that pontiff for the Public palace at Spoleto in the usual form, with two fine compositions of Charity and Clemency at the sides, and Justice in a lunette above them. It is curious to mark the resemblance between the first of these subjects and Marc Antonio's engraving from Raphael's Charity. One sees how much more successful Spagna was when he imitated Sanzio than when he took Perugino or Pinturicchio for his models.[1] He doubtless adorned the whole of the space in part filled up by these arms; and the whitewash on the walls may yet conceal some of his frescos.[2] Almost every year brings to light some specimen of his skill in Spoleto; and lately a fine life size Virgin and child of good movement and powerful tone has been recovered above the first altar to the right in S. Ansano.[3]

A crucifixion may also be seen in a very bad condition at the sides of the Oratorio di S. Pietro Martire in S. Domenico;[4]

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[1] The bust of Julius is held up in a circular frame by a draped figure above it. The keys are supported by two angels (draperies of lower figure and keys new). The upper lunette is much damaged and contains Justice with the balance and two angels in front, on clouds pointing at the allegorical figure. The head of the latter is coarse and common. Pilasters separate the central compartment containing the arms from those at the sides filled with the subjects of Charity and Clemency. In the former, a female gives the breast to a child, whilst another child stands by. Clemency is seated with her hand on the head of a kneeling man. The pilasters are adorned with arabesques.

[2] Above a door in this hall, two angels in a niche (fresco) seem also by Spagna.

[3] There are traces of a S. Roch on the right, and of an angel above him. The colour, of much impasto, as in S. M. degli Angeli, near Assisi.

[4] Four angels hover about the cross. Below (from left to right), a S. Jerom of the seventeenth century, S. Vincent, the Virgin, S. Mary Magdalen (head new), S. Peter Martyr at the foot of the tree looking up, S. John Evangel-

a Virgin and child amongst saints and other wallpaintings in the ex-monastery della Stella.[1]

Spagna's masterpiece of this period, however, is the fresco of the infant Christ erect with the orb, on the lap of the Virgin, seated between S. S. Jerom and Francis, Catherine and Brizio, once a portion of a decoration in the citadel of Spoleto and since taken down for transfer to the Palazzo Communale. A scutcheon in the lunette is held up by children of ungainly aspect, yet reminiscent of the Raphaelesque, and the pilasters are neatly dressed with arabesques. Great freshness and a pleasing air give charm to the infant Christ and to the Virgin and saints. A clear, well fused, and transparent colour adds to their beauty, yet a general coldness is prevalent and there is some want of expression and feeling in the slender figures.[2]

Equally important are the altarpiece of the cappella S. Stefano in S. Francesco at Assisi, which was completed in July 1516, and the frescos in the cell of S. Francis at S. Maria degli Angeli. The irregular hexagon of the latter is filled with portraits of saints chiefly of the Franciscan order in various action and natural gesture, conversing or in thought, and the more successfully wrought as models were not wanting to Spagna when he composed the groups. They are drawn with great firmness of hand, rounded successfully and coloured in

ist and S. Dominick (repainted). To the right of the Crucifixion are traces of a S. Francis receiving the stigmata. The angels are full of movement and recall the manner of Gaudenzio Ferrari.

[1] The first of these, in the entrance Hall, represents the Virgin and child enthroned, attended by an angel, between SS. Augustin and Stephen. The child's movement is the same, in a reversed position as that of 1516 in S. Francesco at Assisi.

In the same place are schoolfrescos, perhaps by Jacopo Siculo, much injured, of SS. Agatha and Barbara, an Assumption of the Virgin, with headless apostles below it, and in an upper hall, a Virgin and child between SS. Augustin and Peter Martyr, with an Eternal in a lunette.

[2] An inscription beneath the fresco tells how it was removed from the citadel in 1800. There are abraded spots in the lower part of the faces of S. Jerom, S. Francis and the Virgin, in the neck of S. Catherine and the mouth of S. Brizio. The Virgin's dress has also partly scaled away. The pilasters supporting the cornice and lunette, are pleasantly adorned.

a powerful and rich tone. Some heads are full of life and animation and almost attain a Florentine plasticity of relief.[1] The altarpiece at S. Francesco of Assisi is the best of its kind that Spagna ever produced. It recalls Raphael in the narrow oval of the face and the elegant shape of the Virgin who sits on a high throne between SS. Catherine of Alexandria, Francis, and Roch, a friar, S. Chiara, and S. Louis the king. Of the latter the head is fine and interesting. The S. Catherine is dignified in attitude and chaste in mien, and the draperies are broader and better than usual. The infant Christ is well proportioned, though perhaps a little feeble of limb. Two angels kneeling on clouds are in pretty attitudes of prayer.[2]

After his return from Assisi Spagna received the freedom of the city of Spoleto (Dec. 7. 1516), "in consideration of his trusty and honorable character during a long residence," his fee for this privilege being a painted cloth for the table of the public palace.[3] On the last day of August of the following year he was elected captain of the guild of S. Luke.[4]

From that time till 1521 his career glides noiselessly on, and leaves no trace behind. Still it has its regular and not uninteresting chronology. We resume acquaintance

[1] The figures are all seen to the knees and fill a perpendicular space equal to three feet. They are on four sides of the hexagon and inclosed by ornamented pilasters and a cornice, above and below. There is also a fine arabesque with children and monsters in the vaulting of the chapel entrance. The ceiling is blue, with stars. Amongst the saints to the left, S. Bonaventura holding a red hat and pointing with the right hand, is injured. To the right an oblique split cuts the frame of a reading monk and the head of another figure. This fresco was restored in 1766 by Girolamo Stampa. See Glorie della Sacra Porziuncula. Perug. 1858. ub. sup. p. 83.

In the sacristy of S. Maria degli Angeli is a panel with a Virgin and child, much in Spagna's manner.

[2] On the base one reads: "AD. MCCCCCXVI. XV Julii". The marble floor is restored, the step of the throne and its side are ornamented in Pinturicchio's fashion. The altarpiece is in oil. (7 feet by 5½). The Virgin's figure is ill restored, and the blue draperies renewed.

[3] "Actenta fide et virtute . Magistri Johannis . . . Hyspani pictoris excellentiss. qui in dicta civitate plurimos annos degens nupsit". Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. note to pp. 195. 6.

[4] Ib. ib.

with him in the church of S. Maria d'Arone, where he decorates an apse and semidome in Company with Vincenzio Tamagni. In the latter a Coronation of the Virgin with the usual array of saints, sybils, and angels reminds one of Spagna, whilst a Nativity and a Death of the Virgin on the circular face of the apse, and four saints in pilasters seem the work of Tamagni imitating Lippi and Michael Angelo. The words: "restauratum in honore Virginis MDXXI" in the border of the semidome and those of "Vincentius de scō Gemignano et Joānes de Spoleto faciebant," under a window sill leave no doubt as to the authorship or as to the period, but the lower frescos being clear imitations of those of Fra Filippo, and the inscription making allusion to a restoration, suggest, the probability of wallpaintings having previously existed in S. M. d'Arone.[1]

The same subject of the Coronation in the semidome of the parish church of Gavelli outside Spoleto, bears the remains of a mutilated date and Spagna's name. Beneath it, on the walls are figures of saints and the miracle of S. Michael on Mount Gargano. The Coronation is coloured in the style of the fresco in the Palazzo at Spoleto, and repeats the general features of those of Narni and Todi, the conical canopy being omitted. In the thickness of the fore-arch are the Evangelists and Doctors, in the sides above the vaulting, the Virgin and the angel annunciate. The best place in the middle of the curve is given to S. Michael trampling a

[1] Three angels support the cloud on which the Virgin is crowned; a golden halo surrounding her and the Redeemer. They are attended by six angels in Spagna's long and lanky form. Amongst the saints kneeling to the left one is S. John. To the right the sybils are in prayer. The left side of the lunette is injured. Ornamented borders separate the Coronation from the lower course of frescos. The pilasters contain SS. Paul and Roch, Peter and Sebastian, the latter a grotesque imitation of Michael Angelo's style by Tamagni. In the Nativity, the child is a little reminiscent of Spagna's manner. Above the Death of the Virgin hangs an imitated picture of the Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas, between two fictive niches in which are statues of Faith and Charity. The place in which these frescos are, is very dark and the paintings very dim.

monster under his armed heels, striking him with the point of his lance, at the same time that he holds a balance which the monster strives to turn on his side with the help of a grappling iron. In this unartistic concatenation of incidents we may trace the will of some rustic patron, but the figure itself, square in frame and round of head, betrays Spagna's want of style in drawing, though it is still essentially Peruginesque in general character. A S. Peter in festooned dress, a S. Paul near him in Raphaelesque movement, both feebly treated by assistants, are to the left of S. Michael, the miracle on Mount Gargano to the right.[1] On the walls of two large altar niches at the sides of the tribune there are frescos of the Virgin in glory with various saints on the foregrounds. S. Jerom being the principal one on the altar sacred to his name, S. Sebastian, prominent on the other. At the foot of the first one reads: ". . . Hoc Sacellum pingendum mandavit anno D. M. D. XXIII;" at the base of the second ". . . . anno D . . . ." The whole decoration of the Gavelli church is evidently by Spagna and his aids; the hands of the latter being particularly visible in the round fresco at the altar of S. Girolamo; the period of the execution probably 1524.[2]

Clear evidence of Spagna's industry may likewise be found in the church of S. Giovanni at Eggi, where the tribune is covered with frescos in his usual manner. There are remnants of a Baptism of Christ, between S. Roch and Sebastian in the apsidal curve, a Virgin

[1] The blue grounds of the Coronation have been abraded, and are now white plaster. The figures to the left are much injured. The subjects are parted by pilasters with grotesques, in dead colour on yellow ground. On a scroll fastened to the right pilaster one reads: "Johẽ Hyspano MD. . . . p." Gavelli is in the hills, outside the S. Jacomo gate of Spoleto, a ride of eight hours.

[2] The fresco at the altar of S. Girolamo is very much altered by damp, especially in the upper part, where one sees a Virgin and child and traces of angels to the right, those to the left having entirely disappeared. Below is S. Jerom between SS. Anthony of Padua and Francis, the latter figures also nearly ruined by moisture. But the execution of this work is rude and is probably due to Spagna's assistants.

and child in glory between two angels in the spring of it; — the first a very exaggerated imitation of Perugino and Pinturicchio, the second influenced by contact with Raphael.

On the face above the semidome the Eternal on clouds sends the dove to the Virgin annunciate on the right, the angel kneeling to the left, the latter also Perugineseque and in contrast with the Raphaelesque air of the Eternal.[1]

Again in the tribune of S. Jacopo outside Spoleto we have S. James with incidents of his life and a Coronation of the Virgin, the inevitable subject of Spagna in these parts. Imitating in Todi and Trevi, a school work of Ghirlandaio's atelier, he copies at S. Jacopo, actions of sybils and saints from Fra Filippo's frescos in the cathedral of Spoleto. Yet he still maintains to the last the careful system of handling and finish characteristic of his earlier years.[2] But in the side chapels of

The Virgin in glory at the altar of S. Sebastian is better. The Virgin is fair, though not perfect in proportion. The S. Sebastian bound to a tree on the left, is a fine figure, stained by damp. The movement of S. Catherine of Alexandria next him, on her knees, is not without life. S. Appollonia also kneels (lower part damaged) and the Baptist, right, points towards the Virgin. The fresco is in an ornament, two victories filling the sides above the arched glory.

[1] The whole of the lower part of this Baptism is new as well as a S. Jerom in a pilaster to the left, S. Xaverius on that to the right, and the Virgin annunciate above the semi-dome. The S. Sebastian is extensively injured. The red tunic of the Virgin in glory is renewed as is likewise the ground below. In the Baptism, the figures are inordinately long, the S. Sebastian particularly, round headed, with a thin waist, broad hips and paltry limbs. The angel annunciate is graceful enough, but long, lean, and draped in festoons. It is necessary to remember that Spagna at this time, being a master, suffers also from the rapid carelessness of assistants. The colour, as usual, is pale yellow without much relief, the hatching blackened by time. The drawing is more than usually mannered, and the flesh is flabby and hangs in disagreable wrinkles.

[2] This fresco has been varnished and is consequently much injured. The left side of the semi-dome especially is altered by damp, the heads of S. John the Baptist and two others being almost gone. The blue mantle of Christ has partly scaled. The lower part of the figure of S. James in the middle of the apse is new. There is a Raphaelesque air in an angel annunciate within a medallion at the side of the arch of the semi-dome; and the Virgin opposite is a fine half length. The S. James a little feeble. In the fresco to the right which represents S. James restor-

S. Jacopo, Spagna also laboured, and whilst the apsis is inscribed with the date of 1526, the lateral altar to the left bears that of 1527, at which date no doubt the S. Sebastian, between SS. Fabian and Roch, beneath a Virgin, child, and angels, was completed.[1] It was not till 1528 that Spagna obtained payment for these frescos. They were however about the last which he painted, and a record of 1533 is preserved in which his widow Santina receives a final balance of one florin for the pictorial decoration of the edifice. It would seem indeed as if he had died before 1530, when Dono Doni finished the altar opposite to that of S. Sebastian, covering the space with a Virgin and a S. Anthony of Padua between two saints.[2]

ing the two roast cocks to life, the figures are academic. In that to the left where the saint rescues the hanging man, the figures are short in proportions. In the pilasters are a fine S. Lucy and S. Appollonia, near which on the vanishing faces one reads: "Año Dñi MDXXVI".

[1] The S. Sebastian in this fresco is pleasing, but the Virgin, child, and angels are badly preserved; the blue mantle of the first being repainted, the frame of the second and the glory of cherubs' heads done afresh. Of the angels at the sides, one (left) has no head, the other is ruined. The lower parts of the SS. Fabian and Roch are restored. As at Gavelli the drawing is mannered and defective, the touch broad and from a full brush.

[2] 1526. — Spoleto. S. Jacopo.

In nome dñj Amen.

Adì ij de Septẽbre 1526.

Mãstro Johi pictore fo cõfesso havere receputi fino al pñte dì s. parte della pintura della trebuna de Scõ Jacõ ì tutto ff. sexantã sei . . . . ff. 66.

Adì 21 Octobre 1526.

pin ebbe decti maestro Joani pictore p parte del suo salario ossia p la pintura della capella grande fiorini ventiquatro ff. 24. p la mano de brunoro de Sancto et tomasio deputàro de Scõ Jacõ. — (hand of administratòr).

In nome dom̃j —

Adì ij di 7bre 1526.

Dõ fuschino ha pagati ducati uno d'oro promissi p la pintura della tribuna — ff. 2. bolognini 4.

(Follow thirty other subscriptions of the same nature.)

Adì 26 de' Decẽbre 1527.

Ricordo facto adì 26 Decẽbre come . . i questo dì ho receũto fiorini decivotto p cõto de la tribuna —

Me restano debictore de fiorini dodece et f.

Jo scrisse de mõ propria
Lo Spagna pẽtore.

Recorõ et memoria factº adì 2 de febraro 1528 come jo Jovãa sopradicto lo Spagna ho recevuto da frãcesco et piacẽte suo cõpagno p cõto de la capella de Sãto sebastiano fõ (fino) al presẽte dì fioreni tresta (30) et quatro cõputate duj some et mezza de mosto (wine) et ì tranoi (intra noi) p il cõto d̃ la capella de Sãto Antonio.

The following list will comprise the remaining genuine performances of Spagna, those in which his disciples had a part, and those that are without reason assigned to him:

Bettona, near Assisi. Collegiate church. Cloth. S. Anne, in an almond shaped glory, shelters the Virgin and child under her cloak, warding off darts that fall from the Eternal in an upper medallion. On the foreground of a landscape, in which is a view of Bettona, kneel SS. Crispoldo and Anthony of Padua. In the spandrils of the arch encircling the upper group are two prophets in rounds. S. Crispoldo has a saw imbedded in his skull. There is much softness in this piece which is tinged with Spagna's usual cold yellow colour; but the forms and faces are Peruginesque, reminiscent of those in a canvass (oil) at S. Bernardino of Perugia (now in Gallery No. 31) by Perugino. Much loss of tone has resulted from injury done to the banner ($6\frac{1}{2}$ f. by $4\frac{1}{2}$).

"In Spagna's own hand."

"Jo mastro Jovã sopradicto lo Spagna pectore me facio confesso d essere entieramente pagato di fiorini ciento e trenta dela pictura de la tribuna p le mane d. brunoro e tomasso suo compagno. adì 29 de febraro 1528." (Autograph.)

Adì 7 de Giugno 1530.

Jo francescho et piacente avemo speso p. calcina tolta da brenato (? Bernardo) .... p diciotto (18) coppe monta in tucto ff. 1. bb^{i} 17.

Adì 30 de lullo 1530.

pur havimo dati a mastro dono per la capellã de Sacto Antonio ff. 12. (hand of administrator).

Adì 30 de julij 1530.

Jo dono doni d'Assisi ho auto da francesco piacente Santesi (Santese means administrator) della ciesa di Santi Jacõ p conto della capella quale prezo? auto in due volte dodici fiorini et cosi scrivo di mia mano ff. 12.

E piu ho avuto adì 22 di Septẽb 1530 p el sopradicto conto ff. 16.

Adì 13 ottobre 1530.

Jo bolondino petore dassisi mi chiamo avere recevuti fiorini sette da francesco e piacente d Antonio Santese della chiesa d sancto Jacõ per ultimo pagamento dela capella d Sancto Antonio, e io belardino supra dicto fo finõ quetanza p comesione d dono pintore d asisi fine al presente dì doggi qualunque cosa — avesse avuto a fare cõ loco.

Adì 28 del mese d octobre 1533.

Jo frate ẽagelo da Mõtefalcho fẽt (fattore) d S^{to} Nicolo di Spulite fo questa presente fede e scritto in nome d Sãtina moglie gia d mastro Johañs als lo Spagna. Como a dicto dì dicta Sãtina a receuto da Francisco d Cardarello Santese d la chiesse d S^{to} Jacõ fiorino uno p ultimo pagamento d'una capella quale haveva gia pẽcta in la chiessa d Scõ Jacõ el dẽo m^{o} Johañs la dicta Sãtina sechiama satisfacta del tucto e cusì lei ne fa fine quetanza. —

Extr. from a book of various memoranda and payments MS. in the archivio parocchiale of S. Jacopo of Spoleto.

Bettona (near). Church (abandoned) of S. Simone. In this edifice are frescos of a low class betraying the influence of Spagna, but see postea (Tiberio d'Assisi).

Assisi (near). Church Alla Rocchicciola, seven miles from the sanctuary of S. Francesco. Fresco in Spagna's manner, but somewhat feeble; the Virgin and child between SS. Francis and Anthony of Padua; in a triangular lunette the Eternal between two angels. (The Virgin's mantle new.)

Terni (one mile outside). S. Maria delle Grazie. Tempera on canvass about a plaster-statue of the crucified Saviour, hanging at the side of the choir near the high altar, but much injured. The Virgin, Mary Magdalen, SS. Francis and John Evangelist seem by Spagna.

Amelia. Cathedral. Wood. Last Supper, a rude production of the close of the sixteenth century, to which undue attention was lately given. (A copy of it has been made for 400 scudi.)

Montefalco. Collegiate church of S. Bartolommeo (misprinted S. Matromeo in Passavant's life of Raphael I. 510, and the error copied into Vas. Com. Vol. VI. p. 54). S. Catherine between SS. Vincent and Nicholas (wood, 4½ f. high, gold ground, and split), with stamped nimbuses. The best of these is S. Catherine, especially as to the head, but there is little relief, a fault extending to the other saints. The colouring is light and rosy, with thin verde shadows, coldly and carefully handled. The first impression created is that of a picture by an Umbrian striving to imitate the style of Fra Filippo's works at Spoleto. The hand is that of Spagna or one of his pupils, perhaps Bernardino Campilius (see antea, in Fra Filippo).

Todi. Duomo. (Wood, oil.) S. Peter, bony and ill proportioned. S. Paul (wood, oil). Both knee pieces, split vertically, of Spagna's latest period, or by one of his disciples, done at one painting with thin body of colour; the grounds here and there scaled off.

Diruta. Church of S. Anna, of old S. Jacopo del Borgo. Remains of the upper part of a Crucifixion in fresco, i. e. Christ to the knee, the head of a saint to the left, part of a head of the Magdalen, in the character of Spagna's advanced age.

Perugia. S. Pietro. Cappella S. Martino (upper floor of convent). Semidome fresco. Eternal between angels, and Virgin enthroned between SS. Nicholas and Martin, landscape distance. The Eternal is Raphaelesque in movement, the angels at the sides Peruginesque in type. The Virgin has a small head and slender neck. She holds a plump infant naked on her lap, whose forms are also

reminiscent of Sanzio. The nude, however, is faulty, and the hands are short. Whilst the Eternal reminds one of Eusebio, the Virgin and child recalls Spagna. The colour is warm, and like that of the Entombment at the Madonna delle Lagrime at Trevi; the outlines coarse. This fresco, first injured by damp, was lately mutilated by soldiers quartered in the building, who stabbed the heads with their bayonets. The name of Ingegno has been affixed to this work, but we await records to confirm his existence.

Same church. Last chapel to the left. This chapel was at one period entirely covered with subjects. The Annunciation may still be seen (life size) beneath a window, with arabesques in some lunettes, and a renewed figure of the Eternal in a blue starred ceiling. Assigned to Pinturicchio. The colour is now rough and red, and it is difficult to decide who laboured here, whether Pinturicchio, Eusebio, or Spagna.

Same church. Choir. Virgin and child, with two angels, so restored as to forbid an opinion. (Assigned by Constantini, Guida p. 25, to Spagna.)

Perugia. Gallery. No. 49. Lunette in its old frame (wood, oil). Eternal in benediction amidst angels. Colour grey, cold, slightly relieved, and of thin substance. This piece is like Spagna's at S. Jacopo of Spoleto. (Called Spagna. Passav. Raph. I. 510. Mezzanotte. ub. sup. 235.)

Perugia. S. Domenico. Sacristy (now No. 36 Acad.). Arched panel (oil, life size). A fine figure of the Beata Colomba; in type and feeling reminiscent of the Peruginesque and Raphaelesque; of a bright tone, probably by Spagna.

Perugia. S. Domenico (now No. 10. Acad.). Wood, oil. S. Margaret of Hungary between S. Margaret of Castello and S. Agnes of Montepulciano, grand, of olive tone, and done at one painting, a little square and broken in drawing, ruder in execution than the beata Colomba, and with less relief, possibly by Spagna with the help of Manni.

Florence. Pitti. Not catalogued; in the passage called "delle Colonne", a Marriage of S. Catherine between SS. Francis and Anthony, in Spagna's manner, but somewhat feeble (wood, oil, $^1/_2$ lengths, $^1/_3$ life size), dull, because spoiled by restoring.

Rome. Palazzo Colonna. (Wood, oil, split vertically in two places.) S. Jerom penitent, given by Vermiglioli to Pinturicchio. It is all but life size, and recalls Perugino's panel of the same subject at Caen. It is probably by Spagna, dimmed and damaged.

Spoleto. Hospital degli Esposti. Nativity (wood, oil). This is almost an exact copy of the Spineta altarpiece; with the exception

that the angels in the sky kneel, and the Virgin's head is draped. It was originally executed for a family at Norcia, and bears the following inscription: "questa tavola la facta fare Costantino de Loccio p. sua devozione. Jacomo dejovano frio fece la pentura de questa tavola sõmente. MDXXII." There is a family of Locci still existing in Norcia. As to the painter (?) one may ask, is the inscription to be read so that the artist's name shall be Jacomo di Giovanni Onofrio? This Jacomo cannot be the same as Jacopo Siculo, Spagna's son-in-law. Pungileoni (Raph. p. 18) speaks of a copy of the Ancajani altarpiece by Jacopo da Norcia. Does he allude to this Nativity? These are questions that may perhaps be solved at a later period. The picture is at all events a bad copy of Spagna's, of ignoble types and forms, and raw in colour.

Spoleto. Chiesa e Convento all' Arco di Annibale. Tabernacle containing the Virgin and child with two attendant angels between SS. John the Baptist, Jerom, Scolastica, and Anthony the abbot. This seems a school-piece reminiscent of others in the same style at Eggi, Caso, and elsewhere.

Eggi. Oratorio della Madonna delle Grazie. Fresco. Christ and angels, with SS. John the Baptist, Sebastian, Roch, and Michael; below, the Virgin and child. This has the defects of the wallpainting at the altar of S. Girolamo in the church of Gavelli. Can it be by Orlando of Perugia, supposing him to be the author of a Nativity in the cathedral of Gubbio, assigned to Pinturicchio? (See antea, Pinturicchio.)

Patrico. (church of) near Spoleto. Wallpaintings representing S. Maria di Cortona, between S. Roch and a saint in episcopals, a Virgin and child, SS. Sebastian and Stephen. Again, the Virgin and child in a tree, and a saint. These, by aids in Spagna's atelier, are less defective than the foregoing at Eggi, but still seem by Spagna's journeyman at the altar of S. Girolamo in Gavelli. Feeble, of a brick-red tone.

Ferentillo. On the road from this place to Monte Rivoso is a tabernacle. In an external lunette, the Eternal between two seraphs. Inside the tabernacle, the Virgin erect with the infant Christ. Four angels support a dais. On pilasters are S. Sebastian and a half-length of S. Roch. In the same character as at Patrico and Caso, but prettier in colour.

Ferentillo. S. Stefano. Here is a Nativity (fresco) reminiscent of Spagna and Tamagni. On a pilaster are the words: "1559. die XXVI. Xbris."

Caso (near). S. Maria delle Grazie. The walls of this church are filled with numerous frescos, some of which are drawn from Spa-

gna's by his disciples. Several inscriptions bear the date of 1516; others that of 1522.

Caso (outside). Chiesetta di S. Cristina. This church also is full of paintings of various periods, many being by Spagna's pupils. In the semidome, an Eternal (lunette) between two angels and a figure of S. Cristina, with the inscription: "S Cristina. V. M. — Johanni de Appolonia f. f. p voto 1527."

Viterbo. Chiesa dei Frati Osservanti. (Wood, distemper.) Nativity. Ill-drawn, but on the model of one by Spagna, and reminiscent of the Nativity in the Hospital at Spoleto, and the wallpaintings of Patrico and Caso. In a lunette outside this church, a Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Francis is in the same character as the above, perhaps a little better.

London. National Gallery. No. 282. Glorification of the Virgin. This will be found (see postea) in the catalogue of the Bertuccis of Faenza.

Same Gallery. No. 691. (Wood.) Ecce Homo. In this picture the character of Spagna is not sufficiently marked. It would, at all events, be an unsatisfactory specimen of his manner.

London. Dudley House. Six saints in two frames (wood, distemper), originally in the Bisenzio collection at Rome. In the first, S. M. Magdalen between SS. Louis and Giovanni da Capistrano; in the second, S. Catherine between a canonized friar and S. Bernardino da Feltre. These belong to the class which has been frequently attributed to Raphael's youth; the style and proportions being good, the movement refined. They want the softness and feeling of Raphael, but they are of Spagna's best time.

Same collection. (Wood, oil.) Half-length of S. Catherine, part of a larger picture, in Spagna's spirit but injured by restoring.

London. Collection of the late Mr. Barry. No. 96 at Manchester. Half-length of the Magdalen with the box of ointment. Small, and perhaps by Spagna.

London. Ex-Bromley collection. Crucifixion. (Not seen.)

London. Baring Gallery. (Wood, oil; under the name of Raphael.) The Virgin (half-length) is seated in front of a low screen; the infant standing on her lap and supporting itself with the elbow on the Virgin's bosom. Distance, landscape. The Virgin shows something of Spagna. The child imitates those of Raphael in the Madonna del Cardellino, but it is also in the manner of Eusebio, in the Holy Family at S. Francesco of Matellica. A replica, somewhat later in date, is in the Munich Gallery (cabinets No. 597), under the

strange name of Fra Bartolommeo. A Virgin and child, called a Penni, at Stafford House in London, and stated to have been once in Lucca, is very like that of the Baring Gallery as regards stamp and handling.

Hamilton Palace (near Glasgow). (Wood, 1/4 life size.) Virgin and child between S. Anthony and a female saint carrying a lily. Injured by abrasion and restoration, but like a Spagna.

Scotland. Glentyan. Seat of Captain Stirling. 1. Annunciation. 2. Nativity. 3. Adoration of the Magi. 4. Presentation in the temple. Predella (tempera) by some one of the followers of Spagna.

Paris. Louvre. No. 441. (Wood.) Nativity, called a Perugino, the exact reverse of that of the Spineta, with the three angels kneeling in the sky. This is by an assistant of Spagna, opaque and monotonous in tone, and hard in execution. It came into the Louvre after the sale of the collection of Baron de Gérando, who had it presented to him by the city of Perugia, when he administered the civil authority there in 1811.

Louvre. No. 292. (Wood.) Half-length Virgin, holding the infant Christ with a scroll in its hands; — a prime picture by Spagna, as is suggested in the Louvre catalogue (though still classed as a Pinturicchio). A pretty, and carefully executed example of the somewhat cold Spagna.

Louvre. No. 447. Pietà; No. 448. S. Francis receiving the stigmata; No. 449, S. Jerom penitent (wood, oil). These are three fragments of a predella, catalogued in the "school of Perugino", but impressed with the stamp of Spagna's school.

Louvre. No. 446. Virgin and child. Like the foregoing, but inferior, and a mixture of the styles of Pinturicchio and Spagna.

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 8. (Catalogue of 1863.) Adoration of the Infant Christ, the Saviour on a cloth on the ground, the Virgin kneeling, and S. Joseph standing in rear in attitudes and expression of worship. SS. Martin and Barbara on their knees in prayer at the sides of the principal group. In the landscape to the right, the Procession of the Magi. The colour is dull and monotonous, because all the figures, having suffered from old abrasions, were at some remote period repainted; the result being loss of tone and alteration of the forms. There was also a transfer to canvass of this picture, which is described as originally in Castelfranco di Sotto near Florence. Umbrian and Florentine character are both apparent; but the former predominates especially in the distance; the name of Spagna (his latest years), or of one of his immediate followers would be correct.

Whilst Spagna, at various periods of his career surrendered himself to the imitation of Raphael it was scarcely possible that he should give to his pupils any great or durable lessons. Being possessed of no great original power, he necessarily induced such painters as became familiar with his ways to saunter in the same paths; and we thus find his son-in-law, Jacopo Siculo, commingling the manner of Spagna with that of the Raphaelesques. It seems not improbable that Siculo should have been at Rome previous to Sanzio's death, and in company with Tamagni. The connection of the three artists at Spoleto is still more likely. Siculo is stated to have received the commission for decorating the cappella Eruli,[1] now the Baptistery of the cathedral at Spoleto, in the ceiling of which four figures of Adam, Noah, Moses and Melchisedek, above life size, are depicted, whilst the walls are covered with scenes from the old and new testament, and the border frames with arabesques and small compositions of the same sacred class. Here and there, Michaelangelesque character is accompanied by a system of handling and design reminiscent of Spagna. Elsewhere the great masterpieces of Raphael are recalled to mind; and the space generally seems distributed with the symmetry and in the mode peculiar to Sanzio. The work might be assigned to the joint labour of Spagna, Tamagni, Dono Doni, and even Siculo.[2] It is the same sort of cento that may strike the

[1] The author of an article entitled: "Oratione Academica per la solenne distribuzione dei premi. 8°. Spoleto. 1836" states this fact as well as that Jacopo Siculo was the son-in-law of Spagna; and he shows in his oration that he has examined the MS. of the Spoleto archives with care.

[2] Adam, nude and Michaelangelesque in character, is a fairly preserved figure, drawn and coloured in a manner reminiscent of Spagna. Two angels, in a round close by, are still more in Spagna's manner. Above the figure one reads: "Origo, beneath it: "Noxius prevaricator".

Melchisedek, an aged man with joined hands, near an antique altar, with a vase on it. The feet are drawn in Raphael's style (the lights on the arms retouched). Above, the word: "Premium". Those beneath, illegible.

Noah, an aged man, nude, holding a vine with grapes in both hands, poor in head (two angels in a round renewed). Above, the

eye in the front of the Palazzo Arone facing the Duomo of Spoleto;[1] or in the frescos of an abandoned chapel

word: "Interus" (?); beneath: "Pœna".

Moses, in fine Raphaelesque movement, but injured by damp and restoring (two angels in a round completely ruined). Above, the words: "Utilis planta, perversi fœtus".

In the walls. 1. A S. Jerom, reminiscent of Tamagni and Dono Doni, with a lunette in which Aaron is represented as high priest (some little figures in distance), all damaged. 2. Crucifixion filling wall and lunette, a mixture of the styles of Spagna and Tamagni. Two angels at the ends of the cross not without feeling. 3. S. Michael weighing the souls, and S. Lucy (imit. Spagna), and in the lunette a figure with a long staff, and distant people. 4. (Above the entrance) Christ blesses Peter, the miraculous draught of fishes in the distance. In the lunette, Elijah ascends to heaven (ruined by damp). No trace here of the manner of Spagna. The whole of these frescos, in cornice frames in which there are three rounds containing portraits. In the borders of the ceiling there are graceful little figures and arabesques on gold ground, and small frames inclosing: 1. Moses and the burning bush; 2. a Raphaelesque composition of the Entrance into the ark; 3. the Sacrifice of Abraham; 4. the Creation of man; 5. the Creation of woman, in which the Eternal raises the rib which has already in part the human shape; 6. the Finding of the cup of Benjamin; 7. a crowd of men on foot and horseback, and females looking towards the sea (? subject). At the angles of the ceiling are angels some of which are new. All the lunettes and the ceiling are executed in a better style than the lower courses. Two hands must at least have been employed.

[1] Beneath the first row of windows is a chiaroscuro of feigned pilasters with children sounding conchs, and in certain squares between them, subjects taken from mythology. Two women are seated on oxen.

Beneath the second row of windows is a fictive bas-relief of sea Gods and Goddesses, some drawn in cars by horses, concluding with an incident of a fight, a most animated series.

Beneath the third row, the painting is gone, but between the windows there still remains a figure (female) with a sword (? Judith). Another female with one hand raised (? Justice). The whole front was clearly once painted in chiaroscuro with feigned architecture and a fine architectonic distribution, the figurative part full of life and motion.

Between the windows of each story there were figures like those at the highest story. Of these there remain one of a female with a tripod and fire in front of her between the windows of the lowest story.

The work has something of the manner of Beccafumi, but in a style less marked than his.

One sees the school of Raphael in the composition and arrangement, in the action and style of drawing, particularly in the small incidents on the basement. There is some exaggeration in the rendering of forms. The children have something of the character of those in the Eruli chapel. The period of the execution is the first half of the sixteenth century, and the decoration is one of the best of this time (i. e. after Raphael's death).

As to handling, the drawing is engraved, and the hollow is filled up with black, not only in its outlines, but in the hatchings of the shadows. The mass of shadow is well defined so that the relief and

in S. Francesco at Rieti.[1] The earliest independent production of Siculo to which an authentic character can be conceded, is a large domed panel on the high altar of the parish church of S. Mamigliano, from the lunette of which an Eternal gives the benediction to an enthroned Virgin and Child between the standing SS. Peter and John Evangelist and the kneeling Biagio and Mamigliano. The Virgin looks downward towards S. Biagio whilst the Infant, stalking naked over her lap, looks round at S. Mamigliano, a Raphaelesque idea bringing to mind that carried out in the Virgin and child of the ex-Rogers collection. A well fused colour of good impasto is somewhat darkly shadowed in grey tones. A long inscription above a predella in several parts closes with the words: "Jacobus Siculus faciebat; and on the border of the lunette one reads: Sumptibus universitatis MDXXXVIII."[2]

In this piece Siculo appears as a fair second rate amongst the Raphaelesques and little below Andrea da Salerno. His hand may then be recognized in an unsigned fresco, transferred to canvass and brought from S. Niccolò to the Palazzo of Spoleto. It represents the Virgin and child in the same feeling as at S. Mamigliano; is graceful in grouping as well as rich and transparent in colouring.[3] An equally important but dim fresco of the same

effect must have been good. Striving is reconstruct the whole mentally in its pristine state, one might name as the authors both Vincenzo da S. Gimignano and Jacopo Siculo.

[1] The subjects are: the Last Judgment, the Resurrection, Paradise, and Doom. Pilasters are adorned with arabesques.

[2] The predella contains SS. Jolin, Lazarus, and the four major prophets besides the Adoration of the Magi and the Martyrdom of S. Biagio. Two rather feeble angels support a hanging behind the Virgin. S. Peter's is a fine head as regards drawing and richness of tone. The foot of the Virgin and the stole of S. Biagio are a little restored. The inscription in full is as follows: "Æditus per Vincentio Laurēti et Pacciano Bernardini, nec non Benedicto Laurentii, Dionisio Damiani, Fabriano Celloni et Cicchi, edilibus impensis oppidanorum Sancti Mamigliani, decem aureis, quos legavit dominus Innocentius, duntaxat exceptis. Jacobus Siculus faciebat".

[3] The sky of the fresco is injured as well as the Virgin's blue mantle. Her form is lean, that of the infant plump, the head being small with an open forehead. The flesh transparently painted, warm and rich. The Virgin's mantle covers her head, her veil is wound round the child's hips.

kind is in the last chapel to the right in S. Niccolò itself; a large piece that has been subjected to no restoring though it is injured by dust. The Virgin with the child in glory is adored by several persons kneeling in a landscape between two erect saints of good and grand Raphaelesque outline.[1]

In later works, for instance in the Coronation of the Virgin of 1541 at the Annunziata outside Norcia, Siculo merely imitates with slight variation the arrangement of Spagna in the altarpieces of Todi and Trevi.[2]

In the Duomo of Spoleto the figures on the stalls of the winter choir seem feeble ones of Jacopo;[3] and in the parish church of Ferentillo, two chapels the walls of which are covered with frescos, dated severally 1540 and 1557,

[1] The Virgin is seated on a cloud and holds the white drapery of the infant with her right. There are cherubs in the cloud. The figures are life size (wood, oil).

[2] The colour and handling of this work are a little feeble. The predella plinths contain the Virgin and the angel annunciate, the predella itself SS. Jerom and Francis. On a "cartellino", to the right of the principal panel, one reads: "Anno domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo primo, die vero vigesimo Martii. Jacobus Siculus faciebat".

In this church, at the altar of S. Elisabeth, are a Virgin, child and several saints, feebly shadowed, of a light rosy tone, the figures ill-draped as one finds them in some of Tamagni's pictures at S. Gimignano. In the predella, the angel and Virgin annunciate and Christ in the tomb. In the church del Rosario at Norcia is an Assumption (wood, oil) by a student of Spagna's manner, of a hard and dull yellowish colour. The angels sounding instruments are like similar ones by Cola dell' Amatrice, The Virgin is most like the creations of Spagna.

At Bettona, on the high altar of S. Antonio of the Minorites, is a canvass of the Virgin and child attended by angels like those in Spagna's frescos at S. Jacopo of Spoleto. Below are kneeling saints; amongst whom SS. Crispoldo, Francis, Jerom. Distance, a city. On, the predella, portraits of the donors and the following inscription: "pro lascita Juliani Aquilini AD. M.D Dona Ciancia ejus uxor fecit fieri XLVII.(1547). This is a feeble piece in the style of the Norcia Coronation, and seems done by assistants. In the same class one might name the frescos of SS. Agata and Barbara, and the Assumption, already noted in the monastery della Stella, near Spoleto (see antea, Spagna).

[3] In the winter choir is a picture on gold ground assigned to Spagna, and representing a Pope giving a book to the infant Christ seated in front of the picture. The Virgin is in rear, and to the right is a saint (repainted). This is not a picture by Spagna, but a work of the sixteenth century, due perhaps to the hand of Bernardino Campilius (see postea).

are like productions from the same hand or from that of men employed under his superintendence.[1]

No other name besides that of Jacopo Siculo need be added to the list of Spagna's followers at Spoleto except that of Bernardino Campilius whose signature is written at length beneath a fresco of the Virgin adoring the Infant on her knee to the left on the Piazza S. Gregorio, as one enters the town gate of Spoleto. The painter is a fourth or fifth rate one, imitating Fra Filippo in the forms of the child, and the Peruginesque side of Spagna's style in the draperies of the Virgin.[2] An altarpiece at S. Maria d'Arone representing the Virgin and child between SS. Anthony and John the Baptist, bears, if memory be not treacherous, the same signature; and there is a fresco in the sacristy of the church of the Nunziatella at Foligno, assigned to Mantegna, betraying his manner or that of Cola dell Amatrice.[3] The date 1502 on the fresco of the Piazza S. Gregorio gives a clue to the period in which Campilius laboured.

The first of these in the third chapel to the right represents the Eternal in benediction with (lower) SS. Lucy, Agatha, Catherine, Barbara and Appollonia, all long and lean figures. In the framing one reads the date: "1540. . die primo Octobris."

In the fourth chapel is a fresco of the Incredulity of S. Thomas, and above it, the Virgin giving the girdle. On a pilaster: "1557... die primo . . ."

In the fifth chapel a S. Anthony above which, a Virgin and child.

[2] A lunette contains the Eternal; and on a house in the distance of the picture one reads: "Domus Bartolomeus episcop. Spoletē". A little framed space by the right capital bears the date: "MDII", and beneath are the words: ...nardinus Camilius spoli. faciebat. The fresco is much injured by time.

[3] The Redeemer, almost naked, is seated in death on a stone, supported under the arm pits by the Evangelist and Virgin; S. Mary Magdalen in rear. This injured fresco at first suggests the name of some Veronese artist, such as Caroto or Liberale, but on closer inspection shows something of the manner of Spagna; and there is nothing more of the Mantegnesque than might be taken from the examples of Alunno.

CHAPTER X

MANNI. EUSEBIO, AND OTHER PERUGINESQUES.

One of the active subordinates in Perugino's atelier is Giannicola di Paolo Manni,[1] a native of Città della Pieve,[2] whose place amongst the Perugians at the close of the fifteenth century it would be easier to determine if the pictures which he executed in 1493 and 1499 had been preserved.[3] From records embodying the commissions for these works, as well as from others in which the production of a banner and pennons (1502. 1505) is noted, it would appear that Manni chiefly practised at Perugia,[4] and that his performances must have been confined to that city. Yet his long life and the small number of extant things traceable to him, as well as the Peruginesque character which they display, lead us to consider him as a constant assistant to Vannucci. Although he probably enjoyed with Spagna the advantage of Raphael's company in the master's shop, he did not perceive that Sanzio's example might lead to progress and fame, and when further experience taught him the necessity of placing himself on a level with the changed spirit of Italian art in the rise of the 16th century, he seems to have felt a

[1] Vas. VI. 56.

[2] Della Fargna, in Orsini's life of Perugino, ub. sup. note to p. 270, and Mezzanotte p. 223.

[3] In 1493 he agreed to paint the Last Supper in the dining Hall of the Palazzo Pubblico at Perugia. Mariotti, Lett. ub. sup. 229. In 1499 a picture ordered for the room of the "Capo d'Offizio" in the same palace was valued 18 florins by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Bartolommeo Caporali. Ib. ib. 232.

[4] Ib. ib. 232.

predilection for the school of Pacchia, a clever Siennese, who had modified his own style by contact with Francia Bigio and Andrea del Sarto. One of his youthful creations is, as we believe, a Virgin and child under the name of Raphael in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, previously in the collection of Archdeacon Hore. The naked infant, erect on the Virgin's knee and grasping her dress at the bosom, turns towards the spectator with great gentleness and shows the whole of a somewhat small and gracile form. The Virgin, of regular shape and face, is softly meditative and Peruginesque. The minute drawing and a light, somewhat flat, colour tending to yellowish rosy betray more carefulness than feeling. For Manni it is a most beautiful production reminiscent of his education under Vannucci, and of the companionship of Raphael and Spagna.[1]

The Saviour in glory between the Virgin and Evangelist, with a crowd of adoring saints in erect positions in a landscape, is, after this of Cambridge, the earliest of his authentic panels with which we are acquainted. It adorns the Cappella Baglioni at S. Domenico of Perugia,[2] and shows that Raphael's grace was not lost upon him, yet that the influence of the young and rising artist was outweighed by those of Perugino and Pinturicchio.

[1] Wood, half life size, one of the hands a little injured, the rest well preserved. The distance is a pretty landscape.

[2] Now in Perugia Academy, No. 20. It is stated in a MS.: Registro della Chiesa di S. Domenico di Perugia" (compiled 1548): Baglione della Baglionella fece pingere la tavola d' Ognisanti per mano di maestro Niccolò discipulo di maestro Pietro Perugino (favour of professor Adamo Rossi). Vasari says too, this picture was by Giannicola (V.I. 56). It is on wood, in oil, and 7½ feet by 7, but the arched upper part is cut down. Four playing angels are at the sides of the circular glory. These and the cherubs' heads are reminiscent of Perugino's in type and movement. The outlines are broken as if they were cut out with scissars. The Saviour is lean with drooping shoulders, the Baptist in fine movement recalling Pinturicchio, the Virgin in prayer pleasing, with a plump face like those of Raphael's youth. An angel on the extreme right of the glory is posed in the attitude of one by Pinturicchio at Araceli, and fairly rendered. A S. Peter amongst the foreground saints seems inspired from that of Perugino in the Lyons Ascension. The mannered curves of some facial outlines are similar to those of Gerino of Pistoia, and like those of the Last Supper in S. Onofrio at Florence.

But, whilst naming Manni in the same breath with the three greatest celebrities of the Umbrian schools, we must not forget his real inferiority. There is a pretty freshness in the glory of the altarpiece of S. Domenico. Some figures may deserve praise for good intention in movement; but most of them are lean and lank, paltry, or skinny and flabby in features. The hands are cramped and spidery, the faces at times of broken outline, or contoured in puffy curves. Some recall Perugino, others Pinturicchio. The draperies are generally involved and poorly cast. The colours are used with great thickness of impasto, but without relief, and a constant flatness pervades the waxy flesh and its grey shadow; nor does the use of oil-medium seem familiar. One sees the stippling and hatching of a man accustomed to tempera.

The sides of a Crucifixion in S. Domenico, representing the Virgin and Evangelist, and the Magdalen with S. Sebastian, are better drawn and more successful than those of the Saviour in glory at S. Domenico, and they are comparatively good specimens of proportion, attitude and expression.[1] They may take rank amongst his best efforts, together with a fresco of the Virgin and child between SS. John Evangelist and Lawrence in S. Martino di Verzaro at Perugia—an altar-decoration in which fair relief and lively tones, free handling, and some approach to a good style of drapery may be noticed. It is not unnecessary, at the same time, to mark the redness which begins to pervade the surface of Manni's colour.[2]

[1] These panels are now No. 58 and 53 in the gallery of Perugia, and the figures on wood, of life size. Much damage has been done to them by time and repainting, but their character is that of Manni and, besides, it appears from the register of S. Domenico already quoted that they were done by him: "Questo M° Niccolò fece ancora le quattro figure all' altare dell' Crocifisso." The work is cold, but of strong impasto, and one is struck by the resemblance of its waxy colour with that of a Virgin and child between SS. Bernardino and Tommaso di Villanuova, dated 1500, in S. Agostino of Perugia (see antea, Perugino, p. 246).

[2] This fresco has been injured by damp, and the Virgin's mantle is in great part new. The drawing is Peruginesque in style, but the chief merit of the piece is in the fairness of the proportions and movements. Some figures at the sides of the fresco are inferior to

It may be found in the slight and broadly decorative pieces forming at one time the ornament of the organ loft in S. Lorenzo of Perugia; a round of S. Lawrence martyred, two half-lengths of S. Peter and S. Paul, and a lunette containing Christ with the banner between SS. Lawrence and Costanzo. The date of 1513 on the first shows how long Manni clung to his purely Peruginesque style. He had been intrusted, in 1511, with the task of repainting the dial of the palace clock.[1] In 1515 (June 27th) he bound himself to adorn the walls of the chapel of the Cambio.[2] Like many other artists, Manni was unpunctual in his labours. He had received 45 florins as an advance long before the frescos passed the preliminary stage; and in February 1518, a part of them only had been done. The authorities practically reminded him of his duty by threatening to fine him 150 florins unless he should finish them before the following August (1519).[3] The shortness of this interval, and the necessity for speed may be the cause why some episodes in the Cambio chapel are much more feeble than the rest. In the ceiling, the Eternal in benediction is surrounded by the Evangelists, the apostles, and the doctors of the church; in the spandrils of two arches, the Lybian and Erythrean sybils; in the vaulting of the same, small frames enclosed in ornament, with scenes from the old Testament. The lunettes, four in number, comprise the Birth of S. John, the Visitation, the Beheading of the Baptist, and the Presentation of his head. Three circles above the entrance-door are filled with busts of SS. Constanzo, Ercolano, and Lorenzo. On an altar stands a Baptism of Christ, on panel, with the angel and Virgin annunciate at the flanks; and on the paliotto or altar-front, medallions

those under notice, and otherwise unimportant.

In the same church on a wall to the left as one enters, is a feeble figure of S. Martin dividing his cloak, injured in the upper part and not equal to the foregoing. There is something in it too of the Leonardesque, and an impress as if from Eusebio.

[1] Mariotti, ub. sup. p. 232.

[2] Ib. ib. p. 161.

[3] Ib. ib. ib.

of the Virgin and child, the Precursor, and two other saints.

It is easy to perceive that the chapel was not completed at one period. The ceiling-figures are Peruginesque but short and paltry, with a monotonous similarity of character in the heads. The angels are coarse and square;—the general tone red. A more modern art is displayed in the lunette subjects, which are better composed. It is the time when Manni exhibits some relation to Pacchia, and for that reason suggests reminiscences of Andrea del Sarto; yet the local colour is still reddish. The sybils are the intermediate link between the frescos of the ceiling and those of the lunettes, and a child at the feet of the Lybian descloses an attempt to imitate Raphael. The altarpiece is very poor; and the paliotto seems due to Sinibaldo Ibi.[1]

A picture of the time when the ceiling of the Cambio was brought to a termination, is the enthroned Virgin with saints and angels in the Louvre, under the name of Ingegno. The heavy red of the high surface colour, the feebleness of the types, and the mixture derived from Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Raphael point almost exclusively to Manni.[2]

The best of the master's later subjects is the Incredulity of S. Thomas in S. Tommaso at Perugia, a fairly

[1] The fresco of the Decollation is in part renewed. The head of S. John in the Presentation is new, as well as a dog forming part of the detail of the composition. The angel and Virgin in the sides of the altarpiece are on gold ground, of a reddish tone, and carried out at one painting on the gold. The central Baptism has been assigned by Orsini (life of Perugino p. 111) to Perugino, but on no tenable ground. It is done with thin washy colour and now much blistered. There is no chiaroscuro and no strength in the execution generally. Two figures, stripping, are downright ugly; and the landscape is not good.

[2] No. 37. at the Louvre. The drawing of this picture is poor. The infant is heavy; the panel has suffered from overpainting; but one still sees Manni's red tone with shadows of a reddish brown. The types and action are similar to those in the ceiling of the Cambio chapel. A predella, now at the Perugia Academy (No. 163. and dated 1512) represents the Martyrdom of some saints. It is difficult to say on what grounds it is assumed to be the predella of the foregoing. It is by Domenico Alfani.

grouped composition, lacking neither life nor freedom, but of a reddish flatness in the unglazed tones.[1]

Manni lived to a good old age, was in the magistracy at Perugia in 1527,[2] and died on the 27th of October 1544.[3]

Eusebio di S. Giorgio, his comrade in Perugino's school,[4] did not rise above mediocrity. Bred in Perugia, a fellow labourer with Fiorenzo di Lorenzo and Berto di Giovanni in 1501;[5] he was made free of his guild immediately after Pinturicchio.[6] His style approximates to Bernardino's in its least interesting features, whilst his system of colouring is a counterpart of Manni's; but he is fortunate at times in imitating the early Raphaelesque, and, in this, distantly emulates the example of Spagna. He was one of those whom Pinturicchio induced to join

[1] This is a large panel (wood, oil), 7 feet square, with life size figures, much damaged and restored. The movement of the Saviour is good as he raises his right arm to allow S. Thomas to place his hand in the wound. He looks with dignified mien out of the picture, but the cast of the face is square, the nose broad at its junction with the brows. The red drapery is well folded, but partly scaled away. At the side of the two principal figures are SS. Dominick, Thomas Aquinas, and John, George, Benedict and another. The colour is given at one painting with little relief and no glazes. The ground and landscape distance are higher in surface than the figures.

The following may be classed under Manni's name. Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. No. 183. Baptism of Christ. No. 184. Assumption of the Virgin. No. 185. Adoration of the Magi. These are all parts of one predella and good examples. In S. Agostino (Fraternity), at Perugia, a picture dated 1510 is assigned to Manni (Mezzanotte, p. 226), but is by Sinibaldo Ibi (see postea). At Gubbio, a panel in the church of S. Pietro representing a Visitation and other figures, with a monogram, not suggestive of Manni's name, is still attributed to him. It is injured and has not, now at least, the marked character of the Perugineque school.

Considering the prevalent redness of tone in Manni's works, one might assign to him a share in the large Assumption of Perugino at Corciano, and in the large altarpiece by the same at the Servi.

Frescos said to be by Manni at Pacciano (Orsini ub. sup.), are not to be found there now. The Christ at the Mount mentioned by Vasari (VI. 56) and noticed at S. Bernardino of Perugia by Constantini (Guida. 318. 19), is missing. Manni is registered in the guild of Perugia, but under no specific date (Mariotti, Lett. p. 231).

[2] Mariotti p. 231.

[3] Orsini Vita &c. di Perugino, note to p. 274.

[4] Vas. VI. 55.

[5] They all paint pennons together. Mariotti, ub. sup. 232.

[6] His name in the register is "Eusepius Jacobi Christophori". Ib. ib. ib.

him at Sienna; and there is a memorandum in the Siennese archives of a large money-payment from the latter to Eusebio in 1506.[1] The altarpiece of the Epiphany in the chapel of that name at S. Agostino of Perugia betrays this connection.[2] It is a panel, in oil, dated 1505 or 1506, with all Pinturicchio's leanness in the figures, his quaintness in costumes, his pompous affectation in attitudes, with great dryness superadded, and a ruddy even tone. Nothing can be more minute than the hair-outlines of the drawing, more thin than the plain surface of the colour. Eusebio in this instance is the miniature of Pinturicchio, with a tinge of the Raphaelesque. As a composer he is almost null. His stiff and pinched imitation of Sanzio may be noticed in the Annunciation, and S. Francis receiving the stigmata on the walls of S. Damiano near Assisi; the date of 1507 and Eusebio's name authenticating the latter.[3] Nor is it improbable that he should be the author of a part of the Cappella delle

[1] Com. Vas. VI. 56.

[2] This picture is now No. 8. in the gallery of Perugia. It is given by Vasari to Eusebio (VI. 55), on wood, in oil, 7 feet by 5½. The Virgin, on the right, points out the child on her lap to S. Joseph who stands near her, whilst the first king offers a cup, and the second stands with his back to the spectator. The foreground is a meadow with grasses and flowers. The distance, rock with grottos. Two figures on horseback are in the middle distance. Four angels in the sky kneel and play instruments. They are not ungraceful, though small and feeble. The child has a large round head and puffy frame. The date: MDV.. is on the border of the Virgin's dress, near her foot. On the hem of the king's dress, who stands with his back to the spectator, are an S. and I. initials of Sinibaldo Ibi. Yet the work is probably Eusebio's, certainly not, as some say, by Raphael. A part of the frame of the infant Christ has scaled.

[3] The Virgin on her knees to the left (part of neck and cheek abraded) has a spacious forehead and receding chin, the features following a line oblique to the curve of the face, thin and pinched. The angel, running in on the right a little stiffly, (injured in the outline profile of the face), is reminiscent of Raphael's Vatican predella (already so frequently mentioned), has spare feet and hands, and numerous folds to his slashed dress. There is feminine smallness in the art of Eusebio here. The Eternal in the sky between the buildings is pleasing, but small in forms. Through the doors of a wall joining two houses, a landscape and hills are seen.

The friar looking at the miracle in the fresco of the stigmata, is much injured. The drawing is not correct. On the border: "Eusebius Perusinus pinxit MDVII".

Rose at S. M. degli Angeli near Assisi, on the walls of which a number of Franciscan saints are depicted.[1] Eusebio's hand may be observed also in a S. Michael in the Casa Gualtieri at Orvieto, which we have seen Passavant attribute to Ingegno.[2]

Better than any of these is the Holy Family, with saints, carried out by Eusebio in 1512, for S. Francesco at Matellica. He improves the proportions and action of his personages, adapting to them so much of Raphael's charm as he can, and even adding something of the Leonardesque to his manner, all this with a meritorious carefulness of handling, and a soft fusion of pale tones. The predella, containing three scenes from the legend of S. Anthony of Padua, not only recalls, but positively copies in parts Raphael's at the Vatican. It is of a thin and bright melting colour, and, being small, conceals the master's chief defects.[3] At Perugia there are four or five panels in the monastery of S. Agnese, originally forming one

[1] On the wall, near the entrance close to the altar, are two figures of S. Elisabeth and S. Chiara, in proximity to which: "MDVI. die prima Augusti". On another wall are figures of SS. Buonaventura, Bernardino, Louis, and Anthony of Padua, the heads of which are all damaged by stains. These parts of the cappella delle Rose seem to be done in the style of Eusebio. The rest, we shall see, is by Tiberio d'Assisi.

[2] See antea, Ingegno. The figure is a little under life size. A small spot on the forehead, and others were restored by the painter Cornelius.

[3] The Virgin and child recalls that of Raphael in the Connestabile gallery, and still more that of Raphael (No. 141) at the Berlin Museum which with but slight differences is a reverse of this one. The Baptist at her feet, in a little jacket of skin, is reminiscent of the children in Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino. His form is fleshy and somewhat puffily rounded. He sits holding the cross and pointing out a passage in a book (out across forehead and right eye). S. John Evangelist and S. Andrew stand, SS. Anthony and Bernardino kneel, at the sides of the throne, on the step of which is the inscription: "1512. Eusebius de sco Georgio Perusinus pinxit". On an upper border of the throne is the addition: "Dionisius Petri Berti faciundum curavit". In the arched upper part, two angels hang the crown above the Virgin's head. In this picture again one notes, ex. gr. in the Virgin, Eusebio's tendency to give the line of the nose and mouth an oblique direction in respect to the oval of the face.

The predella represents, firstly, S. Anthony setting the wounded leg in which three erect females (right) are copied from Raphael's Circumcision in the Vatican. predella. Secondly, the Sermon of S. Anthony in which a group (left) is also copied from the same piece by Raphael. Thirdly, the Miracle of the ass kneeling before the host.

predella, which exhibit the same traits;[1] and the catalogue may be swelled by two more in the Academy, and an Adoration in S. Pietro.[2]

One might also claim for Eusebio the Virgin and child of the Baring Gallery,[3] in which a mixture of his style and Spagna's is apparent. It is quite likely that both were together in the Cappella S. Martino at S. Pietro of Perugia.

In Tiberio, who is a native of Assisi, and whom Vasari does not mention among the pupils of Perugino, we have an artist of less feeling and of less power than Eusebio, whose scarce works are all dated in the first twenty years of the sixteenth century. His finest fresco, a lunette of the Virgin and child, in S. Martino outside Trevi, is conceived in the spirit of that assigned to Ingegno at S. Andrea of Assisi, and thus connects him with the school of which Fiorenzo is the representative; but the square shape of the figures, the straight lines of draperies, and the sharpness of the colouring already reveal the germs of his decline.[4] In two angels at the Virgin's

[1] These five panels are now in the gallery of Perugia, some numbered, some not. They represent: 1. the Nativity; 2. Adoration of the Magi (copied from Raphael's Vatican predella); 3. Sermon of S. Bernardino; 4. the Samaritan woman at the well; 5. two Saints;—all in the character of Eusebio.

[2] 1. S Louis; 2. S. Chiara. In these a slight approach to the manner of Spagna. The Adoration at S. Pietro again reminds one of the predella by Raphael at the Vatican, but is attributed to Dono Doni; yet is not in the style that usually distinguishes the latter, i. e. mixture of Giulio Romano and the Michael Angelesques.

We have noted (see antea Perugino) frescos in S. Agnese at Perugia in which Vannucci's mould and the handling of Eusebio seem revealed. also (see antea, Spagna) frescos in the monastery of S. Pietro at Perugia (cappella S. Martino) in which Eusebio's name is also suggested.

[3] Assigned, as we have seen (Spagna), to Raphael.

[4] The fresco is altered in colour by time, but the sharpness of the tones is peculiarly Tiberio's. The fresco is worked up on the old principle with red on green. On the border of the lunette are the words: ".oanes Baptista magi..... de Trevio fecit fieri. Tiberius de assi . . ."

In the Dead House which contains Spagna's fresco, there is a figure in Tiberio's manner, of S. Emiliano in episcopals, with a nun in prayer, near him. The rest of the space is whitewashed.

There are traces of the Umbrian style of Tiberio too in a S. Martin sharing his dress on an altar to the left in the Dead House. The figures are, however, very paltry (see antea, Pietro Antonio).

sides, a reminiscence of Spagna may be discovered. At S. Francesco of Montefalco, where Tiberio painted a fresco of the Madonna between two saints in 1510, and in the Cappella delle Rose at S. Fortunato in the same town, where he left five scenes from the life of S. Francis in 1512, he is more Peruginesque, yet emptier and more lifeless than at Trevi.[1] He is more successful in a full sized S. Sebastian on a pilaster, rude and mechanical though it be, in the same edifice. A couple of angels attending a Virgin and child, with saints, in the Cappella S. Girolamo at S. Domenico near Assisi, reminds one again of Vannucci, whilst the Madonna brings us back to the manner of the so-called Ingegnos. Amongst the saints, S. Chiara is striking as a mere copy of a figure by Simone Martini in the chapel of Cardinal Gentile at S. Francesco of Assisi.[2] The incidents from the life of S. Francis, repeated in 1518 in the Cappella delle Rose at S. Maria degli Angeli near Assisi, give no higher idea of Tiberio,[3] and other productions to which his name might be attached are only to be registered for

[1] Note the pilaster and border of this fresco. Note also the ornamentation of the throne, and the defective drawing of the extremities in S. Andrew (beard and hair in part renewed). The figures have no relief and the shadows are of a dull red; the outlines sharp and wiry. On the pilaster to the left are the words: "Mãi Francesco Everillus salvatus Augusti", and on the border: ".pus fecit fieri familia Agusti de Montefalco die XV mensis novembris AD. MCCCCCX. Tiberiũ de assisio pix". Looking carefully at this piece it suggests the probability that Tiberio should be the executant of a Virgin, and child, and four saints (No. 146) in the Berlin gallery, attributed there to Perugino.

In the chapel of the Roses at S. Fortunato, an Eternal and seraphs in the ceiling are a feeble imitation of Perugino. The following inscription authenticates the frescos: "Gratia dei bẽi factum hoc opus ad MCCCCCXII. XX. die maii impẽsis chili seide S. Sebastiani pro aia sua suorum et defunctorum. Tiberius de Assisis pinxit".

[2] The Virgin adores the infant recumbent on her lap. Two angels kneel at her sides. Two others hang the crown over her head. To the left are SS. Bernardino and S. Jerom, right, SS. Francis and Chiara, and a female in black, in prayer. On the border are the words: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Galeottus de Bistocchis de Assisi A.D. MDXVII. die V° Septem." The Virgin is like that assigned to Ingegno on the arch of S. Antonio (road to Moiano). In the same chapel are a S. Sebastian and a S. Roch, inferior to the foregoing, inscribed: "Facta fare de Sãtorilio da Cãpello MDXXII. by Tiberio or one of his school.

[3] This part of the chapel is by

the sake of history.[1] The latest dates connected with Tiberio are of 1521 and 1524. In 1521, Fiorenzo and he appraise for Giacomo di Gherardo of Città della Pieve.[2] In 1524, he receives payment for the arms of Clement the Seventh, on some monument at Assisi.[3]

Three authentic pictures by Sinibaldo Ibi mark him as one of the feeblest of the followers of the Perugi-nesque school, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. At Gubbio, where he was in company with Orlando of Perugia,[4] he finished the Virgin and child between SS. Sebastian and Ubaldo, in 1507, for one of the cathedral altars. Without any powers to justify his pretensions, he affects to rival the grace of Pinturicchio, and the tender-

another hand than that already described near the altar. Close to the door facing the latter, one reads: "Hoc opus gratia Dei consumatū fuit AD. MCCCCCXV. . ." Mezzanotte gives the date as 1518 and adds the name: "Tiberius de Assisis pinxit," which is now absent. (Life of Perugino, p. 237.) The person who painted the portion here alluded to, is obviously Tiberio;—who chose for subjects: 1. the Preaching of S. Francis and Publication of the Indulgence; 2. S. Francis in the midst of roses before a Pope and his suite of cardinals; 3. Christ and the Virgin in glory, and S. Francis below, offering roses at an altar; 4. S. Francis naked amongst thorns (lower part new); 5. S. Francis between two angels (much injured). A lunette above the altar, with S. Francis and his companions, seems also by Tiberio as well as an Eternal (injured) in the ceiling.

[1] In the cappella S. Antonio at S. Francesco of Assisi is an altar-piece of the Crucifixion, four waiting angels, SS. Liberius (?), Anthony the abbot, Francis and Chiara, a flat and wire drawn picture by Tiberio (figures life size). In the gallery of Perugia, two Crucifixes (No. 205. 208) are classed as productions of the fifteenth century, and are probably by Tiberio. Eight lunettes with scenes from the life of the Virgin in S. Anna of Foligno seem by the same hand as well as several frescos on the walls of the church of S. Simone, on the road to Bettona. Mariotti mentions a Nativity and a Majesty signed: "Tiberius de Assisis p. p. MD XVIII", near Murelli, outside the suburbs of Perugia (Lett. ub. sup. 209—10).

[2] In this record he is called Tiberius Diotalevi de Assisis. Mariotti, ub. sup. 210.

[3] This notice is taken from a sketch of the life of Dono Doni in Archivio stor. ub. sup. ser. 3. No. 40. Oct. 1865, by Antonio Cristofani. From the same source we learn that Tiberio's brother Diosebio was also a painter.

[4] Orlando is noticed as the companion of Sinibaldo Ibi at Gubbio in a register of expenses of the fraternity of S. M. de' Laici (Libro di Amministrazione. 1504 to 1509. p. 91). In the "Libro delle Reformazione del Comune di Gubbio, 1502 to 1506. p. 106" Orlando's reception of the right of city at Gubbio is registered (see antea as to a banner in S. Croce, and in Pinturicchio, as to a Nativity in the Duomo of Gubbio).

ness of Raphael, but the result is altogether poor. His infant Christ is wooden. His S. Sebastian totters on the floor, and S. Ubaldo is a caricature of Manni. Mechanical outlines and dark strips of shadow, insufficient to relieve a flat red tone of flesh, are prominent faults.[1]

It is puzzling to be asked to assign to the same hand a Virgin of Mercy in the collection of the Marquis Ranghiasci at Gubbio, a canvass banner in which Raphael is imitated with a certain success and with much of the character peculiar to Timoteo Viti.[2] We revert to the more certain inferiority of Ibi in an enthroned Virgin, child, and saints of 1524, originally in a church on one of the islands of the Thrasimene lake, and now in the left transept at S. Francesca Romana at Rome,[3] and in

[1] On the border of a conical canopy above the Virgin's head is the date: "AD. MCCCCCVII", and on the sides of the Virgin's throne: "Sinibaldus Perusinus pinsit hoc hopus sexto Kalendas Octobri". Two angels kneeling on clouds at the sides of the canopy are full of Peruginesque affectation. The same is apparent in S. Sebastian on the right of the throne holding a dart. S. Ubaldo, in episcopals, is a grotesque caricature of the manner in which Manni details the human features. On the arms of the throne are the words: "Hieronimus de . . ntivolus p. p. p̃lo et Madalēn soŕi sue".

[2] This piece is very superior to the foregoing. If proved to be by Sinibaldo, it would be his best work. The angels above the Virgin, holding festoons, are quite Raphaelesque (one of them is mutilated), and that on the left supporting the Virgin's mantle, is reminiscent of Spagna (that on the right scaled away). In the foreground kneel eight figures in white under the Virgin's cloak. The Virgin herself has a pleasant round head; the child is outlined also in good curves. It is said that this is the banner of the brotherhood of the Laici for which there is a record that Ibi had the commission in August 1509, after he had, in 1504, painted a banner for the same community representing also the Virgin of Mercy on one side, and S. Ubaldo on the other (see MS. Vol. di amministrazione della Fraternità di S. M. de' Laici. 1504 to 1509, Aug. 1509, p. 91, in the archive of Gubbio, in which the commission to Ibi is contained).

[3] It was originally in S. Secondo, on the Isola Polvese, afterwards in the church of S. Antonio Abate at Perugia, and in 1813 carried away (Mariotti, Lett. 202; Mezzanotte 282.) It is now in S. Francesca Romana, at Rome, not dated 1532 (Passav. Raph. I. 520, and Gaye, Kunstblatt, No. 86. 1836), but signed as follows on the front of the pedestal of the Virgin's throne: "Sinibaldus Perusinus pinsit MDXXIIII". The picture is high up, above a door, in the left transept of the church (wood, oil), figures half life size, much cleaned and overpainted. It is defective in drawing and without relief. A lunette of the Eternal, once above it, is missing. The saints at the Virgin's sides are four in number, including S. John the Baptist; and the head of that on the extreme right is repainted.

an Annunciation of 1528, lately preserved in the Audience of the Notaries at Perugia.[1] Less authentic, though in his mode, are the Madonna and saints of 1510 in the hall of the Confraternita di S. Agostino,[2] the Virgin and child between SS. Peter, Catherine, Agatha, and Paul in S. Agostino,[3] other subjects in the Gallery of Perugia;[4] and a Virgin enthroned between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, the kneeling Francis, and Bernardino, in the convent of nuns of S. Bernardino at Orvieto.[5]

Sinibaldo Ibi is noted in the guild of Perugia, and was one of the voters of a hundred at an election in 1527.[6] He may claim to fill a space in the chronology of Italian artists like that held at the same period by Berto di Giovanni.

A curt entry in the register of taxes at Perugia proves that the latter was a householder in 1497. He made pennons for the trumpeters of the Magistracy in 1501, with Fiorenzo and Eusebio; is noticed in a record of 1507, and in documents of 1511—13 as companion in art to Domenico di Paris Alfani.[7] In 1516, the nuns of S.

[1] This panel passed into the hands of Signor V. Bertelli, and is now deposited in the Perugia gallery under No. 160. It is much injured, has inky shadows, and is said (our notes are mislaid) to bear the inscription: "Scribarum impensa, Sinibaldo Perusino pictore fiebat opus ex archetipo veniens MDXX", and on the base of the desk, before the Virgin:

"MDXXVIII".

(Mariotti 203—5).

[2] Virgin and child enthroned in a court between SS. Augustin and Sebastian. On a hexagonal step the date: "AD. MCCCCCX" (wood, oil), now under the name of Manni in the Perugia gallery, not numbered. The piece is not without character akin to Manni's, but of a lower class. The Virgin, in an exaggerated movement, is Peruginesque, the child very heavy and square, the S. Sebastian affecting a mannered pose, and wooden, the S. Augustin paltry and short. Colour flat, pale yellow;—drapery common.

[3] Wood, oil. On the step one reads: "AD. M.CCCCCVIIII. L. A. S. I. . The last letters are like those in the Adoration of the Magi by Eusebio (see antea). The picture is light and unrelieved, more like Manni or Eusebio than Ibi.

[4] Perugia gallery. No. 66. S. Francis (wood, oil), of a pleasing, but flat tone. No. 129. Virgin, child and two saints, cold, poor and injured.

[5] Wood, oil, well preserved. The figures are short, the head round, and the group of Virgin and child reminiscent of the Raphaelesque. Ibi is perhaps the author of the copy of Perugino's Marseilles altarpiece in the Castelbarco gallery at Milan.

[6] Mariotti Lett. 205.

[7] Mariotti 205. 206. 232. 242.

Maria di Monteluce near Perugia, renewed an old contract with Raphael for a Coronation of the Virgin, agreeing to pay him 120 ducats on the arrival of the panel from Rome in 1517, and binding Berto di Giovanni to furnish the frame and predella for 80 ducats.[1] It is historical that Raphael was unable to fulfil his promise to the nuns, and that the contract was not carried out till 1525, by Giulio Romano and Penni. Disappointed in 1517 by the neglect of Raphael, it would appear that the nuns employed some one to furnish a Coronation to take the place intended for Raphael's. At all events, there is a representation of the subject in a poor style, reminiscent of Ibi and Manni, on the altar once occupied by that of Giulio Romano and Penni in S. Maria di Monteluce.[2] It is dated July 25. 1517, and seems by the same hand as a S. John Evangelist in Patmos at S. Giuliana of Perugia.[3] At the foot of the altarpiece of S. Giuliana is a predella with various subjects: two female saints, a S. John Evangelist, a Martyrdom in a caldron, and a miracle. The style displayed in these small works is more modern than that in the figure of the Evangelist in Patmos above it.

When the Coronation originally ordered of Raphael was brought from Rome to S. Maria di Monteluce in 1525, the predella, including the Nativity, Presentation, Marriage, and Death of the Virgin, was delivered, it

[1] The whole contract in Bianconi, Opere. Milan. 1802. Vol. IV. p. 52, is reprinted in Passav. ub. sup. Raphael. II. 382 and foll[s].

[2] The Virgin is crowned on a high throne, at the sides of which are SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Augustin (?) and Paul, SS. Jerom and Francis kneeling in front. On the throne step: AD. M.DXVII die XXV Julii. The forms are not pleasing, and there is no relief. The drawing is mechanically careful, but faulty. The flat colour shaded with grey, is a hard light red. The style recalls Manni and Ibi. Mezzanotte attributes the picture to Domenico Alfani (p. 252).

[3] Now Perugia gallery No. 16. Same manner as the Coronation, of slight colour and done at one painting. The figure of S. John is grotesque, ill proportioned and badly drawn. Wood, oil. The Eternal looks down from a lunette. The original drawing for the Evangelist, by the same hand as the picture, is in the Royal collection at Stockholm, under the name of Raphael (from the Crozat collection).

may be presumed, by Berto who had contracted for it. This predella, dated 1525, is like a production of a later Raphaelesque, of a red-brown colour with strong shadows. It betrays the hand of one in the same relation, as Bagnacavallo is proved to have been, to Raphael; but it is curiously like the predella of the S. John Evangelist in Patmos at S. Giuliana of Perugia. Are we to infer that the painter of the Evangelist and of the Coronation of 1517, who at that time imitated Ibi and Manni, is the same who, in the interval between that date and 1525, changed to a more lively and modern Raphaelesque manner? These questions must remain open for the present. It may be necessary in the meantime to note that an Eternal and a Virgin in the Naples Gallery, which seem fragments of one altarpiece, resemble in execution the Coronation of 1517 at Monteluce.[1] We thus know but little really of Berto di Giovanni; and the only additional fact connected with his life is that he laboured for the magistrates of Perugia in 1520, and was of the Perugian guild.[2] His son Jerom is in its register also from 1523 to his death in 1543.[3]

Turning for awhile from the consideration of works by native Perugians, we shall not find a less remarkable extension of the influence of Perugino and Pinturicchio in Francesco of Città di Castello, or Thifernate, who reminds us in an Annunciation at S. Domenico of that place, of the class which Ibi represents, with longer proportions in the human frame, and draperies of more unnatural festoon.[4] A similar subject in the sacristy of the cathe-

[1] Naples Museum. No. 284. (wood, oil, life size) represents the Eternal in a glory of rays and seraphs (four) with a crown in his hands, wooden in form, raw in colour. Not numbered (wood, oil), in addition, Virgin, half length, also with a crown in her hand. These two pieces, by a pupil of Perugino, exhibit the same style of art as the S. John and Coronation of Monteluce of 1517.

[2] Mariotti 207.

[3] Orsini. life of Perugino ub. sup. note to p. 294.

[4] This picture (wood, oil, figures almost life size) hangs in the choir of S. Domenico. On the front of the floor one reads: "Franciscus Thifer". Francesco is a low class Umbrian painter, whose colours are given with high body, and slightly glazed, the tone being generally a little red. The outlines

dral,[1] and a Virgin, child, and saints in the convent church of Tutti Santi,[2] a Virgin and angel annunciate belonging to Signor Mancini,[3] all in Città di Castello, betray an effort to mingle the Peruginesque with the grace of the youthful Raphael, whilst now and then a fibre as of Signorelli may be traced.

A far more interesting and able man in this class is Gerino of Pistoia, whose education in an Umbrian atelier produced an art of a Peruginesque stamp. His character is cleverly drawn by Vasari, who says that he was a friend of Pinturicchio, a diligent colourist, and a follower of Vannucci.[4] When he did the Virgin of Succour at S. Agostino of Borgo S. Sepolcro in 1502, he might already be considered a fair copyist of his master as regards type and proportion, drawing, and colour;[5] and there is no reason to doubt that his talents were valued at that time and in that spot beyond those of others, as the remains of frescos about cotemporary with the Virgin of Succour still testify. Of these some are preserved in

which are also red, are broken and angular. The Virgin, strained in movement, has a long thin head curiously dressed in tresses. The hands are drawn and cramped in the Umbrian fashion. The angels in flight, at the sides of the Eternal in benediction, are obese in face, the cherubs in the glory round headed.

[1] This Annunciation is represented in an interior (wood, oil, figures half life size, injured). There is great affectation in the forms which are imitated without success from those of Raphael's early time. The faces betray an effort to realize something in the mode of Signorelli.

[2] The subjects of this arched altarpiece are the Annunciation in a lunette, and the Virgin and child between SS. Augustin, Catherine, Francis and Nicholas. There is a Peruginesque turn in the figure of the angel annunciate. The infant in the lower composition gives the ring to S. Catherine. The attempt to approach, in these and other figures, the grace of Raphael is singularly unsuccessful. The outlines are hard, the colour dry, but the careful execution, especially of hair and beard, would not be unworthy of Timoteo Viti.

[3] This panel, assigned by some to Signorelli, is said also to have been part of Raphael's Dudley House Crucifixion, if so, by another hand (wood, oil).

[4] Vasari. V. 276.

[5] This is a canvass. It represents as usual the Virgin, erect, saving a child from the grasp of Satan, and threatening the evil Spirit with a stick, whilst the mother kneels on the left, in prayer (life size figures). The flesh of the child is bleached by exposure, and the drawing is bared, but there is no restoring. On the border one reads: "Hoc opus pisit Gerinus pistorensis MCCCCCII".

a passage leading to the sacristy of the Pieve,[1] and others are visible, though rapidly yielding to the effects of time, in a tabernacle at Fonte Secca di Borgo, outside the Porta Nuova of Borgo S. Sepolcro.[2] In his fresco at the Pieve, which represents S. Barbara and a couple of other saints, he leaves the impression as of a tolerably gifted artist, partial to warm tones, more nearly related to Perugino than to Pinturicchio. In the tabernacle, the fine contours of an erect Virgin and child between SS. Sebastian and Roch, give an idea of his power as an imitator of young Raphael and of Perugino. Without further inquiry, one might say of Gerino in consideration of these efforts that he was a second-rate Peruginesque, heading Manni and Eusebio, but inferior to Spagna.

In 1505, he is employed in the cathedral of his native city,[3] and in 1509 he furnishes for the neighbouring church of S. Pietro Maggiore an altarpiece of the Virgin, child, and saints, that may still be seen there. Years have elapsed since he frequented the atelier of Perugino, and in the interval he has altered. The weight and breadth of the head in his figures become more conspicuous; the frames are smaller, and the draperies are more paltry. His art is thus more akin to Pinturicchio's; but his drawing, and the soft fusion of rich and juicy tones disclose an increased tendency to study Raphael's early creations.[4] This mixture of Perugino, Pinturicchio,

[1] Vasari mentions these without giving the subjects (V. 276). S. Barbara holds a tower, and near her, on the foreground, is a saint wielding a sword. The other fragment represents a canonized cardinal and a friar in white. Vasari also speaks of a Circumcision by Gerino (wood, oil) in the Compagnia del buon Gesù at Borgo S. Sepolcro, but it is missing (Vas. V. 276).

[2] This fresco is likely soon to disappear. Is it that described by Vasari (V. 276) as "Sulla Strada che va ad Anghiari"?

[3] The payment for a figure of S. Zeno above the door of the Duomo, near the Campanile, is in Gualandi, under date: August 18. 1505 (Memorie. ub. sup. ser. 6. p. 35).

[4] Under a dais like those of Pinturicchio, the Virgin sits enthroned with the naked infant Christ erect on her lap. On the left stand a youthful figure in armour, and Saint Peter, on the right, SS. Paul and John the Baptist (figures all but life size). In a predella is Christ between the twelve apostles. On a "cartellino," on the step of the throne, one reads: "hoc opus fecit Gerinus Pistoriensis

and Raphael is most striking in the Last Supper at S. Onofrio of Florence, attributed by so many critics to Vannucci and Sanzio; and it is not unlikely that Gerino with other pupils of Vannucci should have had a share in its execution. He produces, indeed, something like it in the frescos of S. Lucchese near Poggibonsi. He laboured in the convent of that name about 1513, and two scenes from the life of Christ with that date and his signature are preserved in a refectory, now turned to the profane uses of a canteen. They are hastily done, of strong colour, and mannered in drawing, though still Peruginesque, and showing the gradual descent of Gerino into the slough of conventionalism and ease.[1] In later years, a fresco of S. Agatha and S. Eulalia, (1520), in S. Paolo, and a Coronation of the Virgin on the first staircase of the Palazzo della Comunità, at Pistoia strongly show the feeble side of his character.[2] He is less Peruginesque and more Florentine,

MCCCCCVIIII". There is no balance of light and shade. The saint in armour has a round Peruginesque head, similar in this particular to those of the Virgin and child, and of S. Paul. The face of S. Peter is pinched and small (injured by old restoring). The picture has been recently cleaned, but remains in its old gilt frame.

See for a panel in the style of the above a so-called Perugino in the gallery of Count Sergei Stroganoff at S. Petersburg (antea, Perugino p. 253).

[1] In one arch is Christ amongst the apostles, and raising one of them who kneels before him, all in a landscape (figures less than life size). In another is the Miracle of the loaves and fishes. On a border in which are a Virgin and child, and a S. Francis, one reads: "Hoc opus pinsit Gerinus Pistoriensis. 1513". The whole of the remains is much injured.

In the church of the fortress of S. Lucchese (on an altar to the right) is a panel, in tempera, representing the Noli me tangere with the Eternal above in a circular glory, and in a border, (in rounds) SS. Francis and Anthony the abbot. This piece is scaled in many places. It reminds one somewhat of Lorenzo di Credi, but it may be by Gerino or one of his school.

[2] The two saints are little below life size, of a dull reddish flesh tone; inscribed: "Jacopo di Cristofano Donzello de Sinnioria a fatto fare questo altare per sua devotione. 1520". The character of the figures is more than ever small, the handling like that of a later picture at the Uffizi in Florence. In the fresco of the Coronation, SS. Appollonia and Eulalia kneel at the sides of the foreground.

A wall painting on one of the altars to the right, in S. Andrea of Pistoia has recently been uncovered. (It had been partially concealed by a canvass of more modern date.) It is much repainted, but exhibits something of Gerino.

but weak as a draughtsman, and no longer charming by richness of tint. The Virgin with saints of 1529, originally in the Convento di Sala at Pistoia, and now in the Uffizi, exhibits the progress of this final change more clearly still. The Perugian element is not entirely eradicated, but nearly so, and the tints are grey and dull. One could hardly tell, indeed, how the same Gerino should produce a piece so totally different from that of 1502.[1] But the history of this gradual transformation teaches us that a man of second-rate powers may in his youth, and at a good school, be respectable in works which he no longer equals when he has lost the spur of rivalry and the advantage of daily studying the examples of a great master.

Without the feeling of Gerino for colour, but influenced in a certain measure by Pinturicchio and Vannucci, Giovanni Battista of Faenza, or Bertucci, as he is more commonly called, now claims a place in the class with which we are busied.[2] At bottom, Bertucci inherits the technical handling, the dull opacity of tone and the rigidity of Palmezzano; but he also has a local stamp with some Umbrian sentiment; and his pictures are kindred of others by uncertain artists at Faenza.[3] The earliest of these is a Virgin and child enthroned between two kneeling saints, in the Pinacoteca of Faenza, an assemblage of poor dry figures of pale brown grey tone in flesh, by

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Subject: the Crucifixion (Christ in wood) with many saints; in a lunette, the Resurrection. A S. James in S. M. dell' Umiltà is also assigned to Gerino (Tolomei, Guida, p. 93, and Tigri, Guida, p. 217). It is a canvass, dated: "MD".

[1] Uffizi, No. 41. Virgin, and child between SS. James, Cosmo, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, Roch, and Dominick, inscribed: "Gerinus Antonii de Pistorio pinsit 1529". This picture, originally in the convent di Sala, was exchanged for the Uffizi with a picture by Rosselli (Tolomei, Guida, p. 176). There is a reminiscence of Fra Paolino of Pistoia mingled with the old Peruginesque character in this picture.

[2] Giovanni Battista is not to be confounded with a later painter of the same name, for whom see Bottari, Raccolta in vol. 7. pp. 98 and 104.

[3] Of these see a catalogue in the Calendario Faentino.

a precursor of Bertucci;[1] the next a Nativity with saints, and a Flight into Egypt in the distance, in the same Gallery, equally careful in finish, but combining the same sort of poverty in forms and colour as the previous example, with something Peruginesque in the faces.[2] An Adoration of the Magi in this collection follows, and exhibits more of Bertucci's character, being on a level in value with two frescos of saints in niches in the sacristy of the Servi at Faenza. The latter, however, though lean and slight, are not without dignity, and have a mixed Florentine and Umbrian air.[3] A Christ on the road to Golgotha, and a Pietà, bright wall paintings removed from the refectory into the cloister of the Michelline of Faenza, are conceived in the Umbro-Peruginesque style, but not without expression or life in the features and action of the thinly built personages. The art is akin to Gerino's and not improbably Bertucci's.[4] Two Madonnas of the school might be named in the Communal Gallery at Forlì and in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.[5] We come upon Bertucci with certainty in a "Majesty" inscribed and dated 1506, in the Municipal Gallery of Faenza. It is remarkable for tenuity in the engraved outlines, for the length and leanness, as well as overweighted head, of the figures, for the hardness of the drapery, and the redness of the flesh tones. In a lunette, the Eternal glances downward upon the portico, in the arches of which two angels,

[1] Wood, figures one third the size of life.

[2] Much damaged and partly renewed in the draperies. It is catalogued amongst Bertucci's works. The child lies on the ground with the youthful Baptist near it; the Virgin and S. Joseph in adoration at its head and feet. On the sides, SS. Jerom, John, and Bernardino (wood, oil). A piece has been added to the bottom of the panel.

[3] These saints are in niches with scolloped semi-domes. They are in fresco and of life size. One is the beato Enea with a cross, a lily, and a book; the other is the beato Giacomo Bertoni with joined hands. Both are in friar's dress. The necks and hands are thin and small.

[4] The figures in these fragments are one quarter of life size.

[5] At Forlì, the half length Virgin and child are attributed to one Giovanni Battista de Rusitis, by whom it is said there are inscribed works in existence.

In the Borghese gallery the Virgin and child (No. 34) is assigned to Perugino, but is probably by Bertucci.

in the Umbrian mould of Perugino and Pinturicchio, hang the crown of heaven above the Virgin's head. Two more hold up the drapery of her cloak as she stands erect with the child in her arms. In front of her, two boys of slight proportions have each a foot on the step of her pedestal, one to the left looking up with joined hands, the other playing a mandoline.[1] Other pieces of the same sort, in which the rigidity of the Forlivese school is apparent, adorn the Gallery, ex. gr. two panels with SS. Hypollitus and Romualdo, Benedict and Lawrence in couples;[2] a Baptist in the desert,[3] a Magdalen in a landscape,[4] in all of which the colour reminds one of Palmezzano's for its flatness, rawness, and cold shadows; whilst the method of rendering form and drapery unites Umbrian peculiarities with the angularity of Cotignola. With such things before us, we cannot assign to any one else but Bertucci the Adoration of the Magi in the Berlin Museum, which has been catalogued under Pinturicchio's name, and the Glorification of the Virgin in the National Gallery attributed to Spagna. The first was commissioned for the Manzolini family in S. Caterina of Faenza;[5] the second was for a time in the Ercolani collection at Bologna. The Adoration is composed and drawn after the fashion of Pinturicchio's Siennese works, but tinted like Bertucci's, and filled with figures of his tenuous outline. The Glorification is still more remarkable.[6] The Virgin and child are not un-

[1] The altarpiece is 6 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 8½. On a "cartellino" are the words: "Jōanes Baptista de Favētia pīsit ano domini 1506".

[2] Size, 4 feet 4 by 1 foot 9 inches. The colour of strong impasto, unglazed, like the works of Panetti of Ferrara.

[3] The movement, pose and drapery quite like those of Pinturicchio; — size, 3 feet 7½ by 1 foot 10 inches.

[4] Same size and appearance as the foregoing. In the same gallery is a fragment (wood) inclosing a round of the Virgin and child by a local painter imitating Pinturicchio and Spagna, and the youth of Raphael.

[5] Vermiglioli, Vita di Pinturicchio; p. 28. The picture is No. 132, in the Berlin Museum (wood, oil). The style of drawing, cast and detail of drapery, value of local tone, and technical execution, are all like those of Bertucci's Virgin of 1506.

[6] No. 282. National gallery, purchased from the collection of Lord Orford at Wolverton, same style and handling as at Berlin and Faenza.

like Pinturicchio's in the altarpiece of 1508 at S. Andrea of Spello; but the two infant angels on the marble platform below are in the spirit of those placed by Bertucci in his picture of 1506. The glassy raw tones are likewise similar to those of the Faventine who jumbles in a lifeless cento, Pinturicchio, Spagna, and Palmezzano.

The spread of Perugian art was not confined, however, to Umbria or the Marches. To the South it went as far as Naples; to the North it touched the Alps.

In the refectory of S. Maria la Nuova at Naples, an Umbrian composer, with slight power as a draughtsman or a colourist, has bequeathed to us a whole series of frescos, which by some strange caprice or error have been given to the Donzelli. In a lunette, the Virgin receives the crown from the Redeemer, in the midst of angels. In a lower course, the Virgin and child are adored by the Magi, in the presence of a numerous suite; and saints of the Franciscan order kneel or stand at the sides of the principal scene. Beneath this, the Annunciation, and the Nativity fill the compartments at the side of a door. The spirit of the composition is that of Pinturicchio, the treatment as rude as anything produced by Tiberio d'Assisi.[1] But the artist is neither of these. His hand, or at least that of one intimately connected with him is to be found in a more hasty and unskilfully treated Pietà, with an Adoration of the Magi, and numerous medallions beneath it, an altarpiece in a chapel of the convent-church of Liveri, two miles from Nola. Some of the figures seem repetitions of those in the Adoration at Naples, the style of drawing and the colouring being equally, if not more, defective. The interest of this panel is great, because a

[1] The fresco is injured. A large flaw cuts a portion of the Virgin and child in the Adoration; and the drapery of the kneeling king is repainted. There is also a vertical flaw in the Nativity. Amongst the kneeling friars at the sides of the adoration are (left) SS. Francis, Bernardino, and Anthony of Padua; (right) S. Buonaventura and others. Dominici who describes these wall-paintings, has discovered that the head of the third king is a portrait of Alphonso the II.! The character and mould of the slender figures are ugly, the outlines hard and black, the colour brown, red, sombre, and flat.

"cartellino" on the right hand foreground bears the words: "Magister Franciscus T . I . . . . . us pinxit M.D.XXV. L." If it could be supposed that in Francesco's shop the Adoration was carried out with the help of assistants, it might be inferred that he in person executed the frescos of S. Maria la Nuova at Naples. Yet, it may be also that Francesco is but the pupil or aid of the author of the frescos, who proves himself by his work to be of Umbrian origin.[1] But the altarpiece at Liveri is not solitary. Another in the same church is devoted to the Virgin, child, angels, and saints, with a crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and Evangelist in a lunette, and eight incidents from the life of S. Barbara in a predella. On a "cartello" at the foot of the central panel are the words: "Dspũm a franc° Tollentinate factũ posuit simulacrum ab ĩmanato Deo 1530."[2] A second is a Virgin and child between two saints, with the Resurrection in a lunette, and apostles in a predella, on the pilasters of which is the inscription: "Jacopo Pastore de Montefusculo pinxit, año dñi M.CCCCCXLIIII."[3] A third, in the same shape, is devoted to SS. Zachariah and Elizabeth, between SS. John the Baptist and James of Compostella, with an Annunciation in a lunette, and three scenes in a predella.[4] In the two latter the style is a coarse derivation from that of Francesco of Tolentino, but taking its rise at an Umbrian source, and of a class in which Gio-

[1] The second and third king are similar in appearance and movement to those in the Naples fresco. The colour is flat, brown red, and of a hard thin texture. The lights and shadows are hatched, and betray want of practise in handling oil medium. The outlines are black. The drawing is poorer, however, than at S. M. la Nuova. In the border medallions are the Messiah between SS. Guarinus and Peter, Paul and Bernard.

[2] This altarpiece is in a great measure repainted. In the central panel, the infant Christ takes cherries from the young Baptist; and two angels hang the crown over the Virgin's head. At the sides are SS. Anthony the abbot and Barbara.

[3] The Resurrection is greatly damaged. The saints at the Virgin's sides are Benedict and Jerom.

[4] The predella, which is almost gone, represents the Nativity, Resurrection, and Adoration of the Magi.

vanni de Monte Rubiano has already found a place. That class is headed by Vincenzo Pagani of Monte Rubiano, to whom a Peruginesque "Holy Family with saints" miscalled Crivelli, in S. Francesco of Monte Santo Pietrangeli near Fermo, may be assigned,[1] and Cola dell' Amatrice, who apes Raphael and Michael Angelo.

An ill taught Northern painter upon whom Perugino left a clear impression is Franciscus Verlas, whose "Virgin, child, and angels" in the Brera at Milan is dated 1511. Without feeling or life, Verlas reminds one of Vannucci in his angels, whilst his Virgin and child are like those produced by the later followers of Mantegna.[2] He is still more Peruginesque in a marriage of S. Catherine dated 1512, at Schio near Vicenza. The Eternal in benediction, in a lunette, is fairly though flatly imitated, the children are drawn in the puffy Umbrian mode of Gerino of Pistoia.[3] The chiesa dell'Ospitale in which this altarpiece is preserved, seems to have been decorated almost entirely with frescos by the same hand.[4] A later

[1] Ricci (Painters of the Marches ub. sup. I. p. 210), assigns this picture to Crivelli. It is an altarpiece in courses with the Holy Virgin, child, and young Baptist in the centre, between SS. Anthony of Padua and Peter, Francis and Sebastian. In an upper course, the Pietà between SS. Lawrence and a bishop, Bernardino and Catherine. In pinnacle rounds, the Eternal between four saints. Predella. Christ between the twelve apostles (wood, oil). This piece shows a derivation from Perugino and recalls Eusebio in type and character. It has the same stamp as Pagani's authentic works of 1507 at Pausola, and 1529 at Sarnano; as others in the cathedral, and S. Giovanni, as frescos in S. Liberata, of Macerata, as a picture in S. Francesco of the Minorites at Massa.

[2] Milan, Brera, No. 231, signed: "Francischus Verlas MDXI.", on canvass, of a grey and opaque tone.

[3] Chiesa dell'Ospitale. Canvass, oil, inscribed on a card, on the step of the throne: "Franciscus Verlus de Vicentia pinxit die XX. Junii MDXII". The Virgin sits under a throne festooned with fruit. S. Catherine, to the left, receives the ring; near her, S. Lucy and another female. To the right S. Joseph with an infant holding the hem of his dress, and S. John the Baptist by him. The Eternal, in a lunette, is attended by two angels. The latter is quite Peruginesque, of a cold flat, but rosy tone. The Virgin and S. Catherine have coarse round heads; the children are grotesquely puffy. The forms and drapery generally are Umbrian. But the picture, in its pilaster and border adorned with patterns and gambols of infants, is much injured.

[4] One side of the nave contains a series of panelled frames filled

instance of Verlas' third rate adaptation of Perugino is a canvass of the Virgin, child, and saints, dated 1517, in the parish church of Sarcedo near Thiene (province of Vicenza).[1] Another, equally characteristic though unauthenticated by a signature, is the Madonna and saints in the church of Velo by Thiene, in which the drawing is taken from a cartoon by Vannucci; and two children at the foot of the throne are copies from the Perugino of Marseilles.[2] We shall see in a further notice of the school of Vicenza, how Speranza, a local artist, received an impress from the Umbrians, whilst Bartolommeo Montagna, in some pictures, imparts to his subjects something like a reminiscence of the Peruginesque. Having thus reconnoitred the country outside Umbria in which Vannucci's example found attraction, we revert again to Perugia, to the career of the two Caporali, of Melanzio, and the Alfani.

Bartolommeo Caporali is one of the old and inferior craftsmen whose names are found in records in connection

with scenes from the lives of the saints, and one with singing children. Beneath these are eleven half lengths of saints, male and female, in rounds. Above the arch of the tribune is Christ in benediction with SS. John and James. On the other side of the nave, the continuation of subjects similar to those first described, the whole in Verla's manner, not to be confounded with that in a canvass of the Virgin adoring the infant on her knees, between saints; a local tempera of the close of the fifteenth century.

One may note in passing as works with a local stamp, at S. Giorgio, near Velo (close to Schio) frescos of the Crucifixion, Nativity, Resurrection, S. George and the dragon, and four Evangelists, in a ceiling, of the same weak class as an altarpiece representing the Virgin and child between SS. George, Anthony the abbot, Blaise and Martin, inscribed: "Hoc opus fecit fieri Bonencontrus Dam. Dñi Andree de Pione de Vello, de mēse sēptembris M CCCC otavo. (1408); all injured.

[1] The Virgin's face is round and coarse. She is attended by two angels; and cherubs show their heads around her. The saints at her sides are (from left to right) S. Christopher carrying the infant, dry, lean and repulsive, S. Jerom, a copy one should say from Perugino, SS. Roch and Sebastian (foot new). The drawing of the latter and of S. Jerom is that of a fourth rate Peruginesque. On the step of the throne is a "cartellino," on which are the words: "Franciscus Verlus de Vicentia pinxit 1517". The Virgin and angel annunciate are at the upper sides of the picture, each figure on gold ground (canvass, oil).

[2] Wood, oil. At the sides of the Virgin, SS. Anthony the abbot and Dominick.

with ordinary labours.[1] He furnished pennons for the magistrates of Perugia in 1472,[2] and contracted for an altarpiece in a chapel at S. Lorenzo in 1477.[3] He was commissioned to deliver a Madonna in 1487 for the church of S. Maria Maddalena at Castiglione del Lago,[4] and in 1499, he and Fiorenzo valued a picture by Manni.[5] The only specimen of his skill that has any claims to authenticity is that of 1487, the several parts of which are preserved in the casa parocchiale at Castiglione del Lago; consisting of a half length Virgin and child, SS. Mary Magdalen, Anthony the abbot, Roch, and four busts of angels. They are rough distempers in which some conventional affectation of grace remains, though the figures are drawn with wiry and broken outlines in a coarse and incorrect style recalling Fiorenzo and Benozzo Gozzoli, and coloured in raw and sharply contrasted tints.[6] They are akin to pieces assignable to him in competition with Lodovico de Angelis;[7] resembling a mutilated fresco removed from S. Giuliana to the gallery of Perugia,[8] a panel of 1485 at Ravenna,[9] or a Virgin and child dated 1484, in the gallery of Naples.[10] It would be justifiable, indeed, to neglect such poor creations, were it not of

[1] He is said by Mariotti (Lett. ub. sup. 82) to have been free of the Perugian guild in 1442; but this is possibly a mistake or a misprint.

[2] Ib. ib. ib.

[3] Ib. ib. ib.

[4] Ib. ib. ib.

[5] Ib. ib. ib.

[6] All on gold ground, and the distemper hatched as usual over verde ground. The infant, erect on the Virgin's lap, is draped at the hip, gives the blessing, and holds an orb in his left. The Magdalen is partly injured (right side of head). S. Anthony's is a vulgar face without brow (large flaw in the beard). There is something grotesque in the air of the S. Sebastian. The angels are less feeble. Mariotti gives the following inscription which is no longer to be seen: "Pixit Bartholomeus Caporalis de Perusio, questa opera, ano facto fare e cacciadore de Castiglione de Lago.
A. D. M.CCCCLXXXVII".
(Lett. 83—4.)

[7] No. 15. Gallery of Perugia. Subject: SS. Margaret, Anthony and Catherine (antea in Fiorenzo, note to p. 166), and Virgin, child, and saints at Corciano.

[8] Now No. 100. Gallery of Perugia (antea in Fiorenzo, note to p. 156).

[9] Triptych. of the Virgin and child between S. Peter and S. Paul (see antea in Fiorenzo, notes to p. 160).

[10] No. 106. Gallery of Naples. (Wood, tempera, on gold ground.) The Virgin holds the child erect before her, on a parapet. With her left she caresses a bird. The

advantage, to make note of them for the sake of tracing the style of Giovanni Battista Caporali,[1] the pupil of Vannucci, the plagiarist of Cesariano's translation of Vitruvius.[2]

It has been stated, without proof as far as present research can avail, that Giovanni Battista Caporali was born about 1476.[3] As an apprentice under his father, he might have witnessed the progress of the altarpiece of Castiglione del Lago; and one might expect to find in the productions of his manhood some reminiscence of the paternal manner. He went early in the 16th century (?. 1507. 1508) to Rome, where he had the personal acquaintance of Perugino, Pinturicchio, Bramante, and Signorelli, and frequented the company of Aretino.[4] It was natural that if he studied these masters collectively, he should mingle inspirations from them with those derived from his father. A fresco (of a fair class) in the semidome of S. Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome offers an example of such a mixture. It has already led to the inquiry, whether such a man as Antoniasso might not have had a share in it; one might now be led to look deeper into the secrets of its origin. The Eternal in glory, at the highest part of the semidome is Umbrian after the fashion of a follower of Bonfigli, and is attended by angels in the mould of Melozzo. S. Helen, below, adored by a kneeling cardinal, is shaped on the model of Pinturicchio, though of

Virgin's head which is small, is injured. Manner of Bartolommeo Caporali, before the period of the Castiglione panels.

[1] There is no account of Bartolommeo Caporali's death, but the will of his widow Brigida is preserved (dated 1521). It purports to be drawn up "in the dwelling of the heirs of Bartholomæus Caporalis, pictor" (Mariotti ub. sup. p. 84).

[2] We have not collated Cesariano and Caporali, but the annotators of Vasari state that the five books with notes and plans of which the latter consists, are copied from the former (annotators, Vas. VI. 58).

[3] Mezzanotte, Life of Perugino, p. 271.

[4] See antea in Perugino p. 233, and in Pinturicchio p. 292. When he published his Vitruvius in 1536 at Perugia, he sent a copy to Aretino who acknowledges it in a letter from Venice of Oct. 3. 1537, calling the painter Bitte, as Vasari does (Vas. VI. 57) and reminding him of their old relations at Rome. — See Aretino, Lettere. 8° Paris, Vol. I. p. 134. verso.

heavier build than was usual with him. In groups of soldiers to the right there are figures imitating those of Piero della Francesca and Signorelli. To the left, the nudes of men raising the cross recall Alunno, Signorelli, Pinturicchio. As to colour, the injured condition of the frescos preclude criticism. It is however possible that they should have been carried out in a great measure by such a man as the younger Caporali.[1]

There is a Virgin and saints in S. Girolamo al Seminario at Città di Castello, signed: "Hoc opus fecit Johès Bta 1492." It seems the school-work of a man who had been with Signorelli. We inquire whether this can be Caporali.[2]

In S. Salvatore, about a mile distant from Panicale, the apse still contains remnants of a Christ in majesty between SS. John the Baptist and Peter. Their forms, features and expression, the way in which they are designed, draped and coloured, are a modernized adaptation of the paltry manner of Bartolommeo Caporali at Castiglione del Lago; and the more likely to be by Giovanni Battista because they are carried out with the tricky boldness of the decorations at the Villa Passerini near Cortona.[3]

The same hand, bolder, freer and more closely following Signorelli, yet still with something of Perugino and Raphael, seems to have executed the Nativity and its lunette of the Eternal in different parts of the Duomo of Panicale.[4] The final expansion of the same style, altered by recollections of Giulio Romano and Michael Angelo, may be found in the florid handling of sixteen

[1] The general tone of these injured frescos is yellow and verde, with shadows of a coppery red. The distant landscapes in the scenes from the legend of S. Helen are very heavy. The Eternal's bewigged head looks aged and muffled in clothes after Bonfigli's fashion. (See also antea, Antoniazzo, p. 169.)

[2] See antea, school of Signorelli, p. 33.

[3] The colour is a flat dull red, but freely and slightly handled. The landscape behind the throne is retouched.

[4] Wood, oil. The principal panel on an altar to the left as you enter the Duomo, and the lunette in the sacristy.

classical subjects in the Passerini villa, where Caporali tries his hand at vehement action and muscular display, draws with a brave sort of facility and colours the wall freely with warm liquid tints.[1] The frescos of that villa afford a clue to other productions at S. M. del Calcinaio near Cortona[2] and elsewhere.[3] Caporali died about 1560.[4]

Orsini, copying from a MS. of which he neglects to indicate the age, declares that a Nativity, begun by Perugino at S. Francesco of Montefalco, was completed by his disciple Melanzio.[5] We have seen that some parts of it are from the cartoons of Vannucci, but that the handling betrays the comparative inferiority of a pupil.[6] If Melanzio could be acknowledged as the author of this fresco, we should have convincing evidence of the ease with which artists of a low class, under the orders of a

[1] The subjects are given in notes to Vasari VI. 145. Vasari says that the Passerini Villa was planned and erected by Gio. Battista Caporali (VI. 145). The villa and its frescos date previous to 1529, when cardinal Passerini died.

[2] At the high altar is a fresco of the Eternal with two angels, and a panel of the Assumption which, if not by Caporali, is in his style and perhaps done with the help of Bernabei (Papacello).

[3] Caporali executed frescos at Montemorcino, near Perugia, in 1547. There are fragments from that place at Perugia, in the house of Signor Pampaglini. A Virgin and child, a young Baptist, an Angel and Virgin annunciate; on the latter, a mutilated date: "DXX". The two first are reminiscent of Manni, the two last are more like works of Caporali. In the same house, a piece of fresco with a half length figure originally in S. Severo of Perugia, looks as if it had been painted by one in Fiorenzo's school. The frescos at Montemorcino were valued (Nov. 1547) by Lattanzio di Monte Rubiano and Dono Doni (Mariotti, Lett. 236).

[4] Caporali was Decemvir at Perugia, in 1519; and a record of 1521 relates to property left him by his mother. He dedicated his Vitruvius to the conte Bigazzini in 1532. In 1540, he was Papacello's security for the completion of certain frescos in S. Maria di Cesi, near Spoleto. In 1543, he contracted for frescos in S. M. di Monteluce which have perished. In 1549, he, Domenico di Paris Alfani, and Pompeo Cocchi valued a picture by Lattanzio di Monte Rubiano at Perugia. In 1553, he made his will; in 1560 circa, he died (Mariotti, Lett. 84. 233. 9). A picture in the Chiesa del Gesù at Perugia representing cardinal Fulvio della Corgna and other figures assigned to G. B. Caporali (Mariotti 235. Constantini 188. Mezzanotte. 272) seems too modern to be really by him.

[5] Orsini, life of Perugino, ub. sup. p. 206.

[6] See antea, Perugino pp. 246–7.

great master, can rise above an usual mediocrity. There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Melanzio who was a local painter of Montefalco, should have been subordinate to Vannucci, in one of his visits to that place. But the earliest pieces that can be attributed to this fourth rate workman prove him to have engrafted the Peruginesque methods on the older ones derived from Benozzo and Alunno. An altarpiece of 1488,[1] and a fresco of 1513 at Torrita[2] near Montefalco would confirm this opinion if they could be shown to have been originally by Melanzio. Of this there is little reason to doubt if we compare them with others of more unassailable authenticity, such as the tempera of 1498 in S. Fortunato outside Montefalco,[3] or that of 1515, at S. Leonardo in the same place.[4] The Perugian element in the first is like that observable in Tiberio d'Assisi and Bartolommeo

[1] This is a panel, in five niches, with the Virgin holding the child erect on her knees, in benediction, between SS. Sebastian and Severo, Augustin and Theresa, on gold ground. Four seraphs are placed in medallions in the spandrils. The figures, three quarters the life size, are painted poorly in tempera, of a dull yellow colour in the flesh. The heads are small and pinched, the drawing of extremities faulty. The S. Augustin seems a copy from Alunno. On the border one reads: "Depicta est ad onorem Mariæ Virginis AD. M488. die vero penultima mens. Decembris".

[2] S. Anthony the abbot is enthroned between six saints, amongst whom are SS. Roch (much injured), Francis, Anthony of Padua (all but life size). In a lunette, Christ in the tomb, bony, and still reminiscent of Gozzoli. The drawing of the S. Anthony and saints is careful, Umbrian in character, and also recalls Benozzo, the colour tending to brownish yellow. On the border: "Die 15. M513. Decembris. Lassati vitio &c."

[3] Wood, tempera, figures life size, of the Virgin and child between SS. Anthony, Bernardino, Francis, Fortunato, Louis and Severo. On a border: "Franciscus de Mõtefalco pisit 1498". The Virgin is like one by Tiberio, the infant, paltry as in Bartolommeo Caporali, the extremities incorrectly drawn. The outlines generally straight and broken, drapery Peruginesque, and the flesh of a dull sad tone, with dark shadows.

[4] The Virgin adoring the child on her knee, is enthroned under a dais, attended, above, by six angels, two of whom suspend a crown above her head. At the sides are SS. Lawrence, John the Baptist, Barbara, Anthony, and Jerom, John Evangelist, Sebastian, Francis, Louis the King, and Chiara (canvass, tempera), inscribed: "Franciscus Mël Montefalc. pinxit anno dom. millesimus quintegesimo decimo quinto die septima septembri". In the style of the foregoing. The colour is earthy yellow, with little chiaroscuro.

Caporali. In the second there is more of Tiberio and something in addition of Spagna. In each case, the result is poor and very inferior to the Peruginesque Nativity already mentioned. Nor did Melanzio, if on this occasion he distinguished himself, ever rise to the same level again, as may be testified by frescos and panels that can be attributed to him at Vecciano,[1] in S. Francesco, in the cathedral, and in S. Luminara, of Montefalco, and in the monastery of Subiaco.[2]

But it is time to close the register of men who lived on the traditions of Perugino, or his more talented apprentices, with a notice of the Alfani and their cotemporaries.

A goldsmith and architect named Paris, having lived for more than half a century in Perugia, bred his son Domenico to the profession of art;[3] and the youth contracted an intimate friendship with Raphael. He is said to have been strongly solicited by the latter to visit Rome, but in vain,[4] and Domenico was content to keep up a correspondence with his brother student, and to act as

[1] This fresco, in a chapel at Vecciano, near Montefalco, is partly damaged and altered in tone by damp and restoring. The Virgin, enthroned with the child between two angels, is reminiscent of Melanzio. In the sides of the recess in which she is depicted, are the Baptist and S. Sebastian. In the vaulting are SS. Peter and Francis. The figures are not quite devoid of feeling. Yet the drawing is defective, chiefly in the extremities. There is thick substance of reddish colour. We are reminded in this piece of an imitation of Spagna and Tiberio.

[2] At S. Francesco of Montefalco, the subject of a tavola assigneable to Melanzio, is the Virgin of Succour (life size figures), inscribed: Griseyda S. Bastiani f. f. pro aiabus dicti S. Bastiani Tarquini peritei et Franceschini A.D. MD.X. tempera. The figure of the Virgin protecting the child from Satan, is long. The drawing is straight and broken. The same subject, dated 1507, of which this seems a replica, is in S. Domenico of Montefalco.

In the cathedral of Montefalco, a lunette fresco of the Virgin, child, angel and Tobias, a saint in episcopals, and S. Sebastian, is a ruder work of the above class. In S. Luminara, a dead Christ, with the mourning Virgin and Magdalen, has the character of Melanzio, and bears an inscription closing with the date 1509. Above the portal of the same church is a Virgin of Mercy with two saints holding up her mantle, seemingly a youthful production of the same artist. For Subiaco see vol. I. of this work, note to p. 86.

[3] Mariotti, Lett. 241.

[4] We have not discovered Passavant's authority for this statement (Life of Raphael, ub. sup. I. 217).

his agent in Perugia. An undated letter is preserved in the Wicar collection at Lille, in which Raphael requests Domenico to apply to a lady of the name of Atalanta at Perugia for a debt due to him; and it has been very fairly suggested that the lady is no other than Madonna Atalanta Baglioni, for whom the Entombment in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome was finished in 1507. Some approach to certainty as to the date applicable to this epistle may be found in a drawing of the Holy Family at the back of it, the style of which points to a period little later than 1507.[1] Raphael thus repaid the small services he required from his friends at Perugia with designs which they treasured up, as we shall see, for future use.

Domenico Alfani willingly undertook, we may believe, the commissions entrusted to him, and for the rest, worshipped the style of Raphael with great and meritorious constancy. He became a registered master at Perugia in 1510;[2] painted in Berto's company pennons for trumpeters and a shield with the arms of Leo the Tenth in 1511 and 1513,[3] and gradually rose, as years went by, to the higher dignities of altarpieces. Towards middle age, having a family of natural children whom he caused to be legitimized,[4] he took his son Orazio into partnership, and they laboured in common. Nor does Orazio appear to have worked on his own account till late in life. For this reason the works of the two Alfani remained almost alike and bore the stamp of one atelier. The tendency to copy Raphael is perceptible in their pictures for years after his death, and only made way in part, at a later period, for that of Rosso who, having been hospitably treated by Alfani as he fled to Perugia from the sack of Rome in 1527, returned his kindness with advice and even with cartoons for whole altarpieces.[5] That artists

[1] The letter in full is in Pungileoni, in facsimile p. 293, and p. 79. printed.

[2] Mariotti; Lett. 241. His name in the register is: "Domenico Paridis Panderi Alfani".

[3] Ib. ib. 242.

[4] In 1520. ib. ib. 250—1.

[5] Vasari, Life of Rosso, Vol. IX. p. 73.

of so little originality should not be of first-rate talents need not be remarked. After Rosso's departure, the Alfani fell into the mannerism of the decline, and lost some of the few advantages they had possessed at first.

The earliest production of Domenico's that exists is the Virgin and child enthroned between SS. Gregory and Nicholas, a panel, in oil, with Alfani's name and the date of 1518 on the hem of the Virgin's mantle, in the Collegio Gregoriano at Perugia. It is full of Raphaelesque beauty and feeling in the principal group, which recalls Raphael's Madonna in the late Roger's collection; pleasing from the nobleness and regularity of the forms in the attendant saints, but marred by the paltriness of two angels like Victories suspending the crown over the Virgin's head, and still more so by the uniform dullness of darkly shaded and unglazed colour.[1] These distinct features are apparent in an equally fine fresco of the Virgin and child between SS. Francis and Bernardino, and two lower figures of S. Jerom and Anthony of Padua, to the right as one enters the church of S. Francesco at Bettona. The child, held on her lap by the Virgin and receiving a cross from S. Francis, is a little too weighty perhaps; and there is something strained in the grouping, but the Virgin's face is pleasing; her movement is natural, and the art displayed is derived from that of Raphael at the period of the Madonnas "della Seggiola" or "di Foligno", with some additional fleshiness in the figures and mannerism in the drawing. The draperies are generally fair, chiaroscuro sufficient, colour rosy and of good impasto.[2] Of similar interest are scenes from

[1] Wood, oil, figures life size. In the hem of the Virgin's dress, above the right foot: "MDXVIII". Above the left foot: "Domenico fece". Small figures ornamenting the throne, are quite Raphaelesque. There is also a reminiscence of Pompeo Cocchi in the head of S. Augustin. The distance of the picture is a landscape.

[2] To the right as one enters the church. The lower saints relieved on a fictive marble skirting at the sides of a real niche. Parts of the blue mantle of the Virgin are gone; and pieces of S. Francis' dress

MADONNA AND SAINTS; a picture by Domenico Alfini, in the Collegio Gregoriano at Perugia

the life of S. Anthony, altar frescos attributable to Domenico in S. Antonio Abate at Diruta.[1] A Madonna with two angels playing harp and viol, and two kneeling saints, a panel dated 1521, and signed by Alfani in the cathedral of Città della Pieve, recalls that of 1518, and is coloured in the flat reddish tone adopted by Andrea da Salerno;[2] it is the best authenticated example amongst those which the artist furnished to the churches of Perugino's birthplace.[3] In the "Virgin, child, and saints, and angels", by Domenico in the Gallery of Perugia, the Florentine element is already exhibited. The colour is glossy, yet modelled with great impasto. The figures are free in movement and of fully expanded forms, and they are moulded into a well distributed composition. But whilst one traces the gradual change to a more modern system, the influence of Raphael is still to be noticed in the infant Christ and in some of the saints.[4]

It is not till 1532 that the full expansion of the Florentine style is visible in Domenico's works. Vasari says that when Rosso stayed at Perugia he gave Alfani a cartoon for an Adoration, which the latter conveyed

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are renewed. The head of S. Anthony of Padua is injured and some of his frock scaled away. The ground of the upper subject is blue sprinkled with stars.

[1] The arched part of the wall is divided into four parts each of which contains a scene from the life of S. Anthony (much injured). Below is a statue of S. Anthony, at the sides of which are two painted figures of SS. Sebastian and Roch. There is much life and power in the work which is, no doubt, by Domenico Alfani.

[2] The altarpiece (wood, oil, figures life size) is inscribed: "Anno Domini MDXXI. Dominicus Paridis P. Perusinus pinxit". The kneeling saints at the sides are one in episcopals and Mary Magdalen. Much of the colour has scaled away.

[3] There is also an altarpiece (wood, oil, figures life size) of the Virgin between SS. Bartolommeo, Francis, Louis, and Anthony, in Alfani's Raphaelesque manner, with much repainting in the draperies, at S. Francesco of Città della Pieve, and a S. Jerom (wood, oil), in S. Agostino of the same place, a mixture of the manner of Alfani and G. B. Caporali.

[4] A foreshortened angel, above the Virgin's head, throws flowers; and two others hold up the crown. The infant is reversed from that in an altarpiece at the Carmine of Perugia, and from a drawing of Raphael, the original from which that altarpiece is done. The saints about the Virgin are Nicholas, Peter, Paul, and Lucy. On the step of the throne: "MD. XXIIII." (wood, oil, figures life size).

with success to panel.[1] This episode is to be found in an altarpiece at S. Agostino of Perugia, in which all trace of Umbrian feeling is absent;[2] but the Madonna and saints of Sta. Giuliana at Perugia bears Domenico's name with the date of 1532, and suggests the same reflections; and it is clear that as he did this piece he had abandoned the nature of a Perugian for an imitation of del Sarto, such as we recognize in the Madonnas of Rosso.[3] Our English collections are not entirely bare of illustrations of this change in Domenico. We find one in a Holy Family assigned to Perino del Vaga, in the collection of Castle Howard.[4]

In 1553, Domenico and Orazio are found joint undertakers of a Crucifixion, SS. Jerom and Appollonia, for S. Francesco of Perugia; the execution of which seems to have been left almost entirely in the hands of the younger man.[5] Of this we have the less reason to doubt, as an earlier production of Orazio is preserved in a transept of the same church. The subject is the Nativity, singular

[1] Vas. IX. 73.

[2] This piece has been assigned on no clear grounds by Orsini to Orazio whereas it is by Domenico. It shows little feeling, is composed in the Florentine fashion, and of a reddish yellow tone. Of old there was a Visitation dated, it is said, 1545, at the back of the Adoration. It is now in S. Pietro of Perugia and greatly damaged, but much in the same manner, and now without a date, unless memory be treacherous.

[3] The Virgin, on a round pedestal, with the infant erect on her knee, is attended by two infant angels in flight above her. The Evangelist, with one foot on the step of the pedestal, points to the Saviour as he looks at the spectator. S. Giuliana sits with an arm on a book, and a monster in leading strings. The composition, drawing, and drapery, suggest that the cartoon of this piece was Rosso's. The bodies are large, the heads small, the colour raw and bricky, with dark shadows. The hands are bent in M. Angelo's fashion. In the predella in five parts, scenes from the life and martyrdom of S. Giuliana are depicted;—inscribed, on the pedestal: "AD. M.D.XXXII. f. Dominicus paridis Perusinus faciebat "(figures in oil, life size, on panel).

[4] The Virgin holds the child who embraces the young Baptist, S. Joseph looking on behind, and leaning on his staff. The colour is dull, the handling mechanical. But the composition is one of the good Florentine class adapted, one should say, by Domenico Alfani (wood, oil, figures life size).

[5] The contract with both is in Mariotti; Lett. note to 247. The picture, of a reddish flesh tone, is injured; it hangs at an altar in the transept of S. Francesco. The Christ is by no means good.

for the unusual introduction of S. Anna with a basin of water, the style, a mixture of Domenico's and imitative Raphaelesque, the colour, of a monotonous and all but shadowless rosy tone. Guide-books declare that the predella, now missing, was inscribed, and bore the date of 1536.[1] The handling is similar to that of the Crucifixion between SS. Jerom and Appollonia; it proves that an altarpiece at the Carmine of Perugia, designed with slight changes from Raphael's Holy Family at Lille, and usually attributed to Domenico Alfani, cannot have been done by him, but must be considered either as a youthful production of Orazio, or of some one related to him in art. There is indeed room for uncertainty on this point. The composition is copied with the help of squares from Raphael's beautiful drawing, twelve cherubs' heads being introduced into the upper arched portion instead of three as Sanzio proposed. The execution is cold and careful, as one might expect from a young artist, the flesh but slightly shaded, and of a flat rosy yellow, laid on at one painting, the dresses, on the contrary, of thick impasto and high surface. These characteristics would suit Orazio; but on the side of a house forming part of the distance of the altarpiece, the word Anselmo is legible, and on the hem of the Virgin's dress: "O. M.DXX. Anse . . . & Meno XX." which has been interpreted, by a considerable stretch of imagination, as Anselmo Giovanni and Domenico Alfani.[2] A Martyrdom of S. Se-

[1] Now without its predella, No. 43. in the gallery of Perugia. Three angels sing behind S. Joseph, and the pastors are in the distance (wood, oil). The type and movement of the child are Raphaelesque as in the Holy Family at the Carmine (postea). The Virgin's regular features are reminiscent of Domenico's. S. Anna looks somewhat Florentine; the angels poor in form. The picture is injured and abraded (the angels particularly). A lunette, with an Eternal in it, once formed a part of the piece. It had been christened Raphael, but is neither by him, nor by Orazio. See as to the predella and its date, Costantini, Guida di Perugia; ub. sup. 303.

[2] The picture, once on an altar to the left in SS. Simone e Giuda (more commonly the Carmine) is now No. 59. in the Perugia gallery. The draperies are injured by retouching; and the violet of S. Anna's dress is repainted. Orsini, in his life of Perugino (pp. 24 and foll^{s}). enriches the catalogue of Vannucci with this work.

bastian at the Uffizi is apparently by the same hands.[1] The remaining pictures of Orazio may be left to the compass of a note.[2] After his father's death, about 1533,[3] he lived for nearly thirty years, dying at Rome in 1583, with the doubtful celebrity, attached to his name, of first president in the Academy of Perugia, founded A. D. 1573.[4]

[1] Uffizi. No. 1182. Small panel, oil. S. Sebastian, nude on the tree, and archers drawing their bows, like the same subject at Panicale. The figures are dry and lean, and remind one in some things of Signorelli's at S. Domenico of Città di Castello.

[2] Perugia. S. Francesco, altar of S. Francis (wood, oil). Virgin, child, youthful Baptist, S. Joseph, and three other saints; the colour, clear and rosy, the Virgin and child in the manner of, and imitated from, Rosso. Same church. Archangel Michael trampling on the seven sins. Perugia. S. Pietro. The Resurrection and the Assumption, two pieces in a low baroque style, by Orazio. The two rounds with miracles of SS. Peter and Paul at the sides of the high portal, are ugly and totally repainted. Perugia. Gallery. No. 140. Wood, oil. A copy from Raphael's Entombment in the Borghese Palace at Rome, washy and cold. No. 142. Adoration of the Magi, wood, oil, feeble, and injured. No. 159. Holy Family, baroque, imit. Parmegiano and Rosso. No. 132. Virgin, child, Baptist, and S. Joseph, curiously mannered, and by some follower of Raphael del Colle. Nos. 144. 5. 6. Decollation of S. Catherine, and two other subjects, are more like predella fragments by Domenico than by Orazio. No. 163. Predella, formerly under the Virgin and saints, No. 37, at the Louvre, attributed to Ingegno, like the foregoing. No. 76. Five half lengths in a lunette, from S. M. Nuova of Perugia, by Orazio. Perugia. S. M. Nuova. Sacristy. SS. Sebastian, Roch, and three children, assigned to Sebastian del Piombo, is by one of the Alfani. Perugia. Confraternita di S. Agostino. Virgin, child, SS. James, Philip, Augustin, Dominick, and Francis, a weak picture of Orazio's latest time, a caricature of the forms common in Parmegiano. Louvre. No. 26. Marriage of S. Catherine, dated 1548, originally in S. Francesco of Perugia. For additional productions consult the Guides.

[3] Domenico is described as the author of frescos, dated 1525, in the villa of Prepo, near Perugia (Mariotti p. 248). In 1527, he received a commission for an altar-piece for Castel Rigone which was valued in 1534 (ib. ib. 246). It was long supposed to have found its way to the gallery of the Uffizi at Florence, but the round of the Holy Family there (No. 1110) is not that of Castel Rigone, though it is a fine Perugian work in Domenico Alfani's style. Missing are the frescos of Domenico painted in S. Fiorenzo of Perugia, some of which had been taken from the wall on the demolition of that church (figure of S. Andrew), see Mariotti, p. 248. In 1535, Domenico painted the arms of Paul the Third on the Public Palace of Perugia; in the following year, a statue of S. Louis in S. Francesco (ib. 242). In 1536 also, Domenico married the mother of his legitimized children (ib. 250). In 1549 he valued a picture by Lattanzio Pagani and made a will (ib. 248 to 250). In 1553, Domenico was still living (ib. 247).

[4] Orazio was born about 1510. In

For Pompeo Cocchi, who was Domenico Alfani's contemporary and almost his equal, there is not much to be said; but he should not be forgotten entirely amongst the Peruginesques[1] any more than Giovanni di Giorgio,[2] Mariano of Perugia, or Perino Cesareo.[3]

1545 he was registered in the Perugian guild. He was elected town architect in 1576, and deprived immediately of the office. See Mariotti, pp. 250 and foll^s. Consult and compare, Costantini, Guida, and Mezzanotte, in life of Orazio, appended to life of Perugino.

[1] Pompeo Cocchi is on the guild register in 1523 (Mariotti 208). A Virgin and child between SS. Nicholas and Lawrence (wood, oil, life size figures) hangs in the Duomo at Perugia. On the pilasters: "anno MDXXV.." (?7) with the words: "Pompeo Cocchi" in small letters beneath. The authenticity of this inscription shall not be denied. If Cocchi be the author of the piece, he is not unlike Domenico Alfani. The child presents its back to the spectator like one that Procaccini might have conceived. The two saints remind one of those by D. Alfani. The draperies are broad. The colour, of a strong red in the flesh, is well fused and of solid impasto. In the Perugia gallery is a crucified Saviour, part of a fresco detached from S. Severo, transferred to canvass, and catalogued under Cocchi's name. The nude is mannered in drawing, but not unlike that of a tavola, No. 203, in the same gallery, assigned to the same master, originally in the Confraternita della Giustizia, and representing the Saviour on the cross between the Virgin and Evangelist. On the obverse of the panel, the Virgin holds the head of the Messiah on her lap. The crucifixion recalls the Florentine manner of the followers of Fra Bartolommeo, still with a prevailing Umbrian feeling in it. The style is similar to that of a Crucifixion in the Louvre named Bernardino of Perugia (see antea p. 391) being free and bold. In the Confraternita di S. Agostino, an old subterranean church at Perugia, now transformed into a storehouse, there is a fresco of the Crucifixion with the fainting Virgin, John the Baptist, and three figures in a landscape, called Perugino by Costantini (Guida, p. 150), but in the manner of Cocchi or Domenico Alfani.

Mariotti mentions ruined wall-paintings by Cocchi at Montemorcino, notes his will drawn up in 1544, and a valuation of an altar-piece by Lattanzio Pagani, in 1549 (Lett. ub. sup. 238 and foll^s).

[2] Giovanni di Giorgio was registered, 1506, in the Perugian guild. (Pass. Raphael I. 521) having, in 1505, painted the heads of a cataletto for the Brotherhood of the SS. Annunziata, which are said still to exist. For the same brotherhood, 1517, he completed what was called a "cassa del Cristo morto" (Ex lib. confratern. sub anno, extracted by Professor Adamo Rossi) of which two panels are preserved. On one of them, the symbols of the Passion, and two sleeping soldiers, on the other, two figures of the same kind (originally done in tempera, on reddish-brown background, but now much repainted in oil), are distributed. There is feeling in this piece, which imitates the slight small figures of Pinturicchio and Raphael's youth with some show of success.

[3] For Mariano, consult Mariotti Lett. pp. 101. 197—9. 201—2. He is mentioned as a poor painter by Vas. IX. 147, and there is a feeble creation of his, of a Peruginesque

character, dating from 1503 in the cappella Belli at S. Domenico of Perugia.

A Virgin, child, and two angels, with devotees under the protection of a pope, SS. Dominick and Chiara, form an altarpiece in the chapel del Rosario in the church of Scheggino, near Spoleto. It is a mannered and very weak performance without a trace of Perugino's style remaining, inscribed: "Perinus Cesareus Perusinus pingebat 1595". A lunette above the side portal of S. Domenico at Spoleto, is by the same hand.

CHAPTER XI.

FUNGAI. PACCHIAROTTI AND PACCHIA. PERUZZI AND BECCAFUMI.

In considering the last phase of development in the Siennese school, nothing is more remarkable than its assimilation of varied foreign elements. After clinging to old and almost ineradicable habits nearly to the close of the fifteenth century, painters who had lost all power of self-regeneration gradually took lessons from the Florentine, the Umbrian, and the Lombard, either by coming into contact with men of those countries at Sienna, or by studying them abroad. Whilst Signorelli, Pinturicchio, Perugino, and Bazzi contributed to this alteration by practising in Sienna, the Florentines of the following of Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, extended their influence in the same quarter by the force, the number, and the importance of the works with which they filled the cities of Italy. Still, though tacitly admitting the superiority of men whom they admired, the Siennese never lost entirely the stamp of their nationality, nor succeeded in discarding their Italo-Byzantine manner.

Bernardino Fungai so completely inherited the style of his master Benvenuto di Giovanni, that a fresco of the Assumption in the Oratory of S. Sebastiano near Asciano might be assigned with equal propriety to either.[1] But before his death, in 1516, Fungai transferred his specific

[1] See antea, Benvenuto di Gio. The fresco is given to Fungai by Gaet. Milanesi (com. Vas. XI. p. 173).

traits to Giacomo di Bartolommeo Pacchiarotti,[1] whose art, in its expansion, was at one time hard to distinguish from that of Girolamo del Pacchia. Pictorial history soon forgot Fungai, of whom it preserved little more than tradition; but it confounded Giacomo with Girolamo, so that the latter ceased altogether to exist; and the praise which he had received from Vasari was supposed to apply to Pacchiarotti.[2] The research of Gaetano Milanesi disentangled the lives of the two men. Their pictures and those of Fungai still require a vigorous sifting.

Guide-books give note of many productions by Fungai, which are preserved in churches and museums; nor is there any difficulty in conceding that they are all by one artist, since they are alike on the spectral model of Matteo da Sienna or Benvenuto di Giovanni, and slightly tinged with an imitation of Pinturicchio. They are all feebly and confusedly composed, ill drawn, dull in colour, unrelieved, and generally lifeless. The figures are unnatural and incorrect in movement, dressed in broken and angular drapery, exaggerated in length, and perfectly rigid. Amongst the creations of his earlier period, one to which the date of 1500 has been given in books, exhibits the peculiarities we have enumerated, coupled with great splendour of gilding and primary colour. It represents the Coronation, at Sta. Maria de' Servi, or the SS. Concezione, of Sienna.[3] Better proportioned, but of the same stamp are the Virgin, child, and saints, hanging

[1] The commentator above cited states without proofs, though positively, that Fungai died in 1516, aged 56 (com. Vas. XI. 173).

[2] Vasari speaks of Pacchia in the life of Giovannantonio Bazzi; XI. 151. He is confounded with Pacchiarotti by Della Valle and all the Sinnese chroniclers before him (see Lett. San. III. 317 and foll[s]). Rumohr gives to Paechiarotti things, the character of which is that of Fungai, (Forschungen II. 212) and suggests the possibility of assistance given by him to Pinturicchio at the Piccolomini library (III. 45). Passavant (Raphael I. 389) evidently alludes to pictures by Pacchia when speaking of Pacchiarotti.

[3] Assigned to Fungai in Taia's and Faluschi's Guides, ub. sup. The date is given by Milanesi (com. Vas. XI. 173). The figures are life size, on panel, a caricature of those of Matteo. The angels are reminiscent of Pinturicchio, the Virgin and Christ also somewhat Umbrian.

on a wall in the choir of the Carmine at Sienna, a Fungai of 1512;[1] but more characteristic pieces are the Coronation in the church of the Madonna di Fontegiusta,[2] a predella to a Nativity by (?) Francesco di Giorgio in S. Domenico,[3] and the Assumption in the Academy of Sienna. Without any change in its arrangement from the time honoured one of the Siennese, the latter displays some Umbrian and Florentine peculiarities in the round and regular shape of the heads.[4] The five subjects of the predella are distributed in Pinturicchio's fashion; and appear more spirited than usual, because they are of a smaller size. They may be due in part to the assistance afforded to Fungai by Pacchiarotti,[5] who would thus claim a share in divers panels of the same class, — a predella with five half-lengths of saints in the Siennese Academy,[6] a Madonna with S. Catherine and other saints in the church of the Compagnia di S. Catarina at Sienna,[7] a Nativity

[1] The date is also given by Milanesi (ib. ib.) and by della Valle (Lett. San. III. 381). The colour is dry and of a dull low key. The SS. are Sebastian and another, erect, Jerom and Nicholas kneeling, the hat of the first and the staff of the latter, held by children in front of the throne.

[2] Beneath the Coronation, SS. John the Baptist and Jerom kneeling, Roch, and another erect, and children with flowers in a landscape. The picture is all points and angles (wood).

[3] This predella comprises a Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, a Massacre of the Innocents, and figures of saints. The lunette of this composite work is by Matteo. See antea, Matteo and Francesco di Giorgio.

[4] No. 322. Sienna Academy (wood). The Virgin is taken up as usual to the Eternal, who is surrounded by saints and patriarchs. Below, about the tomb, the kneeling SS. Francis, Bernardino, and John Evangelist.

[5] No. 323. Comprising S. Michael, S. Catherine, clothing a beggar, the Marriage of Cana, the Epiphany, the Call of Peter and Andrew, S. Catherine of Alexandria, Tobit and the angel.

[6] No. 324. Sienna Academy. In the same style, No. 325. Virgin, child, SS. Jerome and the Beato Colombino, half length. No. 326. Virgin giving the breast to the infant, an angel and S. Jerom. No. 327. Virgin adoring the child on her knee with SS. Mary Magdalen and Anthony the abbot in rear (half length).

[7] The Virgin and child are in majesty amongst angels and female saints (reminiscent of Pinturicchio), S. Catherine in prayer to the left, at the Virgin's feet; in side panels, S. Anthony and another saint. Three upper panels of the altar are of the seventeenth century. In the predella, three scenes from the life of S. Catherine, figures of brethren, of Jerom, and other saints (wood, oil), injured, dirty, and hard, the influence of Pinturicchio very sensible.

in the cathedral of Chiusi,[1] and a Madonna amongst saints in the church of Buonconvento.[2] Fungai sometimes assumes the types and affectation of Perugino, as may be seen in the example lately at the British Institution under his name,[3] and in the Madonna falsely ascribed to Vivarini at the Kensington Museum.[4] His more usual garb is that with which he appears in the Virgin and child catalogued as by Alunno in the collection of Count Paul Stroganoff at S. Petersburg.[5] His best and perhaps latest performance is a Christ between SS. Francis and Jerom, the lunette of an altarpiece by Pacchiarotti in the Academy of Sienna.[6] The difference between the lunette and the Madonna with saints below it is not so striking but that both may have been done in the same atelier.

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[1] In the pilasters, the angel and Virgin annunciate, SS. Lawrence, Catherine, Sebastian and Chiara. In the predella, four scenes from the lives of the saints, Umbrian in character; — exhibited in the cappella del Sacramento.

[2] Five arched compartments, Virgin and child, SS. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul and Sebastian (naked). In the spandrils, heads of cherubs (figures life size, wood). Similar works, an Assumption, in S. Sebastian, at Buonconvento, with six scenes from the life of the Virgin, in the predella, the latter like Matteo's Creation, Virgin and child between SS. John and Mary Magdalen (wood, gold ground), in the Conservatorio di S. Maria Maddalena at Sienna; Virgin and child, S. Jerom and another saint in the same place.

[3] Round of the Virgin and child (No. 70. Exhibition of 1865), with six heads of winged cherubs fluttering round her head (wood, half life size). Various episodes are in the distant landscape. The low key of Fungai's tone has been further dimmed by time.

[4] From the Solages collection (half length, on gold ground, the child erect, in benediction, on the Virgin's lap, and a saint at each side (wood, half life size). The tempera is altered by restoring.

[5] The child holds the orb and a bird fast to a string (wood, gold ground). He stands on a cushion on a parapet, before the half length of the Virgin; somewhat restored, but not without feeling considering its authorship.

[6] No. 314. Academy of Sienna. Virgin enthroned between SS. Onofrio and Bartolommeo (wood). We may note, in passing, as a painter of the rise of the sixteenth century at Sienna a half Umbrian Siennese of a low class, whose Nativity, No. 189, in the Academy of Sienna, inscribed: "Opus Petri Dominici de Senis M.CCCC. . . .", is a weak, rosy coloured picture, of careful, but flat treatment. To him may be given the Nativity, No. 183, in the same collection, and a Virgin, child, and saints, No. 182.

Andrea di Niccolò's works are a caricature of the foregoing, as ex. gr. a Crucifixion, No. 190, in the Sienna Academy. There are notices of his existence between 1477 and 1509, at Sienna, in Doc. Sen., II. 425, and III. 5. 40 and 296.

They are similar; but the drawing of the first is harder, the colour more sombre than that of the second, which reveals a better design, more form in drapery, a truer feeling for colour, and greater animation; — improvements traceable in pictures to which, from the oldest time, the name of Pacchiarotti has been attached.

It is one of the remarkable circumstances connected with Pacchiarotti, that we know much more of his private life than of his works. He was born in 1474 at Sienna,[1] and fills a broad page in the history of the troubles for which his native city was so famous in the sixteenth century; and a long list has been made of pieces that have perished, commissioned of him when habitual love of disorder and sauntering did not bring him into mischief either as a soldier defending himself against external foes, or as a member of a lawless brotherhood which made the streets of Sienna unsafe by day as well as by night.[2] There is a most amusing account in chro-

[1] Register of Baptisms. Milanesi in com. Vas. XI. 172.

[2] 1502. He takes part in an insurrection, after the departure of Pandolfo Petrucci. 1503. Makes flags for the Duomo, models two heads of Emperors for the same place, and paints pennons on the enthronement of Pius the Third. 1505. Is captain of the Division of Stalloreggi di fuori. Marries (Nov. 8th) Girolama di Ser. Alessandro Martini; is agent to Pietro d'Andrea of Rome. 1507. Pennons. 1507 and 1509. Birth of two daughters. 1509. Decorates the chapel of Andrea Piccolomini in the church of S. Francesco. 1510. Appraises works in the Vieri chapel of the same church, and Perugino's altarpiece there. 1511. Inherits his father's property. 1512. Pennons for the funeral of P. Petrucci. 1513. Appraises the work of Bartolommeo di David in the chapel of the Madonna del Manto in the Spedale of Sienna. Ditto. the Trinity in the Spedale by Beccafumi, and paints the banner of the company of the Beato A. Gallerani. 1514. Finishes the Piccolomini chapel. 1548. Colours the dial of the public clock. 1519. Gonfaloniere in Stalloreggi di fuori. 1520. Madonna in the town hall of Casole (said to exist).. 1521. Joins in the defence of Sienna against Renzo da Ceri; and is one of a faction called the Libertini. 1525. Captain in Stalloreggi; furnishes an eagle for the residence of the notaries, and a fall for the Madonna by Gentile da Fabriano. Asks for, and is refused, the gabella of the market at Sienna. 1526. Fights at Camollia against the Papal and Florentine troops. 1527. Standard for Annibale dell' Aquila, captain of Sienna. 1528. Gonfaloniere of Stalloreggi. Tavola in S. Maria a Tressa; takes part in the assault of Montebenicchi; works at the fortifications of Sienna. 1529. Imprisoned for treason, and placed in a punishment company at Talamone. Pardoned and confined at Viteccio. Standard for the Duomo. 1530.

nicles of his flight from justice in 1535, and his concealment in a tomb, where he spent forty-eight hours in terror of his life and a prey to evil smells and vermin. He was outlawed, and restored to civil rights again, and had the luck, which he hardly deserved, of dying in his bed (circa 1540) at his own place of Viteccio. But all that remains to illustrate his art is an Ascension at the Academy of Sienna, once in the Chiesa dell' Osservanza,[1] a Visitation in the same gallery, removed from the church of Campiglia d'Orcia,[2] another in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[3] There is little to distinguish the first of these compositions from the usual one of the old period. The well-known want of compactness in arrangement and of simplicity in movements in the Siennese are as conspicuous as the bony dryness of the forms, and the affectation resulting from an attempt to realize immediate decisive action. A light and washy colour helps to give the picture an impress easily recognised in the Visitations at Sienna and Florence, of which it is therefore unnecessary to speak further. Another Ascension at the Carmine of Sienna, if it be by Pacchiarotti to whom it is assigned, is the best attempt he ever made at that subject. The painter is determined that there shall be movement and passion in all his personages, and he tries to realize both by extraordinary pose, and by speaking gesture or strong expression; but with all the desire to produce these re-

joins the conspiracy of the Liberini and Popolani. 1531. Interposes in favour of a relative sentenced to the stake for forgery. 1532. Works in the chapel of the compagnia di S. Giov. della morte. 1533. Captain of district of S. Marco. 1534. Joins the club of the Gardotti. 1535. His flight and concealment in a tomb; paints a triumphal arch at the coming of Charles the Fifth. 1539. Captain of Stalloreggi; paints the chapel of S. Giov. della morte, (17th Nov.) exiled. 1540 (Aug. 17th). Recalled. Dies. See com. Vas. XI. 194; VIII. 220; Doc, Sen. III. 40. 46. 7. 59. 84. 103; Della Valle, Lett. San. III. 317 and folls; Gaye, Carteggio II. 116.

[1] No. 328. Academy of Sienna (wood).

[2] No. 315. Academy of Sienna (wood, in three parts). Visitation between SS. Michael and Francis.

[3] No. 23. Academy of Arts. Galerie des anciens Tableaux. Visitation, with the kneeling SS. John the Baptist and Leonardo, erect, Anthony abbot, Anthony of Padua, Nicholas of Bari, and a Dominican.

sults he fails; because he has not the suppleness or correctness of drawing, or the mastery of anatomy which might enable him to overcome the difficulties he courts. He produces strained attitudes and contorsions; and though feeling and dignity are conveyed in the figure of the Virgin, awkwardness and rigidity are common to the surrounding saints. If he has any special tendency in addition, it is to make the human frame long and bony, to suggest by childish curls of drapery the idea of a breeze, to colour the flesh without marked contrasts of light and shadow, in a warm, rosy, but well-fused, yellowish tint. He has perhaps in his memory reminiscences of the most varied nature, Umbrian poses of Perugino and Pinturicchio, agitated or convulsed action of Signorelli, affectation caricaturing the Leonardesque of Bazzi, and recalling even Piero della Francesca.[1] The features of this Ascension are no longer entirely characteristic of Pacchiarotti; they lead one forward to the consideration of Girolamo del Pacchia, his cotemporary and perhaps at one time his fellow labourer. It is curious, indeed, that whilst the study of Fungai reveals a companionship between him and Pacchiarotti, a similar relation is afterwards to be noticed between Pacchiarotti and del Pacchia. The link which connects the two last might be traced even to the Ascension just described in the Academy of Sienna, a picture differing from that of the Carmine in some particulars only. The latter, in fact, is a composition of the same stamp as that in the Academy, but a variation of it as regards tone and the admixture of more modern elements derived from the Umbrians. It makes a sensible approach to Del Pacchia's Coronation of the Virgin in S. Spirito of Sienna, and is to be classed rather as one of his youthful creations than as a work in

[1] We have noticed in Piero della Francesca (II. 544) an Ascension at Borgo S. Sepolcro, with the execution of which the names of Gerino da Pistoia and Francesco da Città di Castello have also been mentioned. There is much in that picture reminiscent of this at the Carmine of Sienna, and others to be named in connection with Pacchia.

which Pacchiarotti should have changed his style to one more like that of his colleague

Girolamo del Pacchia was the son of a Hungarian, who had become famous at the close of the fifteenth century as a founder of cannon.[1] This Hungarian, known as Giovanni delle Bombarde, married a Siennese girl named Apollonia, who bore him Girolamo, on the 4th of January 1477. The boy, having lost his father a year after his birth, was educated by his mother, and brought up to the business of an artist. He took to wandering at an early age; and was in 1500 at Rome. An altarpiece which he delivered, in 1508, to the monastery of Pontignano near Sienna, would tell, had it been preserved, what masters Del Pacchia had been studying up to that time; in the absence of this example, and of others which were produced in 1511, one turns to the no less authentic though uninscribed pictures with which he adorned a chapel in S. Spirito and the altar of the Bandinelli at S. Cristoforo, of Sienna.

The Coronation of the Virgin at S. Spirito[2] is remarkable for the vigour and harmony of its colour, and the breadth and accurate definition of its chiaroscuro. It has all the movement and none of the awkwardness of the Ascension at the Carmine; and is a manifest improvement on the forms usually given to the human face by the Siennese. The draperies are serpentine in fold instead of being broken as of old. The manner of Raphael is adapted with an originality natural to an independent talent, and the colours are of a thin texture and reddish tone reminiscent of Andrea da Salerno. A couple of angels beneath the principal group are drawn in Raphaelesque movement; and foreshortenings, where they occur, disclose their origin in the same school.

[1] The authorities for this and the following facts and dates are to be found in Milanesi's com. Vas. XI. 184 and foll^{s}, in Doc. Sen. Vol. II and III, and in Milanesi, Sulla Storia Senese, &c. ub. sup. 99 and foll^{s}.

[2] Wood, arched, figures life size, assigned by Ugurgieri in Della Valle, Lett. San. III. 316, and others, to Pacchiarotti.

The Virgin and child between SS. Paul and Bernard are conceived with a measure of grandeur, and of refinement in character and expression to which the Siennese of the sixteenth century have not as yet accustomed us. The attitudes are dignified and appropriate, the Virgin, though broad in face, recalling Mariotto Albertinelli, and Fra Bartolommeo as regards mould, and Raphael in respect of attitude. The child is playful, handsome, and well drawn. Two infant angels flying under the draperies that would, but for their support, fall over the parapet of the throne, are quite airy and light in their aspect. There is a distinguishing gravity and repose in the whole piece. Its colour is of the best obtained in Sienna, powerful, brilliant, and transparent, and handled with a knowledge of all the technical improvements of the day, softly fused, well modelled, with an impasto scumbled and glazed after the approved fashion of the Venetians. A harmonious landscape adds to the general charm.[1]

There are proofs of Pacchia's presence at Sienna in 1515, when he painted the bier of the company of S. Bernardino, and joined Beccafumi in appraising the frescos of Girolamo di Benvenuto at Fontegiusta; but the earliest things extant are the Annunciation which was placed on the altar of the Tantucci by the Dominicans of S. Spirito in 1518, and the frescos in the Confraternità di S. Bernardino, of Sienna. The altarpiece is injured, but never had the beauty of that in S. Cristoforo.[2] It represents the Annunciation in a perspective of arches, and the Visitation in a distant landscape. The type of the Virgin remains almost unaltered, but her unnatural grace recalls the earlier efforts of Simone Martini, whilst the angel is slender, and strained in action. In the lapse of years, Pacchia had been evidently affected by the examples of Bazzi, and took some lessons from the

[1] Assigned also to Pacchiarotti by the old writers (wood, oil, figures life size).

[2] Assigned likewise to Pacchiarotti (injured panel, arched, figures life size), now No. 308, in the Academy of Sienna.

Florentine Francia Bigio. He betrays these influences in the air and drawing of his figures, into which, however, the Florentine weight and breadth of drapery are but partially introduced. Nor has he any longer his old strength as a colourist, his fine rich tone being exchanged for one of a more clouded glassy tinge.

In the production of the frescos for S. Bernardino, Pacchia competed in 1518 with Bazzi and Beccafumi. Without being able to surpass the Lombard who took the Leonardesque manner to Sienna, and became one of the greatest masters of his time, Pacchia clearly outstripped Beccafumi whose talents were marred by exaggeration and unhealthy fancy. He repeated with slight change, on one wall, the Annunciation of S. Spirito,[1] but he designed a Nativity on the other, as may be seen from the annexed outline, with a vivid memory of the Florentines.[2] At a first glance, indeed, we are reminded of Andrea del Sarto; but, in reality, it is the scale of art represented by Francia Bigio at the Servi of Florence which Del Pacchia adopts. With that, and a mixture of Siennese affectation, and with some traits derived from Pinturicchio, he produces an agreable and sufficient originality. Having acquired this tendency in his later years, he preserved it unchanged in frescos at the Oratorio dell' Oca in Fontebranda of Sienna, where he illustrated three scenes from the legend of S. Catherine of Sienna, with considerable skill and animation.[3]

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[1] The lower part and ornament are somewhat injured in the fresco compartment containing the angel. The Virgin's blue mantle is repainted.

[2] The female handing a cup to S. Anna, is retouched, and the head particularly injured.

Del Pacchia also painted a S. Bernardino in the same locality (Doc. Sen. III. 60).

[3] S. Catherine cures Matteo di Cenni of the plague (too injured to give an idea of Pacchia's style).

Dominicans, assailed on the road by robbers, are liberated by S. Catherine. In the foreground to the left, a Dominican is held by the head by two of the thieves. In the distance to the right, some friars are journeying on horseback, and nuns kneel in prayer.

S. Agnes of Montepulciano, on the bed of death, is visited by S. Catherine, her foot being raised by miracle as the saint approaches to kiss it. Two females, kneeling on the left, are full of life and movement; and a fine feminine form, near this group, points to

THE NATIVITY; a fresco by Girolamo del Pacchia in the Brotherhood of S. Bernardino at Sienna

He was betrayed in his old age into companionship with Pacchiarotti and the dangerous club of the Bardotti, in 1533; and when that lawless community was dispersed in 1535, he disappeared from Sienna, and was never heard of afterwards. The character of his authentic works now justifies the historian in ascribing to him most of the pictures in European galleries usually attributed to Pacchiarotti. Of these there are good examples in the Sienna Academy[1] and in the Munich Pinakothek;[2] a better in the National Gallery,[3] and one still more important under the name of Fra Bartolommeo in the collection of the Marquis of Westminster.[4]

S. Catherine. The latter, on the right, stoops to kiss the foot, behind her a suite. These two last frescos are injured by restoring. The figures are slender, and often affected in action. The sharp outlines and raw colour may be owing to bad condition.

The best of the series is the last in which Pacchia follows the laws of composition bequeathed to the Florentines by Giotto. The face and figure of the dead S. Agnes are noble, and the attitudes of the remaining figures appropriate.

In Pacchia's earlier style is a fresco of the Marriage of Cana, in a lunette to the right of the semidome, in the Baptistery of S. Giovanni at Sienna.

[1] Sienna Academy. No. 31. Assigned to Pacchia (Stanzè de quad. di div. Scuole). Holy Family and S. Anthony of Padua, round, wood; slightly conventional and strained in action, pale yellow in flesh tone. The technical handling varies slightly from that of other examples by Pacchia. Same gallery. No. 309. Virgin and child.

[2] Munich Pinakothek. Cab^ts No. 569. S. Bernardino between two angels (wood, half lengths). Same gallery. Cab^ts No. 576. Virgin, child, and angels, Raphaelesque and Florentine mixed, the movement of the child very lively. The colour has a waxy semi-transparence (slightly retouched).

[3] No. 246. Virgin and child, a Raphaelesque composition far above anything ever done by Pacchiarotti to whom it is given.

[4] The Virgin with her left arm round the waist of the young Baptist, on the right, to whom the infant Christ, on her lap, gives his blessing;—in rear S. Joseph, a landscape and a green curtain. This is a graceful group, little less than half life size, carefully executed, but of a veiled transparence in the flesh shadows, and bright in the lights (yellowish), worked with a fluid brush, a mixture of Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, with a certain Siennese impress in the types and movement, that seem peculiar to Pacchia. The hand of Christ and that of the Baptist are retouched; and the flesh in the Virgin is not free from restoring.

For a Holy Family (No. 35, Gallery of the Hermitage at S. Petersburg), attributed to Pacchia, see postea, Bugiardini. No. 36, in the same gallery, is a round of the Nativity in which the Virgin adores the infant on the ground, S. Joseph being seated to the left. In the distance to the right, are an open lodge and a landscape. An impress as of Florentine imitation (Albertinelli, Fra Bartolommeo and

It is not sufficient to have reduced Pacchiarotti to his original mediocrity, and restored Del Pacchia to his station in the annals of Sienna. Their countryman Peruzzi claims a more honorable attention than our age is usually willing to bestow; and it becomes necessary to rescue his pictorial labours from oblivion. It may be true as a general proposition that his merits have been recognized, but in considering the manifold acquirements of so versatile a genius, it has been usual to study one side to the detriment of the other; and we are too apt to forget the painter in the architect.

Baldassare Peruzzi was born at Sienna on the 7th of March 1481, and was the son of a weaver.[1] In 1501, he was employed by the rector of the Duomo in the circular chapel dedicated to S. Giovanni,[2] a proof of his precocious powers. Amongst the artists to whom he may thus early have been indebted for instruction and advice, Giovanni Antonio Bazzi was the most remarkable. He had been brought from Lombardy to Sienna by an agent of the Spannochi family, at the close of the fifteenth century, and obtained immediate encouragement as well as satisfactory commissions. From Bazzi Baldassare probably took something of the Leonardesque; but he had scarcely received payment for his work in S. Giovanni of Sienna, when his sympathy was won by Pinturicchio who had just obeyed the summons of Cardinal Piccolomini. Peruzzi in this way combined his own style with the Lombard and the Umbrian, and went thus fortified to Rome about the year 1504.[3] Though untried, and pro-

their followers) may be found in the composition and distance. The execution is not on a level with the conception, the colour being light and a little gay in the Sienese manner, and suggesting the name of Pacchia.

[1] Register of Baptisms at Sienna (cit. com. Vas. VIII. 220). Baldassare's father was Giovanni di Salvestro di Salvadore Peruzzi, weaver of Volterra, who came to Sienna as a settler between 1475 and 1481.

[2] 1501. Aug. 15th, he receives 42 lire for paintings in that place. Com. in Vas. VIII. 238.

[3] He went, according to Vasari, with one Piero of Volterra to Rome (VIII. 220) about the close of the papacy of Alexander the Sixth. A record is preserved in which this very Pietro (Maestro Pietro del fu Andrea da Volterra)

bably without friends, he quickly achieved a position, and settled in the capital, a favourite of his countrymen as well as of the highest dignitaries in the church.

Two decorations of great extent and importance, completed before the lapse of the first ten years of the century, give an exact view of his progress as well as of the direction taken by his labours. In the semidome and tribune of S. Onofrio, an Eternal, a Coronation of the Virgin, and a Virgin amongst saints, at the sides of which the Epiphany and Massacre of the Innocents are depicted, leave no doubt as to the way in which his style was formed. The Eternal is like Peruzzi's at S. Croce in Gerusalemme. The angels remind one of Pinturicchio. The apostles about the Coronation, more lively in movement than those of Bernardino, recall the Leonardesque of Bazzi. In the central Madonna, and the Massacre, but particularly in the Adoration, where the distant episodes betray the influence of the Perugian, and the mask of the infant Christ is that of the Lombard, we trace the same contrast.[1] Nor is it confined to the tribune, being exhibited with equal distinctness in one of the chapels.[2]

being at Rome in 1506, appoints Pacchiarotti his agent at Sienna. Annot. Vas. VIII. 220.

[1] Mancini (in Della Valle, Lett. Sen. III. 182) would assign these frescos entirely to Pinturicchio. Titi (annot. Vas. VIII. 221) suggests Peruzzi for the semi-dome, Pinturicchio for the wallpaintings beneath it. Vasari, however, says (VIII. 229): "Peruzzi did the choir of S. Onofrio"; and there is one hand in the whole work. The semi-dome subjects are all on gold ground, in courses. Below the Eternal in four spaces, angels; beneath these, the Coronation between the twelve apostles and twelve sybils. In the central fresco of the tribune, the Virgin (mantle repainted) is enthroned between SS. John the Baptist, Jerom, a female, and Onofrio, the donor kneeling in the foreground. The head of the Baptist is Leonardesque. A dais of gold hangs over the Virgin's head. The fresco of the Massacre comprises also a Flight into Egypt, the landscape full of incidents and small figures as in Pinturicchio. In this as in the Adoration on the left, the dresses are almost all repainted, and in the latter, the landscape is renewed. The lower part of the tribune pieces is quite new. The colour, generally, is freely handled in a warm yellowish tone.

[2] First chapel to the right, where the Eternal in benediction, high above the altar, with three angels on a blue ground (repainted) is in the character of the choir frescos. The ceiling may contain paintings of the same type; it is now covered with a painted can-

At S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the vaulting of a crypt, dedicated to Sta. Elena, is inlaid with mosaics after models furnished by Peruzzi in the first period of his Roman stay, his employer being Cardinal Bernardino Carvajal. A central medallion of the Eternal is connected diagonally with the bends of the angles by four ovals in which the Evangelists stand. Between the ovals, four shovel frames contain scenes from the legend of the cross, SS. Sylvester, Peter, Paul, and Helen (with Cardinal Carvajal at her feet) being in niches in the arches of the entrances. The design, akin to that of an earlier age, might confirm the propriety of an opinion according to which this ornamentation was made to replace an other of an older date. Its distribution and rendering reveal a rare mastery of perspective as applied to architecture. A sensible, perhaps inevitable, hardness prevails. We trace some of the heavy coarseness derived from Pinturicchio in the Evangelists; a more successful boldness in the other saints and in the angel symbolizing S. John Evangelist. Throughout, we find the same composite character as in the frescos of S. Onofrio.[1]

Equally interesting and hitherto unacknowledged as a creation of Peruzzi, is the ceiling partly renewed by Raphael in the Camera dell' Eliodoro at the Vatican. With the exception of the corners and shovel-frames, the whole of the decoration evidently existed previous to the entrance of Sanzio upon his labours in this hall. Many

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vass. At S. Pietro, in Montorio of Rome, second chapel to the right, are a Coronation with angels, four allegorical figures on the front of the arched chapel entrance, and angels carrying scutcheons, in the mixed style of S. Onofrio. Of the same class, in the same edifice four figures above an altar, near the foregoing. These are all mediocre productions, much injured by restoring, by some artist of the following of Pinturicchio and Peruzzi.

[1] These mosaics are mentioned by Albertini in his Opusculum, ub. sup. The ornament is very rich. Each oval is supported by a winged male issuing out of a flower that grows in a vase; two peacocks interlaced forming a neat addition at the sides, all on gold ground. In the vaultings there is much in the shape of fruit, flowers, and birds. Cocks are neatly introduced above the niche containing the figure of Peter.

before him had left specimens of their talent there;— Piero della Francesca who had competed with old Bramante,[1] Signorelli, and Della Gatta.[2] But the author of beautiful works like these, which are so clearly the forerunners of others in the Farnesina, is a painter of the time of Julius the Second.[3] They show the taste of a man impressed with the beauties of the antique, and with the hardihood, the power, and precision of one familiar with the division of architectural spaces. The frame-work is on gold ground, into which four medallions imitating bronze are let in, the rest being monochrome in various forms simulating bas-reliefs of Greek skirmishes, children, and allegorical impersonations. Peruzzi's share, if it be not incorrect to assign the portion we have just examined to him, is richer and better than that which the aids under Sanzio's orders carried out in the spring of the angles, the latter being on a simple yellow ground, whilst the former is on gold. A long and slender figure of abundance, dancing on a cloud in one of the rhomboids though obviously derived from the classic in its posé, action, drapery, and style of nude, is executed with that tendency to bony articulations and extremities peculiar to a Siennese. The mould of the face in its circling of falling locks is not without a reminiscence of Bazzi, whilst the flowing dress is rendered in the mode derived by Peruzzi from the Lombard and from Pinturicchio.[4] Two children, sitting above the name of Julius the Second, exhibit similar maxims of art, and a raw reddish tinge of colour. The skirmishes in monochrome are from the antique which, it is well known, Peruzzi was led to study with unusual industry in Rome. Raphael's forbearance in preserving these masterpieces, is

[2] Ib. VIII. 13. 14.

[3] On the vaulting above the Liberation of S. Peter: "Julius Pont. Max.", on that above the Miracle of Bolsena, in a frame: "Julius II".

[4] The figure, in waving drapery, holds a cornucopia in the right, and pours water from a cup in her raised left hand. The drapery is cast in a manner derived from Bazzi and Pinturicchio.

as great a proof of judgment, as that which he used towards Perugino was an evidence of kindness of heart.[1]

During this period of progress in the career of Peruzzi, the materials for a thorough insight into the principles of ancient structures were ready to his hand. As the foundations of old edifices were laid bare one after the other, artists flocked to the favoured places, and measured the ground-plans, the diameters of columns, and the thickness of walls. From fragments of bas-reliefs, they got an additional insight into the methods familiar to the sculptors of the best age. Perspective was necessarily applied in its most scientific abstruseness to realize the outward appearance of buildings, the fallen members of which were too bulky to be raised, or too much injured to allow of reedification. Through perspective, of which Peruzzi became a master, we may well suppose that he gained a quicker knowledge of architecture than he might otherwise have attained. But he owed much also to Vitruvius whose text he annotated and translated, leaving the sheets to be afterwards published by the industry of his pupil Serlio.[2] The latter admits that he was first led to understand architecture by following a course of perspective,[3] and it is likely that the same thing happened to Baldassare.[4] Favoured by circumstances, as Peruzzi was, and gifted as we have already seen, it was natural that his accomplishments should soon become known; and we note without surprise how eagerly Agostino Chigi, the rich banker of Sienna then residing at Rome, took advantage of his skill to erect a palace on the Tiber banks.[5]

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[1] If the ceiling should be proved at a future time to have been by the old Bramante (Bramantino), we must then say, he is the master of Peruzzi, and that Baldassare inherited his art exactly as we see it applied at the Farnesina.

[2] Lomazzo (Idea del Tempio, p. 14), charges Serlio with plagiarism; but he is hard on Serlio who acknowledges his debt.

[3] See Serlio in Della Valle, Lett. San. III. 174. 5.

[4] The rivalry of Bramante spurred Peruzzi very strongly, says Vasari (VIII. 222.)

[5] Vas. VIII. 222. 3.

The Farnesina Palace, as it is now called, has been poetically described by Vasari as "non murato ma nato".[1] It is one of the finest of its kind and embodies grace, solidity, and correct proportion. There is no reason to believe that Peruzzi completed it later than 1509 or 1510,[2] at which time not only the main block had been erected and covered externally with subjects,[3] but the garden-lodge had been finished. In the flat central roof of the latter, Peruzzi drew Perseus overcoming Gorgon, and a female furiously driving a car drawn by oxen; in the curves, gods and goddesses, such as Venus combing her hair on a couch, Pallas preparing for a hunt, Hercules and the lion, Hercules and Hydra, Apollo and the centaur, Leda on the back of the swan, Jove and Europa, Venus and Saturn, Ganymede on the shoulders of the eagle;[4] in the vaulting of the windows, males and females, mostly seated and variously occupied;[5] in the spandrils above the capitals, cupids in dead colour;[6] and in other supplementary spaces, river-gods on monsters, the whole surrounded by monochrome borders so graceful and so ably conceived that Titian declared he could not distinguish them from stone.[7] At a later period, Sebastian del Piombo covered the lunettes purposely left bare by Peruzzi, including one which tradition assigns to Michael Angelo.[8] Raphael introduced the beauteous Galatea on the wall below, and Poussin, a number of landscapes. The authorship of Peruzzi has been contested in spite of Vasari's text,[9] and in defiance of the evidence of style; and the ceiling of the Loggia has been ascribed to Daniel da Volterra, perhaps in consequence of the confusion caused by the similarity of names between the Palazzo Farnese where Daniel did work, and the Palazzo della Farnesina

[1] Ib. ib.
[2] Painted before Raphael had reached the pinnacle of his fame (Vas. X. 123).
[3] They have perished.
[4] On blue ground.
[5] On gold ground.
[6] On green ground.
[7] Vas. VIII. 223.
[8] See Lanzi (History of painting ub. sup. I. 148) who confounds the two Palaces of the Farnesina and Farnese.
[9] Vas. VIII. 223.

where he did not. Peruzzi's manner is too characteristic to be mistaken. In order thoroughly to understand it, a broad and general view must be taken of the man, not as a painter alone, nor as a sculptor, nor an architect, but as a combination of all three. The roof of the Farnesina must not be examined piece by piece, but in connection with its architectural arrangement, its geometrical balance, and the position of each object depicted. The result of the whole is a harmonic unity without any discordance. Peruzzi was a man of compass and of rule, a master of perspective, and a mathematician. He had already realized what Raphael in later years was but hoping to attain — the "fine form of the edifices of antiquity". For him the flight was no longer "that of Icarus".[1] The antique had made him familiar with the forms of the classic Greek. It was a necessary consequence of his studies, as well as of the tasks usually before him, that the pictorial should be but a part of a plastic and architectural whole, that he should calculate how the figures were to fill a given room; that painting should not be independent, but fettered. When he found it suitable, the human proportions were made subservient to their place rather than to each other, their movements being calculated with less reference to the reality than to sculptural or architectural requirements, and therefore unnatural. But, in his mode of filling, he obeys a law of harmony as telling in its way as a similar one applied to colour, is telling in the hands of Titian.[2] It is indeed his substitute for colour; for in his ardor he neglects, or he shows that he lacks, the great and precious gift which charms in Vecellio, del Sarto, and Correggio.

From a very remote time, the Siennese had betrayed their partiality for Greek sculpture. In some the taste

[1] See Raphael's letter to Baldassare Castiglione, from Rome; in Bottari, Raccolta, ub. sup. II. 23.

[2] Lanzi truly says: "He distorts and connects those images with a surprising symmetry". History of painting, I. 303.

was not pure, as in Simone Martini and Antonio Federighi, their familiarity with the antique being insufficiently aided by that of nature, which is the source from which the Greeks drew the ideal. Conventionalism and rigidity were the results. Peruzzi, who inherited this tendency in his countrymen, was not free from their defects. His art stands in the same relation to the classic as that of the Etruscan vases. He composes subjects in the spirit of bas-reliefs, with personages of a stiff and affected action — even when moving in the boldest manner under a quick momentary impulse. In all circumstances he discloses his Siennese education[1] and the influence exercised by Pinturicchio and Bazzi. Yet, he remains original, and holds the same position of honour in the Siennese school as the Lorenzetti and Simone. They were not equal to Giotto, though they surpassed his pupils. He does not keep the high level climbed by Leonardo, Michael Angelo, or Raphael, but he comes immediately after them, and is superior to all their followers. His execution is technically simple. The hard rosy tones of the flesh, and the tints of the draperies are without any under preparation, and the white surface is the highest light. In no part of the Farnesina palace, is Peruzzi more completely characterized than in the Fall of Gorgon, where Perseus waves his sword about her head, whilst a female and three males show their faces and busts above the frieze. A diagonal, dividing the picture, would confine the portion described to one half of its rectangle, giving it the appearance of having been intended for the pediment of a temple, the more, as a fragment of a horse at the narrowest part reminds one of that at the Parthenon. The upper half contains a single and comparatively colossal Victory blowing a horn, whose limbs, wings, and drapery are made to fill the space and establish the equilibrium of the composition.[2]

[1] In the bony drawing of extremities.

[2] Perseus and Gorgon are on the clouds. His steel armour is now slightly discoloured.

The treatment is that peculiar to Peruzzi. It is full of forced activity and dash, yet essentially sculptural in feeling, the drapery especially being searched out for the sake of suggesting the under form. Equally hardy is the foreshortened position of the female in the next compartment, who with surprising wildness throws her head and body forward, stretching out the arm with the ribbands at which the steers are pulling, and holding with iron grip the side of her car.[1] Peruzzi's power is not less evident in the representation of the muscular strength and gigantic exertion of Hercules coping with the lion, a scene in which he establishes a favourable contrast between himself and Antonio Pollaiuolo.[2]

But Peruzzi did not confine himself to the lodge of the Farnesina. In the hall of the upper floor, which precedes the rooms adorned by Bazzi and Beccafumi, he paints the ceiling, with its tasteful cornice and mouldings resting on mimic caryatidae, the frieze held up by pilasters, and unreal windows, through the openings of which landscapes are depicted, the effect being, as Vasari says, to increase the apparent size of the place;[3] nor does he neglect the ornaments above the doors where the supporters of scutcheons are made to stand in classic pose, and children play above the architrave, nor those of the chimney, on the mantel of which Vulcan is at his forge, nor the panellings in which gods and goddesses are placed. Moderns, it is true, sometimes affirm that Giulio Romano

[1] This fresco has most of the Siennese contorsion, the figure being at the same time too long and slender. The character of Etruscan art is curiously marked in this as well as in the thinness of the limbs, and in the motion of the steers. The ground is starred blue. Between the steer's legs are seven heads of the winds. The car runs along clouds. The right arm of the female and parts around it are restored.

[2] The Hercules and lion are as an antique bronze, so powerfully given is the action of the leg breaking the back of the beast.

The monochrome framing and mouldings are very choice, and look as if they were real, an effect due at once to modelling and a judicious application of perspective. The gilt rosettes and the arms in the centre of the ceiling are the only parts in genuine relief. The lilies of the Farnese family were substituted for the Chigi scutcheon, when the Palace of the Farnesina changed hands.

[3] Vas. VIII. 223.

was the author of the frieze for which the fables of antiquity contribute the richness of their imagery.[1] But, a glance at such incidents as Apollo, driving the chariot of the sun, ought to have prevented this mistake. This is not the art bequeathed by Raphael to his favourite pupil. It is the bold, the classical one of Peruzzi, whose conception is the forerunner of that with which the less gifted Guido, under other influences as regards manner, produced the Aurora of the Rospigliosi Palace.

Again, on the ground-floor, a room facing the Corsini Palace contains a fictive frieze in which we find a copious illustration of the fable of Hercules, the Rape of Europa, Danae and the golden rain, Diana transforming Actæon, the death of the latter, Apollo and Midas with the asses' ears, Apollo and Marsyas, Venus and Cupid, gambols of children and tritons, river-gods, Silenus, a satyr surprising Venus asleep, the chase of Meleager, Endymion. Nothing can be more fanciful or more powerfully handled than this graceful and well-arranged series, nothing more like Peruzzi than the plastic nature and action of the figures. It is the work of a man who has studied Michael Angelo and Raphael, without abandoning his own originality, who has become chastened by contact with great cotemporaries.

An interesting narrative might now be given of various undertakings entrusted to Peruzzi. We might describe the numerous edifices of which he adorned the fronts in Rome,[2] how he got up the "Treason of Giulia Tarpeia" at the festival given to Giuliano de' Medici (1515) on his appointment to the supreme command of the Papal forces,[3] how he furnished models to Cardinal Pio for the Duomo (1515), and for S. Niccolò (1517) of Carpi;[4] we might register frescos in the Vatican and in S. Pietro, others done for Riario, cardinal of Ostia, both in the capital and

[1] Annot. Vas. X. 88.

[2] Vas. VIII. 222. 3. 4. 5. 7, and Lomazzo, in della Valle, Lett. San. III. 169.

[3] Vas. VIII. 224.

[4] Campori (Gli Artisti, ub. sup. 358), and Vasari VIII. 226. 7.

in Ostia;[1] but this would be a labour of little fruit, especially as the Ponzetti chapel in S. Maria della Pace offers an excellent clue to Peruzzi's manner in 1517. In a semidome, no doubt planned by himself,[2] he painted, in three courses, the Sacrifice of Isaac, the Creation of Adam and Eve, Moses receiving the tables of the law, the Nativity, Epiphany, and Flight into Egypt, David and Goliath, the Deluge, and Judith despatching Holophernes.[3] Below these, the Virgin and child between SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Brigitta, the latter recommending Ferrando on his knees at her feet.

All these subjects bear a great and unmistakeable stamp. The beauty of the spacing, and the taste with which the panelling is adorned, are not surpassed in Raphael's chapel at S. M. del Popolo.[4] But the talent of Peruzzi at this period is particularly remarkable as displaying his endeavour to rival Michael Angelo and Raphael, in dignity of character, of expression, and of life, in breadth of handling, and in noble simplicity of drapery. Though it was not easy to attain this combination without loss of independent style, Peruzzi did so with good fortune, and affords a gratifying example of the impulse which may be given to genius by the rivalry of great men.

The Creation is composed and carried out with an art in the footsteps of that of Buonarotti and Sanzio. The Eternal taking Eve, shows her to Adam, from whose rib she has just been shaped. His movement, as he sweeps in the air, recalls in its grandeur that of Raphael in the Camera dell' Eliodoro; but the mode in which Eve is brought into the presence of Adam, is a fine compression

[1] Vas. VIII. 221. 2. The latter are said by Vasari to have been done with the aid of Cesare da Sesto.

[2] "Fece una cappella", says Vasari, VIII. 223. The period in which the frescos were completed, is indicated in the framing of the semi-dome frescos by the words: "Añó Dom. M.DXVI" (1516 or 17). At that time Ferrando Ponzetti was archdeacon of Sorrento and president of the apostolic chamber.

[3] The annotators of Vasari (VIII. 223.) describe these subjects and express regret at their loss when they are still standing.

[4] Begun 1516, finished 1519.

of Michael Angelo's two subjects in the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel, and full of his elasticity in the reproduction of the nude. In the Adoration, Peruzzi appears more completely in his own colours, with the oft-recurring impress of Bazzi in the type of faces, but with rich and skilful grouping of his own, and a grand cast of drapery. Something, at the same time, in the general aspect of the work reminds one of Gaudenzio Ferrari; and the presence of that feature in more than one of these frescos might almost suggest that he and Peruzzi were together at Rome.

The conception of the Deluge illustrates another side of Peruzzi's character. Almost all trace of the Umbrian is lost in a vigorous union of episodes and action, in the rendering of which the models of the Florentine school, and particularly those of Buonarotti afford the master peculiar inspirations. Without falling into the empty imitation of the Herculean in form, Peruzzi applies with originality the maxims upon which the art of the great Florentine was based and strives to gain a footing on the level which he attained.[1]

The sacrifice of Isaac, in the contemplation of which one reverts to the time of Ghiberti's competition with Brunelleschi, is also very fine. The angel arresting the hand of Abraham, the patriarch himself, are grand, in the freedom and life which they embody; and the group is adapted to its place by an application of the principles that dictate to Raphael his arrangement of the same subject.

Less successful in the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, or the David and Goliath, Peruzzi is himself again in the Judith and Holophernes, where an old female on the ground, stoops with her arm and shoulder between her

[1] On the left, the ark floats on the waters, and a boat tries to weather the storm. A horse and an ox swim to the land, and a man grasps in agony at the bank. A female with two children at her feet listens to a man who points to the rising flood. More in rear, a man holds on to a tree.

knees in a pose, the counterpart, as to spirit, of one in the Sixtine chapel.

The grand figures of the virgin, child, and S. Brigitta, would be still more effective, were it not for something strained and affected in them and a certain mannerism in the drawing, but Ferrando Ponzetti's is a broad and massive portrait; and the pose, the drapery and the outline of the head are a noble mixture of the sculptural with the Leonardesque of Bazzi. The bold and pastose touch proclaims a thorough mastery over the *technica* though, as usual, the flesh is a little raw and rusty in tone.[1]

An artist who can produce the frescos of S. M. della Pace has reached a giddy and dangerous elevation, beyond which it is difficult to advance and but too easy to recede. Peruzzi at this point had tried his powers to the utmost. It was but human that he should rest on his laurels, and that the result should then be rather the reflex of past greatness than the accession of new strength. But Peruzzi preserved his ascendency in architecture after he had yielded his best in painting; and he remained in honour in consequence of a versatility which he shared with others of his highly favoured age. We shall see how he ultimatily fell into increasing conventionalism and affectation. In the meanwhile the ravages of time and restorers are alone the cause why less attraction is felt for the Presentation in the Temple at S. M. della Pace, than for the frescos of the Ponzetti chapel. In the absence of any outer charm we may still admire in it the maxims of true composition, the introduction of the antique into architecture, the illustration of several ab-

[1] The blue drapery on the Virgin's shoulder, and the left hand of S. Catherine are repainted, the tapestry behind the group dimmed by time. Flesh parts here and here are renewed. Paintings by Peruzzi on the face of the wall into which the domed chapel is sunk, are greatly damaged. One sees traces of the angel liberating S. Peter, David playing the harp, and Christ appearing to S. Paul.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE: a fresco by Baldassare Peruzzi, in S. Maria della Pace at Rome

struse laws in perspective science, the grand, the sculptural and the graceful in action, drapery and motives.[1]

Something might be said of a Nativity, the only fresco that is left of those which Peruzzi left in S. Rocco of Rome. But the injured condition of its parts only permits a guarded assertion, and the belief that it may have been produced shortly after 1517.[2] From that year till 1520, when he succeeded Raphael as architect of S. Pietro[3], and from 1520 to the sack of Rome, he did little that has not perished. It is interesting, however, to note amongst fleeting productions of those days the scenes got up for Cardinal Bibiena's play of the Calandra. Before his death, Raphael had furnished the decorations of Ariosto's Suppositi, given at the expense of Leo the Tenth in a temporary theatre.[4] When Raphael died, Leo found nobody abler for that sort of work than Peruzzi, whose fame had otherwise been eclipsed by Sebastian del Piombo;[5] and the patronage of the Pope no doubt induced his fool Fra Mariano also to employ him.[6]

During Leo's last years Peruzzi was induced to visit Bologna at the request of persons who desired to complete the front of S. Petronio. In the period of his stay there (1521—2) he made several drawings on various scales and of different proportions, without satisfying the superintendents of the building.[7] He was more fortunate in pleasing private friends such as the Albergati, who erected a palace on his designs, Messer Panfilio dal Monte, and the Conte Giovambatista Bentivoglio.[8] The Adora-

[1] This large picture is injured by restoring, and of a dull reddish tone. The antique classic spirit in the composition and figures seems to have struck the Caracci and Nicholas Poussin. In a letter of G. B. Vignola to Martino Bassi, the former says in reference to it: "Baldassare . . . finse un telaio di legname essere attaccato a' gangheri di ferro alla muraglia, talchè chi non sa che sia dipinto nel muro, lo giudica fatto in tela". (Bottari, Raccolta, I. 498.)

[2] Vas. VIII. 221.

[3] He was appointed by Leo the Tenth. Vas. VII. 137. 8; VIII. 227. The date of his appointment is Aug. 1st. The salary 150 ducats.

[4] See postea, the authorities for this statement.

[5] Vasari VIII. 227, and X. 126.

[6] In the garden at Montecavallo a figure of S. Bernard (Vas. VIII. 225) which no longer exists.

[7] Gaye II. 152. 3; III. 480. 495.

[8] Lamo, Graticola ub. sup. 22. 25. 29 and 35.

tion of the Magi, a cartoon presented by Peruzzi to the latter, is not the best that the master could have done; but being now in the National gallery, it affords a convenient illustration of the way in which he adopted, without the servility of a copyist, the conception and the mode of rendering form peculiar to Raphael.[1] The Cartoon is an echo of that which Sanzio produced for his great series of tapestries, and was copied, not merely by Girolamo da Trevigi,[2] but, with unimportant changes, by others.[3] The best coloured variety of the subject, and one much in the spirit of Peruzzi, is that of the Escurial, like a theatrical scene, with the Colosseum, pillars, temples, and a marble Cæsar on a pedestal in the distance.[4]

Two cotemporaries, in addition to Vasari, testify to the greatness of Peruzzi's talents at this time, Lamo, who heard him praise the compositions of Mazzolini of Ferrara,[5] and the architect Ercole Seccadinari who described his drawings of S. Petronio as magnificent.[6]

The death of Leo the Tenth and the accession of Adrian the Sixth were so unfavorable to the prospects of artists that Peruzzi was probably induced to prolong his absence from Rome; but at the expiration of Adrian's short lease of power he returned and was engaged (1523—4) at the

[1] No. 167. National Gallery.

[2] Vas. VIII. 226, and IX. 53.

[3] No. 218. National Gallery, is one of these, too timidly handled, to be even by Girolamo da Trevigi. Geheimerrath Waagen's opinion (Treasures I. 326) in this respect being correct. The piece is by an artist, Ferrarese, or other, of capacity equal to that (ex. gr.) of Rinaldo of Mantua.

Another example, like No. 218 of the National Gallery, is the feeble, redtoned Adoration in the collection of Lord Ellesmere (small, wood, No. 85).

A third still more modern is that of Dudley House, formerly in the Fesch gallery, a feeble and very varnishy production, possibly by Prospero Fontana as Geheimer Rath Waagen states (Treasures VII. p. 236).

[4] The picture is in a place called: "Aposento de Felipe II", the colour of a reddish tone (wood).

[5] Lamo, ub. sub. 25.

[6] His award is in Gaye, Carteggio, ub. sup. II. 152—3. The drawings were not taken because Seccadinari did not see how they could be used in consequence of the comparative want of strength in the body of S. Petronio. The payment for the designs was made on the 12th of July, 1522, being the small sum of 18 lire (Gaye ub. sup. II. 154).

festival in honour of Clement the Seventh's coronation.[1] Amongst the commissions with which he was now troubled, one is from Cardinal Hinckworth for Adrian's tomb in S. Maria dell' Anima, the framework and sculpture of which were carried out by Michael Angelo of Sienna and Tribolo, in a heavy style, whilst Peruzzi painted the canonization of two saints at its sides, a fresco which has been since obliterated.[2] Of the same period were the chiaroscuro apostles in the niches behind the tomb of Sixtus the Fourth at S. Pietro, one of which is said to be preserved in the "Grotte" of the Vatican.[3] But during the whole of this time and until the sack of Rome in 1527 Peruzzi retained the office of architect to S. Pietro.

On that memorable occasion it was his misfortune to be captured and ransomed by the Spaniards and plundered of all he possessed.[4] On his arrival in Sienna, in the very lightest of dresses, his abject condition naturally excited the compassion of his countrymen who drew up an address (June 10th 1527) to the Balia in his favour. The government was but too glad to secure such a man; and Peruzzi was engaged at a salary of

[1] Vas. VIII. 226. 239.

[2] See Vas. VIII. 229, and notes of com. ib. 220, also Vas. IX. 17. The pope lies on the lid of a sarcophagus let in to an arched recess, in the lunette of which are the Virgin and child between SS. Peter and Paul. Two children at the angles of the sarcophagus hold torches reversed. Beneath it, a bas-relief represents Adrian's arrival at Rome. In two supports at the sides of the recess are four niches with statues of Justice, Fortitude, Peace and Prudence. The arms of the deceased, supported by infant angels, are on the basements. The execution is inferior to the conception. The antique is still the model in the sculptor's mind. But there is a lack of unity, of grace and of lightness in the whole. The cornices are too heavy for the columns, and the figures are weak and short. The best statues are those of the recumbent Adrian, and the angels at the angles. The bas-relief is better than the single figures. Peruzzi received the balance due to him for this work through Pietro d'Andrea at Rome, on the 29th of July, 1529, whilst he resided at Sienna.

[3] Vas. and annot. VIII. 228.

[4] There is a record dated Oct. 5. 1533, in which Peruzzi pays to one Girolamo d'Agnolo at Sienna 55 gold scudi, the remnant of a debt contracted for the payment of the ransom. See Doc. Sen. III. 117. But see also note to Vasari VIII. 229, in which Baldassare acknowledges (Sept. 28th, 1529) his debt of 150 scudi borrowed to pay "residuum taglie . . . temp. adventus Borbonis ad Urbem".

five scudi per month.[1] We shall not follow his career during the time when his chief occupation was that of an architect or the revision and planning of fortresses. From 1527 to 1535 when he returned to Rome, the pictorial works which he executed were few, being mainly confined to the decoration of the castle of Belcaro;[2] and the completion of a fresco in S. Maria in Fontegiusta of Sienna representing the sybil prophesying to Octavian. For those who admire the exaggerated classicism of the degenerate Michael Angelesques this wall picture is a masterpiece. The masculine attitude and gesture of the sybil, the bold decision of movements galvanized, one might say, into sculptural immobility at the moment of utmost muscular tension, the theatrical terror of Octavian and the astonishment of his suite cannot but create an impression. But the obvious arrangement of the whole piece, parading instead of concealing the man's science and his knowledge of action, and true proportion, are too unnatural to please. After S. Maria della Pace, Peruzzi would necessarily drop into this slough and fall into the coarseness of Baccio Bandinelli, if some superhuman effort did not stop him on the height which he had gained. It may console us to remember that Michel Angelo is not great in the Paolina as he is in the Sixtine. The Sybil of Fontegiusta is not the less of great power, teaching us to reject, as Peruzzi's, many pieces which his name has made familiar; Amongst these the Holy Family on the high altar of the church of Torre di Bibiano, now supposed to be by one of the Puccinelli, the Brescianini of Sienna,[3]

[1] The address and reply of the Balia are in Doc. Sen. III. 100. 1. Gaye (Carteggio II. 496. 7) gives extracts from the accounts including the payment of the salary in Oct. and Dec. 1527, and adds that on the 17th of October 1532, Peruzzi received a grant for eleven years of the returns of the Marsiliana, valued at 240 scudi per annum.

[2] Three miles from Sienna. The frescos were recently freed from white-wash, and have not been seen by the authors.

[3] The Virgin, with SS. John the Baptist and Jerom at her sides (half lengths, and less than life size). The infant, seated on a parapet in front, turns from the breast and looks at the spectator. The execution is careful, the co-

and other portable pictures. We might except the "Charity" in the Museum of Berlin,[1] but Peruzzi may have left much to his apprentices, when busy in more important undertakings.[2] Of his return to Rome in 1535, when he gave himself exclusively to architecture, of his sickness and death in Jan. 1537, Vasari has a correct account.[3] Peruzzi

lour hard, but of a rosy tone with sharply defined shadows. There is something Raphaelesque in the Virgin's face, forms and movement; the child is like those of Bazzi and Peruzzi. The handling, however, is not equal to the conception, and unworthy of Peruzzi. It seems like a production by an artist in possession of a design from the portfolio of a greater master. Della Valle finds an approach to the style of Pacchiarotti. This is possible, if he can be supposed to have painted on the outlines of Peruzzi or Bazzi. The annotators of Vasari (XII. 50) declare themselves in favour of Andrea Puccinelli, the regularity and softness of whose work, though not exactly his colour, may be found in the picture we are now considering. There were two brothers Puccinelli, sons of a dancing master at Sienna, Andrea, of whose companionship with one Baptista di Fruosino, in 1507, there is a record (Doc. Sen. III. 32). In 1524, however, Andrea is in company with his brother Raffaello, and they both paint a Baptism of Christ for S. Giovanni of Sienna, appraised by Beccafumi and another (ib. ib. ib.). The brothers came to Florence in 1525, Andrea being registered in the guild of painters, and Raffaello being mentioned by Vasari (XII. 50) as in practise there. The Baptism of Christ still exists in the Pieve of S. Giovanni at Sienna. It is reminiscent of the manner of Beccafumi with more powerful shadows than those in the Virgin, child, and saints assigned to the same hand, in the Sienna Academy (No. 330, with a predella numbered 331). There is no lack of regularity in the heads, the forms and movement being quieter than one finds them amongst Siennese, and in this respect more in the spirit of the Florentines of the following of Mariotto Albertinelli. The colour, however, is washy, bringing us back to that of Vincenzio Civerchio's creations (one of which with the date of 1525 is at Pallazuolo). The annotators of Vasari (XII. 50) register an altarpiece by Andrea, in the Oratorio della Chiocciola, near Sienna. There is a Holy Family by him (No. 1205) at the Uffizi of Florence.

[1] Berlin. Museum. No. 109. The name of Peruzzi is justified by the Siennese stamp of the picture, which, however, is also reminiscent of Del Pacchia. There is no trace of Peruzzi's boldness or plasticity, but rather an Umbrian prettiness, and something suggesting that school in the drawing of extremities and in the drapery.

[2] Florence. Pitti. No. 345. Holy Family. This is a Siennese work without the exact stamp of Peruzzi. Venice. Seminario. Penelope spinning. If not by Peruzzi, it is like him, and the name is not inappropriate. Dublin. National Gallery. Nos. 48, a Sybil, and 56, an allegory of Sculpture. These are very different from works of Peruzzi, and date from the seventeenth century.

[3] Vas. VIII. 232. 3.

died comparatively young. He was the last of the great artists of Sienna; and if we could devote a few pages to the career of his cotemporary and friend Beccafumi it would be merely for the sake of illustrating the decline which now set in throughout Italy.

CHAPTER XII.

LORENZO DI CREDI.

The review of Umbrian and Siennese art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has proved how much was due to the example of Florence. The progress of the Florentines themselves now courts attention.

We have seen Verrocchio concentrate in his own person all the gifts of the sculptor, the painter, and the scientific draughtsman, and conduct the education of Leonardo, Perugino, and Lorenzo di Credi. Our next step shall be, not to dwell upon the life of da Vinci, which might lead to digressions on the schools of Lombardy, but to sketch that of Credi, who was more constantly connected with the fortunes of his native city.

A diary, curious for its age as well as for the information it contains respecting the habits of a small landed proprietor of Florence in the rise of the fifteenth century, is preserved in the Riccardiana of Florence. It narrates the squabbles and litigation of two farmers; it registers the results of an average year in the purchase of land, the sale of oil and agricultural produce, those of an unsuccessful season, where the landlord is reduced to pawn his "silk lined coat." It gives the prices of various articles in household use between the years 1405 and 1425. The writer of the diary is Oderigo[1] the grand-

[1] The diary of Oderigo di Credi has been published in the Archivio Storico, first series, ub. sup. Vol. IV.

father of Lorenzo di Credi, the father of the goldsmith Andrea in whose house at Florence Lorenzo was born in 1459.[1] So long as Andrea di Credi lived, his son probably learnt the paternal business, in which he is said to have excelled, studying design at suitable hours in the workshop and in the Brancacci chapel.[2] But when the boy was left in charge of his mother Mona Lisa, he became assistant to Verrocchio. One might suppose that his occupation in the atelier of so renowned a sculptor and goldsmith would principally be the chiselling of metal; but he is described by his mother in a tax paper of 1480—1 as "employed in painting" with a salary of twelve florins a year;[3] and this is an additional fact in support of the statement that Verrocchio indiscriminately practised all the sister arts together.[4]

The friendship which Verrocchio contracted for Credi was only disturbed by his death in 1488. It was testified by the appointment of Lorenzo to the duties of his executor, the legacy of all his marbles and artistic properties at Venice and Florence, and the recommendation of his name to the Doge for the completion of the Colleoni monument,[5] To Credi's great honour, he never forgot this kindness and he remembered the niece of his benefactor in a clause of his will.[6]

The goodness of the man was not belied in his works, which are confined to the delineation of religious subjects, or to portraits. His honesty and steadiness were reflected

[1] Vasari's account of the birth and education of Credi, previous to the entrance of the latter into Verrocchio's service, is incorrect. See for the proof of the date of his birth the note postea.

[2] Vas. III. 162; He studied later in the Medici Garden. VII. 205.

[3] See the tax paper in Tavola Alfabetica (ub. sup. ad. litt.) where Credi is further stated to have been, in 1480, 21 years of age.

[4] Verrocchio's Baptism of Christ has been described in a previous volume, in which notice is also taken of a picture which has disappeared from S. Domenico of Florence. Albertini also describes three large canvasses by Verrocchio containing scenes from the story of Hercules in the "Sala del consiglio" at the Palazzo Pubblico of Florence (Memoriale ub. sup. p. 15).

[5] Verrocchio's will in Gaye, Carteggio, ub. sup. I. 367.

[6] Credi's will in Gaye, Carteggio, I. 372.

in pictures of a finish so elaborate that Vasari could not help exclaiming "such diligence was not more justifiable than excessive neglect";[1] and his genuine piety found expression in the tender simplicity and melancholy air of Virgins and saints.

The companionship of Perugino was calculated to affect his style, which was not without a shade of Umbrian softness; but he was cold and formal as compared with Vannucci, whilst in contrast with Leonardo, he was devoid of genius. Under Verrocchio's care he went through a long course of probation, copying either the sketches of the master or those of Leonardo; and this with such patience and industry that Vasari says, you could not tell Lorenzo's imitation from da Vinci's original. We have seen how difficult it is to distinguish the drawings of the three men from each other;[2] and inquired whether panels might not exist illustrative of this phase in Credi's career. Repeated examination only seems to confirm the belief that the Virgin and child between two attendant angels, a beautiful tempera, assigned to Ghirlandaio or Antonio Pollaiuolo, in the National Gallery,[3] may have been executed in the shop of Verrocchio when Leonardo and Credi were employed there; its tone, its clean precision and staid carefulness of handling, the softness of the heads, and the Leonardesque character of the angels, the infant Christ stamped in the mould of Credi, all tending to strengthen this impression. Lorenzo, in fact, became completely absorbed in da Vinci, and was but slightly altered as regards type or cast of drapery by contact with Perugino.

It was, no doubt, a consequence of Credi's peculiar laboriousness in the treatment of oil medium that he remained altogether an easel-painter. He was so anxious to obtain a pure enamel of colour, that he distilled his

[1] Vasari VIII. 208.

[2] Vasari preserved, as he tells us, many drawings of Credi from clay models upon which linen cloth had been wetted to form the draperies (Vas. VIII. 203).

[3] National Gallery. No. 296.

own oils, ground the earths to an impalpable powder with his own hands, and mixed some thirty shades of various tints on his palet, forbidding his servants to raise dust in his room for fear of soiling them.[1] Proceeding in this way, he polished his surface to the smoothness of metal, and hardly altered it by thin glazing. That in this he only followed Leonardo's example, is capable of proof. A mysterious darkness, it is true, overhangs this period of da Vinci's history; but taking him at a later time, and looking at the two portraits commonly known as those of Lodovico il Moro, and Beatrice d'Este, in the Ambrosiana of Milan, we shall see that they have a smooth brilliancy and slight scumbles in shadow; and that they are an application by the genius of a great man of the technical system familiar to Credi. At a later period, Leonardo veiled the means by which he finished his surprising creations with an art that almost baffles observation, and he perfected a theory of glazes applied with supreme mastery in the Mona Lisa. But, even were the portraits of the Ambrosiana to be withdrawn as insufficiently authenticated with respect to time we should still find means of showing that the origin of Credi's method is in Leonardo. The Luini, whom da Vinci formed, succeed in attaining similar results. Beltraffio might be named in the same class; but Andrea of Milan makes the nearest approach, in a low and cool yellow red flesh-tone, to Credi. Leonardo who becomes impenetrable because he is shrouded in the mantle of technical subtlety is revealed to us by the uniformity of less distinguished talents in Lorenzo, Beltraffio, and Andrea of Milan, who received his tuition.

After the death of Verrocchio, Lorenzo di Credi held a most respectable position amongst the artists of Florence,[2] and on all public occasions when the opinion of

[1] Vas. VIII. 208.

[2] He is registered almost immediately after Leonardo in the roll of the Florentine guild of painters. The date of the entry is however illegible. Gualandi, Memorie ub. sup. ser. VI. p. 185.

experienced men was required to elucidate questions of importance, he and Perugino were invariably to be found together. They were both present at the meeting called in 1491 to deliberate on the completion of the front of S. Maria del Fiore;[1] they both took part in the discussion upon the mode of restoring the lantern of the cathedral in 1498.[2] They were both consulted (1504) as to the place which Michael Angelo's David should occupy.[3] They were in company as appraisers of mosaics by Monte and Gherardo in 1505.[4] But, whilst Perugino varied his labours by frequent journeys to Perugia and to Rome, Credi remained a constant resident in Florence. It would be difficult, however, to affix a date to any of the pictures which he produced. The casual mention by Albertini of the Madonna and saints at Sta. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi, now in the Louvre, of a S. Bartholomew in Orsanmichele, and of the great Nativity of S. Chiara at the Academy of Arts in Florence, only prove that they were executed before 1508.[5] It is not even advisable to attempt a guess as to the period of Credi's portrait of Verrocchio at the Uffizi, because age and old restoring have given a dull and heavy tone to the features.[6] In Spain, whither copies from Verrocchio and da Vinci were sent,[7] none of the so-called Leonardos are in Credi's manner; nor is Lorenzo's name correctly applied in the cathedrals of Burgos or Granada.

The finest and the oldest of his altarpieces is that of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento in the Duomo of Pistoia, where the Virgin sits with the babe in a marble court, attended by S. John the Baptist and a canonized bishop. As Credi probably finished it whilst the examples and lessons of his youth were still vivid in his mind, the

[1] Com. Vas. VII. 247.

[2] Com. Vas., note to Vol. VIII. p. 209; Guasti, la Cupola ub. sup. p. 119.

[3] Gaye, Carteggio, II. p. 455.

[4] Com. Vas. VI. 70. 341—2.

[5] Albertini, Memoriale, ub. sup. 13. 14. 16. See also Vasari, VIII. 205, and Richa, Chiese, IX. 84.

[6] Uffizi. No. 1163. It was long called Martin Luther, but is the original, aged about 50, engraved by Vasari (reversed) for his lives (wood, oil, almost life size).

[7] Vas. VIII. 204.

figures generally are natural and firm of tread, and strongly reminiscent of da Vinci, the fresh round face of the Virgin, and the graceful combination of her movement with that of the child being an unconscious tribute to the memory of Vannucci. A landscape, seen through the apertures behind the throne, is full of pleasing detail. The clean sharpness of metal is given to minutiæ; the drawing is careful, the proportions are fair; relief and perspective are good, and the colour, of a silver grey, is polished, harmonious, and greatly fused. The naked child, turning towards the Baptist who points out the Virgin to her worshippers, is coarse in the extremities, but not too pinguid.[1] It is doubtful whether Credi preserved this superiority in the Virgin, child, and saints of S. Maria delle Grazie at Pistoia, which now appears so dimmed and spotty.[2] Had he always remained up to his first mark, he would have held a higher place in the annals of Florentine art.

There is, indeed, but one instance in which he was equally successful; and that is in the Madonna of the Museum of Mayence, where a pleasing youthfulness adorns the face of the Virgin, and unusual beauty marks the child, as he turns from his mother's breast. But the charm is increased by the feeling and truth with which form is given, by the able rounding obtained by the fusion of a yellowish flesh-tone into brownish shadows, and by the tasteful application and high finish of borders and festoons of flowers.[3] In the Holy Family of the Palazzo

[1] Wood, oil, all but life size. The Virgin is dignified in attitude and mien, her hands delicately formed. There is a youthful freshness in her face. The draperies are Leonardesque. Equally so are the pose and type of the bishop, whose hands are free from Credi's later heaviness; and the dry bony nude of the Baptist. The action of thelatter, strained, though there is power in the head, and force in the searched out anatomy of the frame and limbs, recalls Verrocchio. The head with its thin wavy curls is also characteristic of the influence exercised on Credi by da Vinci. The flesh is warm yellow in the lights, and cold in the shadows.

[2] In S. M. delle Grazie or del Letto, formerly al Ceppo (see Vas. VIII. 204). The child is in benediction, the saints at the sides, John the Baptist and the kneeling Magdalen, Jerom and the kneeling Martha (wood, oil, figures life size).

[3] Mayence Museum, No. 124. (Wood, oil, all but life size). On a

Borghese at Rome, Credi shows less strength, but he animates the elegant Virgin, the playful infant Christ, and the worshipping boy Baptist with a breath of love and tenderness. He composes the group in the Leonardesque fashion, and gives to the nude of the children some of the puffiness which he exaggerated at a later time.[1] All these examples illustrate the character, as well as the style, of Credi. He was of the class which took the name of *"piagnoni"* at Florence, because it agreed with the theory of Savonarola, that everything profane was reprehensible; and Vasari tells us that when the reforming Dominican ordered a holocaust of literary, artistic, and fanciful works at the Carnival of 1497 in Florence, Credi was one of those who sacrificed all that did not savour in his drawings of the purest religion.[2] Yet, Credi was not of a temper to surrender the world altogether as Fra Bartolommeo had done, nor were his sympathies enlisted in any special manner with the Dominicans; and when the convent of S. Marco quarrelled, in 1507, with Bernardo del Bianco about the price of Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of S. Bernard, Credi was one of the umpires for the purchaser in conjunction with Gherardo, the miniaturist.[3]

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parapet behind the group a vase of flowers. Behind the Virgin a red curtain and festoons of flowers. In the child's left hand, a fruit.

In the same gallery, No. 125, round of the Holy Family, much repainted, but with the impress of Lorenzo's school.

Carlsruhe Gallery. No. 351. Round of the infant Christ adored by the kneeling Virgin and young Baptist; the stable to the left; a landscape to the right and left. Hair and shadow of neck in the Virgin, white cushion on which the infant rests, the Baptist's knee, restored (wood, oil). This is an original by Credi, but not equal to that of Mayence.

[1] The slender Virgin is very graceful, supporting the child on her lap who leans forward as if to speak with the infant Baptist. She also encircles his neck with her hand. He looks on in prayer; and an open book to the right indicates the seventh chapter of Isaiah: "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel". The drawing, forms, and drapery are of Credi's earlier period when his style was most redolent of the influence of da Vinci and Verrocchio (wood, oil, round). To the left a vase, and through two windows, a landscape view.

[2] Vas. VII. 153.

[3] Marchese, Memorie ub. sup. Vol. II. pp. 35—9. 360—1.

As years rolled on, and the impressions of his youth became weaker in Credi, he lost some of his early strength in excessive attention to manipulation. The Baptism of Christ of the company del Scalzo, now at the Uffizi, affords an indication of this change being less satisfactory in the nude, stiffer in movements, and more mannered in form than previous specimens of his skill, though still firmly drawn and highly enamelled, and redolent to a certain extent of Verrocchio's teaching.[1] Still more polished, but perhaps more affected in its softness, is the wonderfully clean and cold Madonna with the child, between SS. Julian and Nicholas, at the Louvre, in which excessive daintiness of attitude and tread, gaudiness of key, and slight chiaroscuro are symptoms of loss of power.[2] But the most important specimen of Credi in this period of his career is the Nativity at the Academy of Arts in Florence, of which a line engraving accompanies this page.[3] Whereas in the Madonna of the Pistoia cathedral the nude is drawn with the anatomical research natural to a fellow student of da Vinci, that of the Nativity only reminds us of Leonardo's pupils. There is something resembling the spirit of Luini, in contours which avoid marking bone and muscle, and in the low tones of flesh and drapery. Yet, the harmony is good, the handling careful, the drapery well arranged; and the minuteness of the charming landscape is equalled by that of the foreground of rock and grasses. Credi has not left a better instance of the striving in an artist of the sixteenth century to embody religious sentiment. He succeeds in rendering a grave and timid melancholy, and

[1] This picture was in S. Domenico till quite lately, and is now in a private room at the Uffizi. The colour of the flesh is yellowish and shadowed coolly (mentioned in Vasari VIII. 206, wood, oil, figures all but life size). Three angels kneel on the left, and in the distance of that side is the Baptist's sermon.

[2] Louvre, No. 177, originally at Santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi or Cestello (Vas. VIII. 205). Wood, oil, figures life size.

[3] Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 51. (wood, oil, figures almost life size). See Vas. VIII. 205.

THE NATIVITY; an altarpiece by Lorenzo di Credi, in the Academy of Arts at Florence.

prettily surrounds the Virgin with a guard of angels in whispering converse. A tender and half-sorrowing affection is in the Virgin, on her knees before the child, and the action of both seems inspired from Fra Filippo rather than from any other master. The shepherds also might presuppose the study of Ghirlandaio by a later painter of a less rugged fibre. The Baptist is drawn with the soft outlines of Luini, and the S. Joseph is Peruginesque in air and pose.

During the later period of his life, Lorenzo's productions preserved an uniformity which leaves little room for fresh remark. His frequent employment as a restorer of old pictures is a proof of the confidence that was placed in his experience.[1] The honorable station which he held, led to his appointment on many occasions as valuer of pictures by other masters.[2] He outlived the terrors of the siege of Florence in 1527, retired into the hospital of S. M. Nuova on an annuity in 1531,[3] and died on the 12th of January 1537.[4]

The following list is a necessary addition:

Florence. Orsanmichele. S. Bartholomew on a pilaster very much clouded by dirt. (Vas. VIII. 204. Albertini, Mem. p. 14, and Richa, Chiese. I. 26.)

Florence. Sta. Maria del Fiore. Sacristy of the canons. Figure of the Archangel Michael, executed about 1523; feeble and of a reddish tone (Vas. VIII. 206. 210).

Same church. Chapel in Tribuna della Croce. Figure of S. Joseph, weak and much injured; wood, oil (Vas. VIII. 205).

[1] We have seen (vol. I. p. 583) that he restored, in 1501, an altarpiece by Angelico in S. Domenico of Fiesole. In 1524, he performed the same operation at S. M. del Fiore, on the Hawkwood of Uccelli, the Nicholas di Tolentino by Castagno, six apostles by an unknown hand, and two sepulchres (of Fra Luigi Marsili and Cardinal Pietro Corsini). Annot. Vas. VIII. 206.

[2] 1514 he appraises Ridolfo Ghirandaio's pictures in the cappella de' Signori at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (Vas. annot. VIII. 209). 1517, he valued a statue by Baccio Bandinelli (Temenza, life of Sansovino. ub. sup. p. 7, and annotat. Vas. VIII. 210. In 1508, he coloured a crucifix by Benedetto da Maiano (Vas. VIII. 206. 209), and was witness to the will of Cronaca.

[3] Gaye, Carteggio, I. 374, and annot. Vas. VIII. 206. 7. 10. His will is dated 1531. See antea.

[4] Tav. Alfab. ub. sup. ad lit.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1166. Magdalen at the feet of Christ. — No. 1168. Virgin and S. John mourning. Wood, oil. Both genuine. — No. 1217. Bust likeness of a youth supposed to be Alessandro Braccesi (?), of an olive tone, but injured by restoring (wood, oil). — No. 1287. Round of the Holy Family, Leonardesque in arrangement, and soft, but somewhat poor, owing to absence of the requisite relief (wood, oil, figures half life size). — No. 24. Corridor. Round of the Virgin adoring the child, attended by an angel —, rubbed down, but in the character of Credi (wood, oil, figures half life size). — No. 1160. Annunciation, with three subjects in dead colour below; — ex. gr. the Creation of Eve, the Original Sin, and the Expulsion (wood, oil, small figures), genuine. — No. 1146. Annunciation (wood, oil), genuine. — No. 1150. The Saviour appears to the Magdalen as the gardener (wood, oil, small figures) very pretty and careful. (See the replica, almost equally good, at the Louvre, postea.)

Florence. Pitti. No. 354. Holy Family (wood, oil, round), reminiscent of Credi in composition and manner, but of a hard, low tinge of colour. Something in it reminds one of Piero di Cosimo, but it seems of Credi's school, yet the painter is not Sogliani, nor is it Michele di Ridolfo, both of whom were Credi's pupils (Vas. VIII. 207 IX. 62. and XI. 294). But we know nothing of other disciples, Tommaso di Stefano, Gian Jacopo di Castrocaro (registered in 1525 in the Florentine guild, Gualandi, Ser. VI.), Antonio del Ceraiuolo (Vas. VIII. 204. 207. and XI. 132. and Gualandi, Memorie, Ser. VI, 176. and foll.), or Giovanni di Benedetto Cianfanini recorded as part author of the S. Michael in S. M. del Fiore (annot. Vas. VIII. 206). A picture of the same class is that of the Borghese Gallery (postea).

Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des petits Tableaux. No. 13. Originally in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi. Nativity. Genuine. (Wood, oil.)

Castiglione Fiorentino. Collegiate church. Chapel to the right of the choir. Nativity (wood, oil, life size figures). Vasari speaks of a tavola that was sent to Castiglione, by Francesco canon of S. Maria del Fiore. It may be the piece here noticed (Vas. VIII. 208). The Virgin kneels to the right before the penthouse, the child on straw on the ground, with S. Joseph on his knees to the left. This is genuine, neatly arranged, pretty, but a little feeble withal.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. No. 54. Round of the Nativity i. e. the infant on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and S. Joseph (wood, oil). This suggests the same reflections as the Holy Family at the Pitti (No. 354).

Venice. Academy. No. 254. Round of the Holy Family, once in the Manfrini collection (wood, oil). See, postea, Raffaellino del Garbo.

Turin. Museum. Lately bequeathed by the Barollo Family. The Virgin offers a bunch of grapes to the infant, naked on her lap; — on a window sill, a vase of flowers, and through the opening, a landscape. This is a scene of pleasing maternal affection, by Credi in his good period; — a mixture of the schools of Leonardo, Verrocchio, and Botticelli, — ex. gr. as regards types (wood, oil, figures half life size). Colour, of good impasto. — No. 589. Virgin and child (wood, oil), later in date than the foregoing and not so fine, but still graceful. The Virgin's head scaled.

Forli. Galleria Communale. No. 99. Female portrait, three quarters to the right, originally fine, in Florentine dress, Leonardesque, noble, and high bred, said to be Catherine Sforza (?) greatly injured by restoring, especially in the flesh parts (wood, oil). In one hand, a flower, the other resting on a vase.

Naples. Museum. Nativity, the child on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and S. Joseph, two angels attending (wood, oil), genuine.

Munich. Pinakothek. S. No. 553. Round of the Nativity, almost a replica (reversed) of No. 1287 at the Uffizi (wood, oil, all but life size), fine but somewhat abraded, and consequently cold.

Schleissheim. Gallery. No. 1144. Virgin and child in Credi's manner, but repainted. — No. 1138. Same subject with massacre of the Innocents in distance, by some German painter of the sixteenth century.

Berlin. Museum. No. 103. Magdalen penitent; once in S. Chiara of Florence (Vasari, VIII. 205), (wood, figure life size), a good example of the master. — No. 100. (Wood), Nativity. Genuine. — Nos. 89. Nativity, and 92, Adoration of the Kings, less attractive and perhaps school pieces.

Dresden. Gallery. No. 34. The Virgin, with the infant kissing the young Baptist (small), not by Credi, but by a third class follower of Botticelli and Filippino.

Altenburg. Lindenau Gallery. (Wood, tempera, renewed in oil) Virgin adoring the child. School of Botticelli.

Louvre. Musée Napoléon III. Ex-Campana. No. 218. Christ appearing to the Magdalen, weaker replica of that of the Uffizi (see antea), original, but abraded. — No. 219. Annunciation, same character. — Nos. 220. 221. of the school.

London. National Gallery. No. 593. Virgin and child (wood), — No. 648. The Virgin adoring the infant Christ (wood), formerly in

Northwick Gallery. These are good, genuine, and well preserved pictures.

London. Mr. Barker's Collection. 1. Virgin and child in an interior, with a distance seen through windows; the Virgin offers a pomegranate to the child. Genuine and good. — 2. Figure of a saint with a banner and shield, all but life size, authentic but not of Credi's best. — 3. Virgin and child, the young Baptist kneeling to the left, fine and original. — 4. The Virgin and child between S. Sebastian and John the Baptist, life size, good, and by the master, but a little rubbed and retouched. — 5. Round of the Virgin, child, and Baptist, one third of the life size, by Credi, but weakened perhaps by cleaning and retouching. All on wood, in oil.

London. Lord Overstone. Small altarpiece, arched at top, with the coronation of the Virgin in the upper part, two erect and two kneeling saints in a landscape below, and Christ in the tomb between SS. Francis and Anthony. This was formerly in the Rogers collection, very delicate and careful (wood).

London. Marquis of Westminster. (No. 95 at Manchester.) Small Coronation of the Virgin by a Florentine following Credi's manner (wood).

Oxford. Gallery. (Wood.) A feeble Virgin and child; of the school.

Liverpool Institution. No. 25. Virgin suckling the child in a landscape (wood, small), formerly attributed to Ghirlandaio, but a school-piece from Credi's atelier, — injured.[1]

[1] The following, mentioned by Vasari and others, may in part be comprised in the foregoing list; they are at all events not traceable at present, or they are missing: Florence, portraits of Credi, Perugino, and Girolamo Benivieni (Vas. VIII. 204. 205). Florence. Company of S. Bastiano. Virgin, child, S. Sebastian and other saints (Vas. VIII. 205)? may be the altarpiece now belonging to Mr. Barker. Montepulciano. S. Agostino. Crucified Redeemer between the Virgin and Evangelist (Tavola ib. ib. ib.).

Florence. Casa Ottaviani. Round of the Virgin (ib. ib. 206). S. Friano, tavola (circa 1525) Virgin, child, and saints (ib. ib. 206). S. Matteo or Hospital di Lelmo. Marriage of the Virgin (ib. ib. ib.). Casa Tolomei, via de' Ginori. Virgin and child (annot. Vas. VIII. 206). Casa Antonio de' Ricasoli. Unfinished picture of the Passion (Vas. VIII. 208). S. Pier' Maggiore. Cappella Albizzi. Crucifixion (Richa, Chiese, I. 146).

The career of Raffaellino del Garbo had some outward resemblance at first with that of Lorenzo di Credi, inasmuch as he served one master many years before venturing on the enjoyment of his own independence. But, whereas Credi had the advantage of learning from Verrocchio and da Vinci, del Garbo owed his education to the looser teaching of Filippino Lippi. He was Credi's junior by a few years, having been christened Raffaellino (di Bartolommeo, di Giovanni, di Niccolò Capponi) in 1466; and he remained with Filippino till at least 1490.[1] A tax-paper of 1498 exists in which he is described as living in the Popolo di Sta. Lucia sopr' Arno, with a shop in the Popolo di Sta. Maria del Fiore, his income nil, his debts fortunately the same.[2] It is said that his youth gave promise of talents; that Filippino considered him in many things superior to himself, and that the ceiling of the Caraffa chapel in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome was admired by every artist of the time for the beauty of its finish. Accepting this flattering picture of Raffaellino's youth on the authority of Vasari, we are bound also to admit that his manhood was marked by unexpected mediocrity.[3]

The recent discovery of records, proving Raffaellino's descent from Niccolò Capponi, might connect him with the authorship of a Madonna and saints in the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova of Florence, dated 1500, and signed

[1] His birth is calculated from Vasari's statement that he died in 1524, aged 58. His name has been taken from cotemporary records by the annotators of Vasari (Tav. Alfab.).

[2] Quartiere S. Spirito. Arroti del 1498. Quartiere S. Spirito. Gonfalone Scala. Rafaello da Bartolommeo dipintore, Popolo di Santa Lucia sopr'Arno.

Non ò gravezza
Sustanza nulla.

Tengho a pigione da Torrigiano Torrigiani, Gonfalone Nicchio, una bottega a uso tienirsi l'abacho, posta in borgho Sc̃o. Jachopo da prima via; a 2ª, el cecina, a 3ª, Arno, per pregio di fior. otto l'anno. Dipoi l'apigionò a Raffaello Canaci Gonfalº. Leo... per detta fior. otto. L'ho a tenere a tenere (sic), per insino a dì 12 di Magio 1495 (sic) fior. 8. larghi. Tengho a pigione una bottegha a uso di dipintore da Luca Rinieri Gonfalº Vaio, posta nel popolo di Sª Maria del Fiore, a prima via, a 2ª, Matteo de' Servi, a 3ª, Giovanni da S. Miniato per pregio di fior. 5 di sugello l'anno. Apariscene una scritta di mano di detto Lucha". Favoured by Signor Gº. Milanesi.

[3] Vas. VII. 191.

Raphael de Caponibus. Taken in connection with a second, of 1502, at Sta. Maria degli Angeli in Sienna by "Raphael de Florentia", and a third in S. Spirito of Florence, dated 1505, this picture has already been cited as a mixed Florentine and Umbrian creation, different from those usually attributed to Raffaellino. If it should appear that del Garbo and the authors of these three Madonnas are one person, we have a specimen of the manner in which artist-journeymen assumed a different style as they passed from one school to another, and thus almost defy identification.[2] A series of frescos in the sisterhood of S. Giorgio at Florence, dated 1504, would have been a guide in this uncertainty, being the only inscribed paintings to which history alludes.[3] In their absence we must fall back upon such panels as Vasari mentions. It cannot be denied that the incidents depicted in S. Martino de' Buonomini at Florence are sufficiently like the work of a pupil in Filippino's shop, to warrant assigning them to Raffaellino,[4] but apart from these, the master's productions are abundant enough for a sure selection. Claustral rules exclude visitors from the refectory of Sta. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi at Florence, where a fresco of Christ distributing the loaves and fishes covers one of the principal walls,[5] but the figures of SS. Ignatius and Roch at the sides of the statue of S. Sebastian in a chapel of the same convent, sufficiently testify that del Garbo could languidly follow the manner of Filippino.[6] Affectation in forms, mannerism in drawing, and flatness of tempera are equally characteristic in this as in the more graceful angel and Virgin annunciate flanking a Giottesque S. Lucy in S. Lucia de' Bardi.[7]

[1] Antea, Vol. II, 445 and foll[s].

[2] The Nativities in S. Lorenzo, Florence (described antea vol. II. 455) are in poor condition. Recently, a S. Lawrence in majesty between SS. Stephen and Leonardo, has been restored to its old place in S. Lorenzo. It is dated MDXI, and may rank on a par with the Nativities.

[3] Vas. VII. 192.

[4] See antea. Vol. II. 458.

[5] Vas. VII. 193. 4.

[6] Tempera, wood. Vasari VII. 194, and Richa, Chiese, I. 141.

[7] Altar, to the left of entrance.

MADONNA AND ANGELS; panel by Raffaellino del Garbo, in the Museum at Berlin

In the left transept of S. Spirito at Florence, a Trinity adored by the kneeling SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen, is a carefully handled and gay specimen of the same art, with a tendency in Raffaellino to lengthen the proportions of the human frame. There are also some pretty things in the predella, representing the Nativity between the Communion of S. Mary of Egypt and the Martyrdom of the Alexandrian saint.[1] But, Raffaellino appears to most advantage in the Gallery of Berlin, where one of his most important altarpieces, and two cabinet-pictures are preserved. The first of these, a Virgin and child attended by angels, cherubs, and four saints, is a clear and brilliant tempera executed with great precision in the manner of Filippino and Fra Filippo, but still displaying the slender forms, the affected movement and expression of del Garbo;[2] the second, a Madonna with the child, and the Baptist accompanied by angels, between SS. Sebastian and Andrew, is as good;[3] the third, an erect Virgin and child between two angels in a landscape, is the best of the three, and will be found engraved in these pages. The tenderest maternal fondness is imparted to the mother whose cheek rests on the curly head of the Saviour asleep on her bosom. There is something almost Raphaelesque in the conception of the group. The melancholy of the Virgin's face, the flexibility in her attitude of rest are very winning. The drawing is correct, and the draperies well cast. A happy thought is that of making the angel to the right pause in sounding the pipes that the child may sleep and be undisturbed. The other angel is less successful, being a little forced, affected, and absent in look, and thus unconnected in a

Tempera, wood, figures about half life size, of a soft, but weak grey tone.

[1] The Eternal holds a crucifix. Landscape, wood, tempera.

[2] Berlin. Museum. No. 87. Tempera. Two angels support the arras at the side of the throne. Lower are two cherubim. The saints are: Nicholas and Dominick erect, Vincent and Peter Martyr kneeling. Distance, a landscape (wood).

[3] Berlin. Museum. No. 98. Distance, a landscape (wood, tempera, figures half the life size).

certain measure with the scene. His pose, as well as his playing, form a discord in the harmony. But for this, the result would be better. Yet as a whole the panel is one of the most pleasant by Raffaellino, very conscientious and cleverly touched, and full of freshness in every part.[1]

In a round of the Virgin and child between SS. Jerom and Francis at Dresden, Raffaellino has expended less application[2] than in those of the Berlin Museum. But the Coronation of the Virgin, once in S. Salvi of Florence, and now at the Louvre, is a first-class altarpiece which would completely illustrate the relation of del Garbo to his master if time and restoring had not dimmed and injured the surface. Yet, the large size of the figures still demonstrates his inferiority in the technica, and in the overstudied grace which robs his personages of natural charms in form, expression, or movement.[3]

Without extending an examination which cannot bring out new features in Raffaellino, it may be sufficient to register his pictures at Florence, on the continent, and elsewhere, and to note that towards the close of his days he was reduced to great penuriousness, and sold the proceeds of his labour at low prices. He died infirm and poor, in 1524, and was buried in S. Simone at Florence by the charitable care of the Company of Mercy.[4]

Florence. S. Ambrogio. To the left of the entrance, the arched upper border surrounding a statue of S. Sebastian contains two angels in monochrome; and a medallion at the base incloses an annunciation in Raffaellino's manner. On the second altar to the

[1] Berlin. Museum. No. 90. Round (wood, tempera, small).

[2] Dresden. Gallery. No. 36. Round (tempera, wood, half life size). The S. Jerom is the best figure, the others being perhaps by one of Raffaellino's pupils.

[3] Louvre. No. 200. Arched at top, tempera, wood, life size. Four angels play instruments about the circular glory, beneath which there are three cherubim. On the foreground, SS. Benedict, Salvi, Gio. Gualberto, and Bernard. The blues are everywhere abraded, and the draperies are throughout damaged. The lower parts are the least preserved. The predella (scenes from the life of S. Giovanni Gualberto) is missing.

[4] Vas. VII. 196, and Tav. alfab. ub. sup.

right (S. Ambrogio), is also a S. Anthony in majesty between S. Nicholas, and the angel and Tobit, of the same class, but repainted.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 67. Originally in Monte Oliveto, wood, oil, figures half life size. Subject, the Resurrection. Vasari's praise here is excessive (VII. 191). We are dealing, as before, with a dwarfed Filippino. The paltry character of the shapes reminds one of the Resurrection under the name of the Ghirlandai in the Berlin Museum (No. 75). The Redeemer rises from the sepulchre, and the cover has fallen on one of the guards. A soldier on the left gets on his legs in terror. Another runs away to the right with a knife in his hand. Both are grimacing. The figures in action are less successful than the Redeemer and the men asleep about the tomb. The colour, being hatched in shadows, seems handled like tempera, but remains careful and precise, though a little raw, and sharp in contrasts. Serpentine drapery is another prominent defect. The landscape of town, ruins, rocks, and trees is rather green.

Florence. Uffizi. Corridor. No. 35. Round, wood. Injured Holy Family, composed in a mode reminiscent of Raphael, assigned in the Catalogue to Raffaellino, but of the class suggested by his name and that of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

Venice. Academy. No. 254. Once in the Manfrini Gallery. Round (wood) of the Holy Family, called Credi, well arranged, but scaled and retouched all over; — probably by Raffaellino.

Naples. Museum. No. 280. Round, wood, oil. The Virgin gives a pomegranate to the infant who turns towards the young Baptist. Feeble, raw and hard, and overladen with ornament. Of Raffaellino's school by a later hand.

London. Mr. Fuller Maitland. Altarpiece, Virgin and child, between SS. John Evangelist, Justus, Julian, and Catherine (wood, life size, grounds regilt). Greatly damaged by restoring, but still exhibiting the style of del Garbo when young, and recently out of the school of Filippino.

London. Sir Charles Eastlake. Virgin with the child on her lap opening a pomegranate (kneepiece). The Baptist seen to the waist looks on. A vase and book are on a parapet in front, a landscape behind (wood, small). A graceful tempera of much softness and feeling, carefully finished, and of a clear bright tone.

London. Mr. Barker. From the Rogers and Bromley collections. Catalogued as Verrocchio and then as Pollaiuolo (see antea, II. 413). Profile bust of a lady in a gold head-dress, a good likeness by del Garbo.

Vienna. Harrach Gallery. No. 180. Round of the Holy Family. The Virgin holds the child. S. Joseph has the young S. John by his

side. On the left, two kneeling angels (wood, figures third of life). Not by Raffaellino, but a Florentine disciple of Michele di Ridolfo or Mariano da Pescia.

Mayence. Museum. No. 129. Described "manner of Ghirlandaio". Virgin erect, the child turning the leaves of a book on a marble table (wood, figures 1/3 life size). In Raffaellino's style.

Missing pieces may be registered as follows: Florence, tabernacle at the corner of the Ponte alla Carraia and Canto alla Cuculia (Vas. VII. 192). Villa of Marignolle; two tavole (ib. ib. ib.). S. Spirito. Pietà. Vision of S. Bernard (as regards the latter see antea p. 255), and Virgin, child, SS. Jerom and Bartholomew (ib. ib. 192—3). S. Pier Maggiore: Virgin, child, and SS. Gio. Gualberto and Francis (ib. ib. 194 and Richa, Chiese I. 141) .Murate: S. Sigismund (Vas. VII. 194). S. Pancrazio; fresco of the Nativity (ib. ib. ib.), Ponte a Rubaconte, chapel (ib. ib. 195). Chiesa dell' Arcangelo Raffaello; Virgin and child (Richa, Chiese; I. 167 and IX. 129).

The life of Piero di Cosimo, the cotemporary of Credi and Raffaellino, affords Vasari matter for an amusing and perhaps overdrawn sketch of character.

Piero is said in his youth to have been industrious and clever, but absent, solitary, and given to castle-building. At a later period, he became a misanthrope; would not admit any one to his room either to clean it or to see his pictures; never had a regular meal, but if hungry, ate of hard eggs which he cooked half a hundred at a time. He was an enemy to all artificial cultivation of men as well as of plants. His eccentricities increased with age, so that in his latter days he was querulous and intolerant, subject to fits of fright if he heard the distant growl of thunder, impatient of ordinary noises, such as the crying of children, the coughing of men, ringing of bells, chanting of friars, and buzzing of flies. During a paralysis which made his last hours burdensome, he would inveigh against all doctors, apothecaries, and nurses, suspecting them of starving their patients; and he was heard to contrast the melancholy nature of death by prolonged

sickness with the happy and speedy one of the criminal who goes to his end in fresh air, surrounded by the sympathy, and comforted by the prayers, of the people.[1]

Piero's life, however, has a much higher interest for the historian than that which may be created by the narrative of his foibles. He was the elder companion of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto Albertinelli, in the atelier of Cosimo Rosselli; and the master of Andrea del Sarto.

The income-paper of his father, Lorenzo di Piero, drawn up in 1480, enables us to correct Vasari's chronology, and describes Piero as born in 1462, and as an assistant without pay in the shop of Cosimo Rosselli.[2] Cosimo, having about this time been called to Rome by orders from Sixtus the Fourth, was accompanied by Piero who helped him in the portraits and landscapes of his frescos.[3] In February 1485, Rosselli had returned to Florence, and was in the employ of the nuns of S. Ambrogio with the future Fra Bartolommeo, a mere child, as apprentice.[4]

It is not improbable that Piero was then chief journeyman to Cosimo, for Vasari leads us to believe that the connection lasted till Rosselli's death (1506); and Piero, at all events, continued the art of his teacher.[5] He may therefore be considered as partner in the authorship of several altarpieces in S. Spirito at Florence, in which the styles of Ghirlandaio and Filippino are mingled with that of Cosimo Rosselli,[6] in a Virgin and saints at S. Ambro-

[1] Vas. VII. 112 and follg.

[2] Portata al Catasto, in Tav. alfab. ub. sup. art. Piero. We are indebted to Signor Gaetano Milanesi for the following in addition respecting Piero's family. Antonio begets Piero. Piero begets Lorenzo Chimenti, painter, b. 1436, registered in Florentine guild (Guasandi, scr. VI. ub. sup. p. 180), and Baldo, registered in the same guild, in 1450 (ib. ib. ib.). Lorenzo begets Piero (di Cosimo), Giovanni b. 1464, Francesco b. 1474, Raffaello b. 1475, and Bastiano b. 1478.

[3] Vas. V. 32, and VII, 113.

[4] See, postea, the documents in support of these statements.

[5] Piero was one of those who gave opinions as to the place of Michael Angelo's David in 1503 (Gaye, Carteggio, II. 455).

[6] 1. S. Spirito. 27th chapel in the left transept. Virgin, child, and two angels between SS. Thomas and Peter (Fantozzi, Guida ub. sup. p. 687, catalogued this, in the school of the Ghirlandai). In the predella are a Christ on the Mount, the Annunciation, and a Miracle. On the step of the throne is the date: "MCCCCLXXXII".
2. Same church. 30th chapel, in

gio,[1] and in a Virgin and child at S. Agostino of Lucca, attributed to Zacchia.[2] The last mentioned picture is in truth so like Piero's own in raw tinge of red colour and in aspect of figures, that little doubt can be entertained as to its genuineness. With regard to the period of execution, as in respect of dates connected with the actions and creations of Piero, the scantiest intelligence exists. So vague indeed is the prospect that a concrete shape can only be given to Piero's performances by registering a number of them in succession, the sequence of which may be guessed at, according as the technical system points to material progress or to the lapse of intervals of time.

An important, though hitherto unnoticed production in a solitary church of the Casentino, may under these circumstances repay attention. The subject is the Virgin and child enthroned in a landscape between the erect SS. Peter and Paul, and the kneeling Jerom and Francis. The place is the high altar of S. Pietro al Terreno near Figline. Whilst on the one hand we recognise the influence of Cosimo Rosselli's atelier, and chiefly the system of Piero di Cosimo in the general appearance of the panel, we are reminded on the other of Mariotto's or Bartolommeo's early efforts by the superior character of the S. Francis, and the light gay tone and spring-freshness of the landscape. It is possible that two hands should have been put on to hasten the completion of the piece, and that one of them should be the future Dominican; possible also that Piero di Cosimo did it unassisted, having already taken some distinct peculiarities from his younger school-companions. Be this as it may, the Madonna of

left transept, Virgin and child with two angels between SS. Bartholomew and Nicholas of Bari, and two kneeling friars (according to Fantozzi, ub. sup. by A. Pollaiuolo), pale and dim in tone. 3. Same church. 25th chapel, in left transept, Virgin, child, and two angels, between SS. Bartholomew and John Evangelist (manner of Botticelli, says Fantozzi). On the step of the throne a Crucifixion. The two latter not so good as the first.

[1] See antea, II. 521, note 4. The picture is in the sacristy.

[2] See antea, II. 521. 2.

S. Pietro al Terreno is dryly and firmly touched in oil at one painting, with rawish low flesh-tones shadowed in opaque olive brown, and draperies of vitrous and sharp tints. A Leonardesque element is observable in the air, and slender neck of the Virgin, and in the puffy forms of the infant. Without absolute lack of feeling, most of the saints are incorrectly drawn, short, bony, and not free from vulgarity. The dresses are double in stuff and overladen with complicated folds. The author, according to local belief, is Ridolfo Ghirlandaio; but the stamp and handling are less his than those of Granacci, albeit the latter is more Michaelangelesque. What speaks most in favour of Piero di Cosimo, is the likeness between this and another Virgin amongst saints at the Uffizi,[1] described by Vasari at the altar of the Tedaldi in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi. The Madonna on a pedestal looks up to the dove with a movement in the spirit of Fra Bartolommeo, and true to the principles of high art. S. John Evangelist erect on the left is a counterpart of the S. Peter at S. Pietro al Terreno. In each of the dramatis personæ, curt proportion, heavy bone, and coarse extremities are noticeable, and the colouring is abruptly contrasted and un-mellow. The execution is related to Credi's, but has more roughness and strength, and a darker key of shadow. It would show that Piero tried to rival Credi in the enamel of his surface, without his patience and by the copious use of more liquid colours. Hence the crystalline or amber lucidity (ex. gr.) of the fine bust portrait at the Uffizi, recently catalogued under Piero's name, where the ruddy and smooth impasto is veiled with the thinnest sort of glaze, and recalls del Sarto, Ridolfo, and Granacci.[2] Hence also the polish of his Madonna amongst saints in the sacristy of the Innocenti at Florence, one of his best altarpieces, yet one in which his defects are pro-

[1] Uffizi. No. 1250. Wood, oil. The saints about the Virgin are SS. John Evangelist, Philip (beato), Antonino, and Peter, Margaret and Catherine, kneeling in front.

[2] Uffizi. Corridor No. 36. Bust of a man in a black cap, three quarters to the left, with a dark dress and a white frill.

minent in combination with a certain imitation or rather exaggeration of the types of Filippino.[1] We might follow this vein in Piero further, citing, at Florence, a small S. Catherine in the Lombardi Gallery,[2] a fragment of a Holy Family in the Pianciatichi collection,[3] and at the Louvre,[4] a Coronation of the Virgin of more than usual feebleness. Piero, however, did not confine himself to holy subjects. He treated with evident pleasure such portions of classic fable as might enable him to display the study of animal life in natural or fantastic shapes, or that of recondite costume or ornament.[5] He seldom neglected an occasion of exhibiting himself in this light, as in the lost predella of the Madonna at the Servi, where S. Margaret was to be seen issuing from the belly of the serpent;[6] but he most frequently dealt with such themes in the decoration of cars for festivals, in suites of rooms, in single panels, or in the accessories to mythological incidents,[7] his model in this, as well as in the application of novelties in the manipulation of oils and mediums, being Leonardo da Vinci, whose genius and versatility were envied by all his cotemporaries, and whose influence was so extraordinary that it is difficult to treat of any painter of his time without mentioning his name.

Examples of this phase in Piero are scarce; but his fancy is fairly illustrated in the Wedding of Perseus disturbed,[8] the Sacrifice to Jove for the safety of Andro-

[1] Wood, oil, figures almost life size. Virgin and child enthroned between saints, S. Rosa on her knees to the left, offering roses to the infant, and S. Catherine, a caricature from Filippino, kneeling to the right. Six angels, with garlands on their heads, kneel smiling at the sides of the Madonna. Two others hold back the tapestry above her head. Distance, a fair landscape. Vas. VII. 121.

[2] Wood, oil, small, and in good preservation.

[3] No. 44. Life size. Virgin, child and S. Joseph called Mariotto Albertinelli. Wood, oil. A piece wanting on the left side.

[4] Louvre. No. 291. Supposed to have been in S. Friano at Florence (Vas. VII. 121). Figures life size, in oil, on wood.

[5] Vas. VII. 118.

[6] Ib. ib. ib.

[7] Ib. ib. 117. 18. 19.

[8] Uffizi. Corridor, No. 21. Perseus is represented petrifying his enemies with the head of Medusa (wood, oil).

meda,[1] and the two rescues of Andromeda[2] in the Uffizi, in which the compositions are rich in episodes and action, in strange dresses, panoplies, and other naturalistic details, but where also the figures are somewhat affected, paltry, and pinched. Nor is the technical handling constantly the same. Instead of colour in strata, of strong lucid impasto, instead of abrupt contrasts of key, with firm lines of demarcation in dresses, the tones are all fused vaguely into each other, so that a gaudy and glossy mist overspreads the surfaces. The landscapes, however, remain rich and precise in minutiæ, as if by a Ferrarese, without atmosphere, though in harmony as regards tint with the rest of the work. One might suppose that as Piero grew old he was tempted to follow in the footsteps of his own pupil Andrea del Sarto; and that his cloudiness of contours had its origin in that way.

But his mythological pictures have not invariably the character of those we have been considering. The Death of Procris in the National Gallery[3] is free from exaggeration of fancy. It is a half tempera of low key in fleshtone, done with ease, fairly select in forms, and chastened in drawing, superior in every respect to the Venus and Mars,[4] or to the earlier "Meeting of Christ and the Baptist", in the Gallery of Berlin.[5]

Vasari alone authorizes us to believe that Piero di Cosimo died in 1521.[6]

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[1] Uffizi. Corridor, No. 28. Vas. VII. 119 (wood, oil).

[2] Uffizi. No. 32. Corridor; and No. 1246. Vas. VII. 119, wood, oil.

[3] National Gallery. No. 698, from the Lombardi collection. Wood, figures half the life-size.

[4] Berlin. Museum. No. 107. Wood. Vas. VII. 120.

[5] Berlin. Museum. No. 93. Wood, small.

[6] Vasari. VII. 123. The following, noticed by Vasari, are missing. Florence. S. Marco, novitiate; a Virgin erect with the child in her arms, in oil (VII. 114). S. Spirito, cappella Gino Capponi; panel, Visitation with SS. Nicholas and Anthony, the latter in spectacles (ib. ib. ib). Guardaroba del Duca Cosimo, a marine monster (ib. ib. 119). Fiesole. S. Francesco. Conception (ib. ib. 121). Rumohr speaks of a picture in the church inscribed: "Pier' di Cosimo, 1480" (Forsch. II. 352), but this also is not to be found, especially as Rumohr does not give the subject. Florence. Casa Gio. Vespucci; Bacchanals (Vas. VII. 121).

In possession of Francesco da S. Gallo, a Portrait of Piero, and by Piero, a head of Cleopatra, a likeness of Giuliano da S. Gallo, and another of Francesco Giamberti (ib. ib. 123). Richa assigns to Piero de Cosimo the following: Florence. S. Spirito. Cappella Torrigiani. Assumption (Richa, Chiese IX. 20). Cappella Bini. Transfiguration (ib. ib. 26). Cappella de' Bettoni. Christ risen from the dead (ib. ib. 28). These three are by one hand, not by Piero di Cosimo, but by Pier Francesco di Sandro, named by Vas. (VIII. 294), a follower of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Andrea del Sarto whose painting is pale and washy; and whose figures are long, lean, and lifeless.

CHAPTER XIII.

FRA BARTOLOMMEO DELLA PORTA.

Fra Bartolommeo, who was called Bartolommeo di Pagholo del Fattorino, before he joined the Dominican order, was apprentice to Cosimo Rosselli. His uncles, Jacopo and Giusto di Jacopo settled in 1469—70 at Suffignano a village near Florence, and lived there as agricultural labourers; his father Pagholo, pursuing the restless calling of a muleteer.[1]

Towards the close of 1478, Pagholo settled at Florence having saved a small competence with which he bought a house and garden in S. Pier' Gattolino.[2]

[1] These facts are made clear from the Portate al Catasto of Giusto in 1469 and 1487, from which, as well as from that of Paolo (1480—1), we take the following genealogy.

Piero begets Jacopo. Jacopo, by his second wife Margareta, b. 1499, begets Paolo, b. 1418, married to Andrea, b. 1448, died 1487; and Giusto, b. 1433; and Jacopo, b. 1435, married Maddalena, b. 1445. Paolo, muleteer, begets: Bartolommeo, b. 1475, died 1517: Piero, afterwards a priest, b. 1477; Domenico, b. 1479, d. 1486; and Michele, b. 1480 (favoured by Signor Gaetano Milanesi). Vasari is therefore wrong in stating that Fra Bartolommeo was born at Savignano (VII. 171) in which place no trace of the family can be discovered; and it is more likely that he was of Suffignano where his uncles lived.

[2] In a "protocollo" drawn up by Ser Jacopo di Bartolommeo de' Camerotti (Archiv. gen. de' contratti di Firenze (1477. 80) we find the following:

"Anno 1478. die octava Sept. Andreas quondam Gabriellis Vichi, populi S. Petri in Selva de Castiglia, pro se atque suis heredibus dedit, vendidit, Paulo Jacobi Pieri vecturali, populi sancti felicis in platea ementi pro se atque suis heredibus, unam domum cum palchis saliis, cameris, et horto, puteo, trogolo &c. positam Florentie in populo S. Petri in Gattolino, cum a primo via &c. pro pretio et no-

The two mules, which had contributed to his fortune found a gentle repose in the stables of the new home, whilst their master improved his condition in the business of a carrier.

Bartolommeo, who was to become celebrated in the annals of Florentine art was three years old when these events occurred, and in 1480, was the eldest of four children.[1] No doubt the question speedily arose, what was to be done with the boys, particularly as Pagholo at the time was of an age above threescore. Benedetto da Maiano the sculptor, who was consulted on this point, suggested that little Baccio, for so the name was shortened, should be bound to Cosimo Rosselli.[2] The suggestion

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mine pretii florenor. auri centum quinquaginta novem et medium unius floreni" (favoured by Gaetano Milanesi).

[1] Arch. di Firenze, Portate al Catasto del 1480—1. Quart. di S. Spirito, Gonfal^e. Ferza 451.

"Pagholo d'Jachopo di Piero, abita in detto quartiere e gonfalone. Non a avuta più gravezza, ma perchè a comperato beni però la do questa iscritta. O atteso andare co i muli. Sustanze. Una casa per mio abitare posta nel popolo di S. Piero Ghattolini chon sua vochaboli e chonfini, che dà prima via ½ Nicholò di Gherardo Moiaio. 2°. beni di S. Jacopo champo chorbolini, la quale comperai da Amadio (read Andrea) de Ghabriello di Vicho per pregio di fiorini cento cinquanta nove larghi cioe fior. 159 larghi, carta per mano di Ser Jachopo di Bartolommeo di Giovanni Camerotti. Uno pezzo di terra vignata di staione 4 in circha, posta nel popolo di Santo Martino a Brozzi, coè S. Maria a Brozzi luogo detto Pratovecchio, chon sua vochaboli e confini, che da primo el piovano di Brozzi; 2° rede di Piero Francesco di Verzaia; 3° le monache di S. Domenico; 4° el priore di S. Pagholo di Firenze, la quale chonperai da Domenico di Piero di Benedetto da Brozzi per pregio di fiorini diciotto larghi, cioè fior. 18 larghi; carta per mano di Ser Jacopo di Bartolommeo di Giovanni Chamerotti. Rende l'anno in parte vino barili 6. Dua Mule disutili e vecchi di valuta di fior. 10.

Bocche. Pagholo sopra detto d'età d'ann. 62.

Monna Andrea mia donna d'età d'anni 34.

Bartolommeo mio figliuolo d'età d'anni sei.

Piero mio figliuolo d'età d'anni 3.

Domenico mio figliuolo d'età d'anni 2.

Michele mio figluolo d'età d'anni 1.

[2] Benedetto da Maiano died at Florence, aged 55, in 1497, leaving three sons and three daughters. Cosimo Rosselli was appointed administrator to his property by the Magistrato de' Pupilli. Amongst the property left behind by Benedetto, we find the following list of books, interesting because it tells us what literature artists usually consulted. The Bible, the Divina Commedia, the "Vangeli e Fioretti" of S. Francis, Livy, the chronicle of Florence, the life of Alexander of Macedon, lives of the fathers, Boccaccio, S. Antonino, the book of Vices and Virtues, the "novellino" and "Libro de' Laudi"

was favorably received and the child entered on his duties in 1484.

Rosselli's occupation chiefly took him then to the convent of S. Ambrogio at Florence; and his assistant was the absent and eccentric Piero di Cosimo. Without being the best of Florentine artists, his known integrity and respectability insured to him considerable practise; and his school afforded the same advantages to beginners as that of a greater man. To grind colours, sweep the workshop, and run errands, was the course which Baccio like others was obliged by custom to follow.

Baccio's honesty soon won him the full confidence of his superior, and he was often the link of communication between Cosimo and the nuns of S. Ambrogio, from whom he received the pay of his master.[1] Nor is it unlikely that early familiarity with convents and the solemn silence of churches was of influence in preparing his timid mind[2] for the retirement into which he subsequently withdrew. Whilst his comrade, Mariotto Albertinelli, resorted to the garden of the Medici, in which the old sculptor Bertoldo preserved but scant discipline, and where broken noses and black eyes were to be had without the asking, Baccio sought the more carefully guarded stillness of the Carmine,[3] and preferred Masaccio and Filippino to classic bas-reliefs and statues. Yet his amiable disposition did not repel the friendship of his school-fellows, and we are assured that Baccio and Mariotto were "one body and one soul".[4] Whatever, indeed, might have been their difference of humour and of character, the two students were united to each other by

(see Cesare Guasti's Report of the Società Colombaria for 1861, May 25th, 1862, in Archiv. Stor. n. I. Vol. 16. part 1st, p. 92.

[1] "1484—5. A Chosimo dipintore a dì VIIII di Febraio fior. uno largho d'oro in oro; portò Bartolommeo che sta con esso lui". Archiv. di stato di Firenze (Corp. relig. soppress.) Mon. di S. Ambrogio. Entrata e uscita dal 1479 al 1485, p. 167.

"1485. A Chosimo dipintore a dì XVII di Magio fior. uno largho portò Bartolommeo di Pagholo del Fattorino". Ib. ib. ib. p. 171.

[2] "Artefice mansueto". Vas. VII. p. 152.

[3] Vas. III. 162.

[4] Vas. VII. 180.

companionship, by a similar age, and by common pursuits. They had before them the examples of Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, and Ghirlandaio in the past; those of Michael Angelo and Leonardo in the present. With those of Raphael they were soon to make acquaintance; and these were incentives to progress too strong to fail of their effect. Baccio, thanks to industry and heart, attained to a grandeur nearly approaching that of Buonarotti. He almost equalled Sanzio in decorous composition; Leonardo was his teacher as regards the technica of colour,[1] and if he was not absolutely on the level of any one of them, he was so close as to be necessarily counted a great genius by their side.

The first misfortune which befel him was the loss of his brother Domenico in 1486,[2] an event melancholy in itself, but perhaps not seriously felt by the elastic nerves of a child. A more serious blow was the death of his father which occurred in the following year, leaving Baccio in charge to his mother, who was not destined long to survive.[3] Under these altered conditions it is probable that the family-circle grew dearer to him, and that he frequented it with unwonted assiduity. From that time also he, no doubt, became known as Baccio della Porta from the vicinity of the maternal dwelling to the gate of S. Pier' Gattolino;[4] and it was natural that he and Albertinelli should often retire there together in the evenings after their work, and spend the hours before sleep in eager and confidential converse.

The produce of their industry in Rosselli's shop was of such a kind, that if it were to be found at all, it would be under Rosselli's name, and display his impress or that of Piero di Cosimo.[5] It would be presuming even to base

[1] Cominciò a studiare con grande affezione le cose di Lionardo da Vinci, e in poco tempo fece tal frutto e tal progresso nel colorito, chè s'acquistò reputazione e credito d'uno de' miglior giovani dell' arte. Vas. VII. 150.

[2] See antea, note to p. 427.

[3] See antea, note to p. 427.

[4] Vas. VII. 150.

[5] We only allude to the Annunciation in the sacristy of S. Marco at Florence (assigned to Baccio by Father Marchese, Mem. II. 18—19) to say that it appears done by a

any theory as to Baccio's early style on the examination of the Madonna with saints at S. Pietro al Terreno, to which reference has been made. The feeling, character, landscape, and handling of the panel are indeed reminiscent of the manner which we shall have occasion to acknowledge as that of Fra Bartolommeo, but, we have said, Piero di Cosimo might have painted it either under a lucky momentary impulse which carried him forward with the art of his time, or inspired by Fra Bartolommeo himself.[1]

We cannot assume that Baccio and Mariotto were partners before 1490 in the house of Paolo del Fattorino.[2] Both would then have past the term imposed upon them by their articles of apprenticeship, and Baccio would have sufficient means at his disposal to make him careless of a journeyman's salary. Such, we believe, were the circumstances under which the friends started in their profession. But at the very outset the germs of a future separation might be discerned. Mariotto attracted the attention of one of the Medici in the "Garden";[3] and Baccio was soon to be struck by the reforming fury of Fra Savonarola. The youths were therefore taking opposite sides without being aware of it. For the first time in Lent of 1495, the Dominican friar began to preach openly in the Duomo in condemnation of the lasciviousness of the Florentines and required the burning or destruction of immodest figures. His eloquence secured him audiences as numerous as those which of old listened to the public commentators on the Divina Commedia;[4] and as he thundered anathema from his pulpit against the profane spirit

pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, (but see postea; Michele di Ridolfo).

Nor do we know anything of Baccio's portrait by himself in the collection of the Signori Montecatini at Lucca (Lanzi, History of Painting, ub. sup. I. p. 149).

[1] Father Marchese (Mem. ub. sup. II. 18) quotes Della Valle's notes as to a "tavola of 1493 by Porta" in Castel Franco a S. Pietro al Terreno. He does not give the subject.

[2] Vas. VII. 150. 180.

[3] Vas. VII. 181.

[4] Marchese, Mem. ub. sup. I. 378 and foll.

of the age, he roused the fervor and the sneers of the multitude.

Whilst Baccio admitted the truth of the principles exposed by Savonarola, Mariotto inveighed against the religious orders in general, and the Dominicans in particular.[1] But, in spite of this divergence, they remained on good terms, even after Baccio had become the devoted adherent of Savonarola. It was not, as some assert, the opinion of the latter that art should be forbidden altogether. On the contrary, he thought that its exercise was a profitable occupation for monks; and he was ambitious of introducing it as far as possible into his monastery for purposes of revenue. His persuasion induced miniaturists, painters, and sculptors to join the Dominicans — Fra Filippo Lapaccini (1492), Fra Benedetto (1495), Fra Eustachio (1496), Fra Agostino di Paolo, and Fra Ambrogio della Robbia (1495);[2] and he was wont to say that independence being better than mendicancy for an order claiming to preach the truth, it was but foresight to lay the foundations of a better financial condition.[3] His own portrait was done in terra cotta, perhaps by Ambrogio della Robbia, in 1496, and is now in the hands of Signor Cristiano Banti at Florence; — a lifelike profile of the natural size, giving the marked features and especially the hook nose and large skinny mouth of the monk with startling reality, showing him with the air of a swooping eagle, though aged, and as if wearied by unceasing strife. But before sitting for this magnificent plastic specimen, Savonarola had already been taken in a similar attitude, though in a more amiable and quiet mood, by Baccio.[4] For many years this portrait was supposed to have perished. It had been sent in the first instance to Ferrara, and then brought back to Florence by Filippo di Averardo Salviati, who afterwards gave it to

[1] Vas. VII. 182.

[2] A Nativity in terra cotta by Ambrogio is still in S. Spirito at Sienna. See the record in Marchese (II. 206—7).

[3] Marchese ub. sup. I. 392.

[4] The age of Savonarola in Baccio's portrait is less than in the terra cotta of 1496.

the Dominican nuns of S. Vincenzo at Prato. The nuns kept it until the suppression of their convent in 1810, and after many accidents it was purchased by Signor Ermolao Rubieri the present possessor.[1] In this, the earliest extant work of Baccio della Porta, the character and features of the Dominican are reproduced with a fidelity which proves the perfect acquaintance of the artist with the friar. The readiness and decision, the consciousness of power in the face, its bilious complexion, exactly embody what we know by description to have been the aspect and temper of Savonarola. What it reveals besides is Baccio's cleanness of contour, his able handling of materials, and force of modelling, with a moderate impasto at one painting; but above all, the methods of Cosimo Rosselli, in the low key and the somewhat clouded transparence of oil-colour. The significant line: "Hieronymi Ferrariensis a Deo missi prophetæ effigies" is a motto on the panel expressive of Baccio's fanatical worship which it became prudent to conceal in the days of Savonarola's trial.[2] When, in after years, and in the retirement of Pian di Mugnone, Fra Bartolommeo again attempted to revive this effigy,[3] he did so with a touch more masterly and grand than that of his youth, allegorically representing Savonarola in the guise of Peter Martyr. But, the gain in skill which he then exhibited is compensated by loss of nature and resemblance.

The greatness of Baccio della Porta, however, is not to be sought in portraits, any number of which would fail to reveal the expansion of his talents as a composer, a

[1] Vas. VII. 153, and annot. ibi. Signor Rubieri lives at Florence.

[2] The inscription has lately been recovered from under superposed painting. See "Il Ritratto di Fra Girolamo", 8°. Flor. 1855. Pamphlet of 15 pages, by E. Rubieri, p. 9. The genuine portrait by Giovanni delle Corniole at the Uffizi, done after Savonarola's death, is inscribed: "Hieronymus Ferrariensis ord. Pred. propheta vir(so). et martyr".

[3] Now No. 28. *Salle des petits Tableaux*, in the Academy of Florence (round, wood, oil), originally in Pian di' Mugnone. The flesh in parts is a little dirty, but there is a marvellous delicacy in it. The drawing is grandiose, the forms given with extraordinary skill. The handling in oil recalls Sebastian del Piombo.

draughtsman, or a colourist. Unfortunately, we are without examples of any other kind until 1498, the date of his Last Judgment in the Cemetery of S. Maria Nuova at Florence.[1] But, the void may to some extent be filled by his drawings, many of which, including a portion of those made with a view to use in the fresco we have named, are in the Uffizi. They are all done carefully with a fine pen, with a seeking after grace in the movements recalling Filippino, but with a successful grasp of the various phases of life in motion. His drapery, whether in flight or simply falling, is full yet very nobly cast, at rare intervals festooned, but never betraying forgetfulness of the under forms. The heads, of elliptic shape, rest on slight long necks; a reminiscence (with the casual festooning in cloth) of Rosselli. The tendency to analyze in Baccio goes hand in hand with the effort to give art at last its most dignified reality, and there he goes shoulder to shoulder with Leonardo and Buonarotti.[2] If in Cosimo's atelier, this grand aim was less represented than in that of Ghirlandaio and Verrocchio, Michael Angelo and da Vinci were not the less revered there. The latter especially was looked up to even by the saturnine disposition of Piero di Cosimo; and Baccio was obviously induced to share that reverence, and study, as Vasari says, "the things of Leonardo".[3] What those things were, it is of little moment to inquire. Enough that Baccio obtained from them something which stuck to him ever after, introducing him to the most abstruse maxims of composition, lending high-bred gentleness in air and attitudes to his impersonations, teaching him the modern system of colouring of which da Vinci had improved the technical use.

[1] Vas. VII. 152. 3. 5, and annot. ibi, where the records of payments to Baccio are given. Albertini, Mem. 13.

[2] The drawing of the Eternal by Fra Bartolommeo, for an altar-piece at Lucca (1509) was, if we are not mistaken, some time under the name of Leonardo at the Uffizi.

[3] Vas. VII. 150.

We look almost vainly into the darkness of history to ascertain whether Leonardo might not have been personally instrumental in directing the yearning diligence of Baccio. Historians generally have assumed that da Vinci entered the service of the Duke of Milan in 1483; and that he revisited Florence in 1500 only. But many passages in Vasari are opposed to that assumption, leading us on the contrary to believe that Leonardo and Baccio might have been in contact with each other in that interval. After the second exile of the Medici, in 1494, Savonarola projected a new form of government for the republic, advocating a council of one thousand citizens, from which the supreme magistrates were to be elected by lot. No hall in Florence at the time was capable of containing so many. Savonarola therefore consulted Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Giuliano da S. Gallo, Baccio d'Agnolo, and Cronaca, as to the means of building one; and those artists agreed to a plan which was placed in Cronaca's hands for execution about the middle of July 1495.[1] We cannot, therefore, exclude the probability of an acquaintance between della Porta and da Vinci in that year. Both were unaware that their services would be required later for the decoration of the new saloon; that the first would be asked to furnish an altarpiece which he should begin and leave unfinished; that the second would be required to paint its walls, and should only draw the cartoon.

But for Savonarola, we should perhaps enjoy more of Della Porta's earlier studies. The friar had said that nudities were indecent; and many of his adherents cast the contents of their portfolios into the fire during the carnivals of 1497 and 1498. But the first to obey this injunction, was Baccio.[2] He had become a personal friend of Savonarola; and when the fatal day arrived in which the convent of S. Marco was stormed (May 23. 1498), he

[1] Vasari, lives of Cronaca, of Leonardo, and Baccio d'Agnolo.

[2] Vas. VII. 153.

Vols. VII. 31, VIII. 123, and IX. 224.

was one of the besieged, and realized to his dismay the dangers of an armed conflict, and the prospect of a violent death. He is said to have made a vow that if he survived, he would join the Dominicans.[1] Yet, shortly after the execution of Savonarola, he accepted from Gerozzo Dini an order for the Last Judgment in the cloister-cemetery of Sta. Maria Nuova at Florence, and he worked assiduously to finish it until October 1499.[2] But then it is supposed that his conscience smote him for neglecting the promise he had made to heaven, and he began to think of settling his temporal affairs preparatory to withdrawal from the world.[3]

All that we see incompletely in the drawings of Baccio, looks down upon us with increased force from the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova.[4] Within the compass of a few feet the culmination of efforts made at Florence during upwards of two centuries may be seen; the solitary link between the successive performances of bygone times under Giotto, Orcagna, Masaccio, Fra Filippo, and Domenico Ghirlandaio, and those of the sixteenth century.[5] The Last Judgment with its Leonardesque impress illustrates not only the rise of della Porta, but also the new phase inaugurated by Leonardo and Michael Angelo, affording a glimpse at an obscure interval in the history of Da Vinci himself. Comparing it with Rosselli's miracle of the chalice at S. Ambrogio, we measure the distance which separates Baccio from his master, and notice the transformation which he underwent without altogether losing the bias of his first education. We see della Porta the worthy heir of the great Florentines, the follower of Ghirlandaio, Masaccio, and Leonardo in their grandest qualities.

[1] Vas. VII. 154.

[2] See antea, note to p. 434.

[3] Vas. VII. 155.

[4] The annexed outline pretends to no more than to show the positions of the figures.

[5] It is the sole link between the old masters and Raphael. If it were missing, we should say that Sanzio and not della Porta continued the great art of Giotto and Ghirlandaio. Raphael did nothing as important as the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova till he undertook the fresco of S. Severo at Perugia.

THE LAST JUDGMENT; a fresco by Fra Bartolommeo, in S. Maria Nuova at Florence.

The subject of the Last Judgment is not the oldest that was accepted by Christian painters; but we have seen it pass through the hands of the Byzantines of S. Angelo in Formis at Capua, of the Siennese at the Campo Santo of Pisa; Giotto, Orcagna, and Angelico. Della Porta renovated the old theme by a scientific distribution which owes much of its final development to da Vinci, and is called modern art since it was raised to sublimity in the Parnassus of Raphael. The space may be dissected into blocks of various shapes, ovals, triangles, polygons, and arcs. The result of their combination is an unity without interruption of lines, the principal element being the Greek cross. Above sits Christ in power and majesty, with charming cherubs about his glory, one peeping from behind his drapery; beneath him, the seraph with the symbols of the Passion and Redemption, and on the foreground S. Michael, the executor of doom, dividing the wicked from the blest. As a make-weight to these, the apostles are seated on clouds in a fine perspective row at each side of the Messiah. The system of poise and counterpoise is carried out in the minutest particular; and with such success that the science in the conjunction of the parts is hidden by the harmony of the whole. A new perfection is given to form, a greater freedom and nobleness to action, a more striking individuality to faces nearer than of old to the standard of masculine beauty, a more select detail to extremities. Passion is rendered with simplicity and measure, elevation, in the mien and regular face of the Redeemer, whose gentleness reminds one of Da Vinci; in the air and converse of the apostles, in the gestures of the elect and of the condemned. In the boy-angels the innocence of childhood accompanies their flight and gambols, whilst those who sound the trumpets of the Judgment, have a sprightliness almost carried to excess when one considers the solemnity of their office. A broad cast of drapery correctly defining and seeking the shape, and cleverly folded about the feet, is also a distinguishing feature. The

general laws of perspective and foreshortening are very fairly applied, and judiciously combined with those of geometric division. But the study of Leonardo by della Porta is still more conspicuous in the sky and glory,[1] the vapour of which is created by an infinite diversity in gradations of tints—the forms of the clouds contributing to the general effect by contrasts of colour as well as by variety of outline. But in the figures also the colour is warm, powerful, and well fused, and if occasionally sharp in the juxtaposition of lights and shadows in flesh, or of tones in drapery, the cause may be found in difficulties attending fresco, which Della Porta only overcame later, and which Andrea del Sarto alone finally conquered.

The wallpainting of S. Maria Nuova is the masterpiece of a man who almost succeeds in combining all the excellence of his predecessors and cotemporaries.[2] Through the influence of Leonardo chiefly, he raised the level of Italian art a step higher than it was before; and left nothing but the very last polish to be given by Raphael. With Michael Angelo this combination had a slighter connexion, Buonarotti having more obviously favoured the style of the vehement Signorelli. But Fra Bartolommeo drew the great Florentine into the compass of his view in a subsequent period of his career, and derived something from him for the enlargement of his manner.

In thus attributing to della Porta a rare merit, we do not forget that the fresco of the Last Judgment was completed by Mariotto. But, it is as certain as anything can well be, that Albertinelli had no harder task to perform than to fill up the lower outlines left unfinished by his partner, and add the portraits of the donors Gerozzo Dini and his wife.[3] We regret only that the ruin of the latter should prevent a direct comparison between the two men,

[1] And this in spite of the damage caused by time and other causes.

[2] In questo genere, says Vasari very truly, si puo fare poco più (Vas. VII. 155).

[3] Vas. VII. 155.

and that the portion left undone by Baccio should have been most seriously damaged by time and want of proper care.[1]

The resolution of Baccio della Porta to enter the Dominican order, may have been hastened by domestic bereavements. It is not unlikely that the loss of his youngest brother Michele and of his mother Andrea placed him in a melancholy frame of mind favorable to suggestions of monastic retirement. The only surviving member of the family at Florence was his brother Piero whose lot he proposed to benefit by surrendering the whole of the paternal succession. One moment's hesitation might have been caused by the question who was to be trusted with the guardianship of Piero. That, however, was soon decided by Santi Pagnini the Dominican who expressed his willingness to act in this capacity; and the last scruples of the painter being thus removed, he took the first vows in S. Domenico of Prato on the 26th of July 1500, and after a year's probation, professed under the name of Fra

[1] The fresco is twelve feet square, arched semi-circularly at the top. There are many parts scaled, ex. gr. the shoulder of the apostle, on the extreme left, a piece of the Virgin's veil, the lower edge of the Redeemer's mantle, the right shoulder of the friar looking down to the right of the Saviour, justly described by Father Marchese as the portrait of Angelico (it is that engraved by Vasari; and therefore the historian's memory failed him when he spoke of Fra Giovanni as being below amongst the "beati", Vol. VII. 155); the arm of a figure left from the archangel; the torso of the latter; the head of the nude tearing his face; that of a man sitting in the right foreground, and generally the whole of the lower border of the picture. Other portions are rubbed and discoloured; the portraits of Dini and his wife are lost. The fresco has been sawn from the wall and placed in the court, near the hospital; a great want of foresight; because the damp now rises into the lime from the ground. The roofing, erected since the transfer, is an insufficient protection especially in winter when the room was frequently used as a greenhouse. The fresco is decaying every day; and the intonaco of the figure with the book, left, is bulging and will soon drop. We advocate change to another locality, a speedy gathering together of the drawings used for its execution, and a series of photographs of the remains. Finally, the whole should be copied by an able and competent hand, well versed in the history and technica of the old schools, such as Raffaelle Bonaiuti who deserves the thanks and esteem of ourselves and all lovers of art.

Bartolommeo.[1] He never got further than to deacon's orders, nor was it intended perhaps that he should do so.[2] For some time he was allowed to lead a contemplative and inactive life; but in his cell of S. Marco at Florence the busy hum of the external world did not fail to reach him. Mariotto, whose grief at his voluntary seclusion was evidently sincere, occasionally came, and no doubt retailed the gossip of artistic circles. The Fra was thus made acquainted with the tremendous competition of Michael Angelo and da Vinci, and was informed of the coming of Raphael. His own fame had not been buried under the frock, and we conceive it possible that Sanzio, finding Buonarotti and Leonardo too much engaged or too high in station to busy themselves about the fortune of a youth, sought out the monk in his solitude and courted his friendship. His inclination for Fra Bartolommeo would be great in proportion to his admiration for such a grand production as the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova, a fresco embodying all the principles of high art which Raphael had as yet to master; and the friar's partiality for da Vinci's system of composition and method of colouring would act as an incentive in Raphael to make them his own.

But in Fra Bartolommeo himself, the thoughts of an altered condition, the remembrance of Savonarola, and the duties of religion necessarily had a tendency to chasten and to soften his spirit. It was no longer open to him to follow impulses natural to a lay artist. Nor did he feel any desire apparently to issue from a sort of dreamy enjoyment of his new life. But, if he did, he concealed the struggle and, casting about for models, he might admire in Fra Giovanni whose masterpieces filled every cell in S. Marco, an excessive purity and fervor; in Perugino and in Raphael, a tenderness and calmness of meditation equally attractive because new and more within his reach than the intensely religious mysticism of Angelico. He

[1] Marchese, Mem. ub. sup. II. 27, 8, and 359, Vas. VII. 154.

[2] Marchese ub. sup. Doc. IX. II. 369. "Erat autem diaconus".

tempered in this wise, as we shall see, the weight of his Florentine style with the gentleness of the Umbrian, giving in exchange the science which he had learnt either directly or indirectly from Leonardo. Perspective, we are told, he learnt from Raphael. Perhaps he then received lessons in the abtruser problems familiar to the ateliers of Verrocchio and Perugino; but he had already applied more general rules in the fresco of the Last Judgment with the same success as Raphael himself in the later Roman period.

How long Fra Bartolommeo pondered before he openly confessed a wish to resume his old occupations, cannot be established with any certainty.[1] He was troubled with qualms as to the prospects of his brother, for whom he had to choose a guardian instead of Santi Pagnini, elected in 1506 prior of Santo Spirito at Sienna. He desired to see Piero engaged in a business of some kind; and wanted him to learn painting. But he felt disinclined to be himself the teacher, and preferred to vest that duty in Mariotto. He therefore signed a deed (January 1. 1506 n.s.) by which his brother became the ward of Albertinelli for a term of six years.[2] He had scarcely taken this step, when he returned to his own easel, whilst Piero, too old to learn a profession, rendered all previous foresight nugatory by entering the priesthood.[3]

From that time, Fra Bartolommeo ceased to think of anything else but the pencil, and was acknowledged as the head of the workshop belonging to S. Marco. With the orders for pictures he had nothing to do, still less with the remuneration, in which the entire community had an interest.[4] Helping hands there were in sufficient numbers; and so he laboured for the sake of a name, and for the profit of his brethren, with one distinction only, that of dispensation from attendance in the choir.[5]

[1] Vasari says: "four years spent in S. Marco" (VII. 157), ergo till circa 1505.

[2] The deed in full is in Father Marchese, pp. 357 and foll.

[3] See the genealogy, antea, p. 427.

[4] Razzi, in Marchese, mem. ub. sup. II. 61.

[5] Ib. ib. ib.

Amongst the early fruits of his new activity we may class a little treasure of the Uffizi collection, the shutters of Donatello's relief-triptych of the Madonna, ordered according to Vasari by Piero del Pugliese, and considered a gem by the Duke Cosimo.[1] Inside, the Nativity and Circumcision; outside, the Virgin and the angel annunciate, in monochrome. Nothing more exquisite than this miniature had, as far as we know, issued from the hands of Fra Bartolommeo. In the Nativity, the child is adored by the kneeling Virgin, whose two attendant angels stand in converse, S. Joseph to the right resting against a pack-saddle; the scene, a landscape of minute touch and gay clear tones, after the fashion of the Ferrarese or Flemings, with slightly leaved trees recalling those of Raphael's Florentine period. In the spacing and grouping, which are well managed, the figures are connected with great judgment, and impressed with the necessary individuality. The favourite ellipse of Baccio is visible in the Virgin's head in conjunction with a thin shape and extremities; the form, in her as well as in the angels, reminiscent of Rosselli, whilst the pretty smiling child has more the air of those by Sanzio; S. Joseph of a masculine cast and broadly draped. The Circumcision is the exact counterpart of the Nativity as to style and execution; the Annunciation, a notable instance of the painter's feeling for the elegance in angels which is to be found in the new art of Florence at the rise of the sixteenth century. The colour, softly fused and well modelled, with good contrasts of light and shade, discloses a different technical process from that of Rosselli, but the same comparative absence of glazes and similar methods generally to those in the Vision of S. Bernard at the Academy of Arts in Florence.[2]

[1] "Non e possibile a olio poter far meglio". Vas. VII. 151. These shutters are now No. 1161, at the Uffizi.

[2] A Nativity (wood, oil) of small compass, No. 23, in the Rasponi collection, at Ravenna, stands under the name of Raphael. At first sight, one feels inclined to ascribe it to a Ferrarese imitating Fra Bartolommeo. But on closer examination, and seeing that the

The first glance at this composition, which was delivered in the spring of 1507, suggests a doubt as to whether it was ever finished, so raw is the impasto.[1] Prolonged examination shows that this appearance is due to flaying and restoring. But, however ill-calculated its present condition may be to please the eye, the distribution is such as to retrieve in part even that deficiency, and to excite the highest admiration; whilst the damage done to the surface lays bare the secrets of Fra Bartolommeo's palet. They are evidently the same as those of da Vinci in the portraits at the Ambrosiana, the flesh being rubbed in and modelled with brown earth, and then brought up to a cheerful general key of a fluid semi-transparence. After this, the half-tones and shadows were scumbled to a bluish grey with more or less depth, according to the darkness required, and the lights were touched on in a broad mass over all, the whole being united at last by glazes of the thinnest texture, which have now in a great measure disappeared. This was the system of handling which owed its origin and progress to da Vinci, who carried it to perfection in the Mona Lisa; — the system which Fra Bartolommeo improved as he grew older, and which Andrea del Sarto at last thoroughly understood. It was the novel one which Vasari describes as having surpassed that of Francia and Perugino, when practised by Leonardo, Giorgione, the Fra, and Raphael.[2] It is, however, but a variety of Perugino's method of strata, with the inevitable rawness pro-

landscapes of the triptych shutters at the Uffizi have something of the same peculiarity, which is also remarkable in the Vision of S. Bernard at the Academy, one may class it amongst the works of Fra Bartolommeo at the period we are now considering.

[1] No. 66. Galerie des grands Tableaux. Florence Academy of arts (Vas. VII. 157). The Virgin appears on a cloud supported by cherubs, with boy angels and seraphs. She holds the infant in her arms; and he gives the blessing. S. B. kneels at a desk in the middle of the foreground, SS. Benedict and John Evangelist behind him. Left of the desk is a little arched picture of the Crucifixion between two saints. The blue mantle, falling from the Virgin's head, is renewed, as are the head and mantle of the Benedict, the head and red cloak of the Evangelist.

[2] Vas. VII. 6—7.

duced by their overlapping, when thin glazes do not cover the edges; and with casual opacity where repeated labour has been required to soften the occasional abruptness of the superpositions. The same principles in Credi and Piero di Cosimo only yielded less favourable fruits, because their talent was not of the highest class.

No picture more fully embodies the idea evolved in Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of S. Bernard than that of Filippino Lippi, whose slender mould of shape is preserved by the Dominican; but we recognize at once the progress of art in the latter, by the superiority of his tact in conception and distribution. The Apparition of the Virgin, wafted through the air on the clouds, supported by cherubim, is imposing by the majesty of its *ensemble* as well as by the grace and elegance of its parts. There is motion in the forms, in the drapery, in the rolling mist. The confidence of love in the angel on whose shoulder the Virgin steps, as he guides her foot with his hand, the playfulness of the peeping boy, are charming. Briskness and sprightliness in the attendant seraphs are perhaps carried to excess, reminding one still of Rosselli. But Raphael did not compose better. The types alone are not so pure and fresh as those of Sanzio; for though Fra Bartolommeo tried to give them an aspect of chasteness and supreme bounty, he did not thoroughly succeed, from lack of that delicate fibre which discerns the very finest shades of sentiment, and also mainly because he was the follower of an analyst who sought the ideal scientifically and irrespective of impulse, and could not with all his subtlety produce what in Raphael is the result of feeling, without mental effort.

Opposite to the Virgin, but looking up from his book as she appears in the sky, and accompanied by S. Benedict and S. John the Evangelist, kneels the ascetic S. Bernard in extasy, nobly surprised, and well set off by a long train of drapery. A summer-twilight of evening is on a gay and smiling landscape receding from hill to

hill, enlivened with horsemen near a city, and closing on the horizon.

In this, as well as in the arrangement and execution of the picture generally, Fra Bartolommeo was not indebted to Leonardo only, but perhaps also to Perugino whose meditative tenderness and gifts as a colourist were calculated to alter the masculine and solid nature of the monk's art, at a moment when convent discipline, the solemn spirit of religion and past example might tend to soften his character. It was the more easy for him to surrender himself to such influences if Raphael stood by to give them weight; and we can fancy the style of the Fra being impressed in this way by creations like Vannucci's Pietà of S. Chiara.

But if, in the Vision of S. Bernard, Fra Bartolommeo reveals this inward struggle, another masterpiece of the same period also shows how successfully he could instil into his work the religious pathos, if not the absolute purity, of Fra Giovanni. In a lunette above the door leading into the refectory of S. Marco, he represented the Meeting of Christ and the apostles at Emmaus; and courting direct comparison with Angelico, he gained unusual sweetness and dignified repose. Refining upon the theory of colour applied in the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova, he obtained a richness of tone in fresco reproducing nature in its best and most favoured appearance; a form with scarce a blemish, features both select and breathing, movements elastic and ready, and drapery of the finest cast.[1]

In the meantime, Bernardo del Bianco who had ordered the Vision of S. Bernard for the Badia of Florence, began haggling about its price. Fra Bartolommeo declared

[1] Much freshness has been taken from the wall painting which is also ill lighted. Some fragments of lime have dropped from the hair of the Saviour and the forehead of the central saint. The ground also is injured. As it was a tradition at S. Marco, repeated by Vasari (VII. 169), that one of the saints was a likeness of Fra Niccolò della Magna; and it is proved that this Dominican was prior of the convent in 1506—1507, leaving Florence in the latter year for Rome, the date of the piece is approximatively deduced.

it to be worth 200 ducats. Bernardo offered eighty. Hence great excitement in the Dominican community. Both parties agreed to accept the arbitration of the abbot of the Badia, who withdrew from his office, because he could not bring Bernardo to terms. Mariotto Albertinelli, Lorenzo di Credi, and others tried in vain to moderate between the angry disputants, and a suggestion was made at last that the question should be deferred to the guild of the "Speziali". But the Dominicans objected to submit their grievances to a lay tribunal, and only consented after some delay to accept Francesco Magalotti, Bernardo's relative, as umpire. By his mediation the price was fixed at 100 ducats; and a very protracted quarrel was thus brought to an end on the 17th of June 1507.[1]

The annals of S. Marco at this time contain evidence of a close connection and a constant intercourse between the Dominicans of Florence and those of Venice.[2] Frequent journeys were undertaken by members of the Florentine community to the convents of the sister republic, and Fra Bartolommeo took advantage of one of these opportunities to visit Venice in the spring of 1508. Failing health might urge him to take this trip; a desire for change of air and scene, or a wish to study the masterpieces of a school justly celebrated throughout Italy. He might have heard from Baccio di Montelupo, an exile since the persecution of Savonarola, how marvellously proficient the Venetians had become as colourists; or the monks who travelled occasionally between the two places, had discoursed to him of the wealth and splendour of the city of canals. It was perhaps his intention, and that of the syndic who accompanied him, to engage a journeyman for the atelier at S. Marco. When the Fra found himself at Venice, in April 1508, he was met by Baccio di Montelupo, guided by whose experience he saw the rarest sights, and admired the works that filled the pa-

[1] The record, with full particulars of this arbitration, is in Marchese, II. pp. 360—3.

[2] Ex. gr. in the record just quoted.

laces and churches. Yet, such was the known pre-eminence of the Florentines as painters, even on the Adriatic, that when Fra Bartolommeo came to the monastery of S. Pietro Martire at Murano, he was asked by the vicar Bartolommeo Dalzano to give him for a reasonable price a specimen of his skill, and he was obliged to promise a canvass of the value of 70 to 100 ducats.[1] But his time was so amply filled by occupations of various kinds during his stay, that he postponed the execution till he returned to Florence, bringing with him an advance of 28 ducats in money and colours, and a prospect of payment for the remainder out of a sum to be raised by the sale of MS. letters from S. Catherine of Sienna held by a friend of Father Dalzano in Tuscany.

Fra Bartolommeo's first care on resuming his duties in S. Marco was to reorganize the atelier and introduce new elements into it. However unwilling the Dominicans might be to acknowledge that their own order was unable to provide the necessary assistance, they tacitly admitted it by allowing the Frate to take Mariotto Albertinelli into partnership. There was nothing new in the employment of a layman in a monastic workshop; for Benozzo Gozzoli had been helpmate to Angelico, but there is no other instance of an association like that into which Albertinelli entered with the convent of S. Marco. It seems to have been agreed that the syndic should provide for all current expenses, and that the net profits should be divided with Mariotto.[2] We shall presently see that a subdivision of interests also existed. Some pictures were finished in the essential parts by Fra Bartolommeo, others were more exclusively Mariotto's, others again were the fruit of their labour with additional aid; and there

[1] In the record of this transaction between the convents of S. Pietro at Venice and S. Marco at Florence (in Marchese II. 52 and 363) the facts in the text are authenticated.

[2] The partnership commenced in 1509, the inventory of the division of profits, in 1512, stating that the association had lasted about three years. See the inventory in Marchese, II. 144.

was a monogram to distinguish all but the paintings of the first class.

The commission which first occupied Fra Bartolommeo after the reorganization was that which he had accepted from Father Dalzano; the subject of which is simply the Eternal in heaven, attended by cherubs and seraphs, and worshipped from below by S. Mary Magdalen and S. Catherine of Sienna. In this most admirable production for feeling as well as form, a special attractiveness is created by colouring redolent of Venetian richness and brilliancy, and by atmosphere successfully attained in gradations of landscape-tints, and by chiaroscuro after the method of Da Vinci in the Mona Lisa, or of Raphael in the portrait of Leo the Tenth.[1] Without being free from occasional rawness in the flesh, the picture exhibits increased knowledge of the use and value of glazes in the figures and distance. The saints almost touch the ground; but the sense of their elevation above the rank of mortals is conveyed by their kneeling on light clouds rolling above the ground on cherubs' heads. The Magdalen, with eyes cast down, has the beauty of the penitent. The S. Catherine is more austerely elegant, and shows supreme longing in her upward gaze; but there is less distinction in the shape and air of the Eternal in benediction; and the angels about him, with their crowns, garlands of flowers, and strings of pearls, if select in form and true in movement, are a little hard in colour, from which we gather that Mariotto had a share in carrying out the arched glory.

Advice having been sent to Venice that the canvass was ready for delivery, the monks of S. Pietro waited some time before they replied. They despatched two friars to negotiate, who left Florence without coming to terms; and they paid no attention to a protest issued by the convent of S. Marco in January 1511. In the end,

[1] Ne meno di costui (Giorgione), diede alle sue pitture forza, rilievo, dolcezza e grazia ne' colori, Fra Bartolommeo di S. Marco". Vas. VII. 7.

Fra Bartolommeo remained in possession of the piece at the dissolution of his partnership with Albertinelli, and is supposed to have presented it to the prior Santi Pagnini.[1] It now hangs on an altar to the left of the portal in S. Romano of Lucca, vying with a Madonna of the same year and by the same hand in a neighbouring church.[2]

In the chapel of the sanctuary at S. Martino of Lucca, an old and time-honoured subject is invested with new interest. Two angels suspend the crown and veil above the Virgin's head, their frame and wings detached with delicate shades of tint from the lighter tone of the sky. The Virgin herself wears the mantle about her head and holds the infant on her knee, a lovely little being full of fresh life, joyfully looking out as the angel on the step, with upturned glance, feeds his ear with the harmony of a little viol. By the two pillars which confine the space, S. John the Baptist and S. Stephen are relieved in light on the darkness of the ground;—a noble picture this, full of gentle elegance, Leonardesque in science and in execution, and graced with the prettiest finesses of the brush, bathed in a warm and airy vapour, and firm of outline and touch.

We see in this and in the canvass of S. Romano with what cheerful activity Fra Bartolommeo had taken to work in company with his old friend Mariotto. But the fertility of the year 1509 was not exhausted here. It probably yielded two more examples, the Virgin and child between four saints in S. Marco at Florence, so grand in its day as to have been taken by Pietro da Cortona for a Raphael,[3] and the small Virgin, children, and S. Joseph, now belonging to Earl Cowper at Panshanger.

[1] Marchese, ub. sup. II. 52. 246 and 363. See also Vas. VII. 165. The following may be read on the left side of the foreground: "Orate p. pictore 1509". The drawing for the Eternal, an exquisite thing, is in the Uffizi under the name of Leonardo.

[2] Vas. VII. 164. The picture (in oil, on wood) is signed on the step occupied by the angel: "1509. Frīs barthol. Florentini opus 1509 ordis. predicatoꝝ". The figures are under life size.

[3] Vas. VII. 160; Marchese II. 76 and 367 (wood, oil, figures life

Such a gem as this Holy Family is alone worthy of a pilgrimage, representing at once the skill of the Frate, Leonardo's maxims of composition and moulds of face, and Raphael's feeling. The eye is fixed at once on the prominent brightness of the flesh in the Virgin and Christ. The lines are most skilfully concentrated into a pyramid, and affectionate fondness beams in the features and expression of the mother in whose eye a smile of delight is lurking. S. Joseph smiles outright, and is also reminiscent of da Vinci. The infant Christ, in thought, all but lives and breathes. He takes the cross from the little Baptist, whose action is somewhat hard and strained. One can fancy Fra Bartolommeo sitting before this panel, playing like a master with the innovations in the technica of his art. One perceives how he rubbed in the shadows and mezzo-tints, and added the different strata of colour over each other like sheets of tinted crystal, a cool spot in the light here and there tempering its monotone, a dark one varying that of the shadow, the brightest parts of solid impasto and of a warm yellow, the darker ones of a greenish grey, and so usually transparent that the drawing appears beneath, except in places where a dab or a scumble with the finger strengthens the texture. When the first preparation required no alteration, it was left untouched, because, though such bits might look a little raw on close examination, they kept their harmony at a distance of a few paces. Finish was obtained at last by subtle glazings, the subsequent abrasion of which may account for occasional coldness.

Although Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto were associates when this Holy Family was done, its completion was due almost entirely to the former, and fell to his share on the division of profits in 1512.[1] The purchaser was

size). The colour blackened by time and injured by restoring. The character of the whole is Raphaelesque in its gentleness. The picture was given by the monks, in 1534, to Gio. Maria Benintendi for his chapel in S. Marco.

[1] If the hand of Mariotto be sought in any part, it might be found in the landscape to the

THE HOLY FAMILY, an oil painting by Fra Bartolommeo, in Earl Cowper's collection at Panshanger.

probably Filippo di Averardo Salviati, one of whose relations afterwards placed the following memorandum on the back of the panel: "D. Fra Bartol° di S. Marco oggi df° . . } Ant.° Salviati."

During 1510 the labours of Fra Bartolommeo were neither less important nor less numerous than those of the previous year. His time was chiefly spent on an order from Giuliano da Gagliano, from whom large advances were received in November;[1] but the most honorable commission confided to him was that of the altarpiece, once undertaken and never begun by Filippino Lippi, for the hall of the great council at Florence.[2] Yet, we must suppose that some difficulties arose as to price, because after the figures had been sketched, the panel was put aside and left for future consideration.

In 1511, the last touches had been given to a small round of the Nativity; a Christ carrying his cross, a Virgin annunciate, sold to the Gonfaloniere of Florence, a subject sent to the Carthusians of Pavia, another sold to an English dealer, and a "Marriage of S. Catherine"; of all which only one is extant.[3] According to Vasari

right where the Flight into Egypt is depicted, the treatment and local tone being like those in Albertinelli's Virgin and Saints at the Louvre. The parts where Fra Bartolommeo allows the ground to appear, are in the Virgin's tunic, in the flesh shadows of the hands of the Virgin and Baptist, and in the veil on the right leg of the latter. The panel is 3 feet 5 by 4 feet 3 inches. It is recorded, if we rightly judge of the matter, in the memorandum of division between Mariotto and the Frà (Marchese II. 144), but see also Vas. VII. 151.

[1] Marchese II. 69 and 144. The picture not to be found at present. The last payment was in January 1512.

[2] 1510. Nov. 26th. Locatio tabulo Consilii Maioris. Item dicti domini . . deliberaverunt &c. quod Tabula altaris salej magnej Consilii Majoris que fuerat in vita olim Filippi fratris Filippi pictoris (see II. Filippino and Vasari IX. note to p. 224) eidem Filippo ad ipsam depingendam locata que propter subsequentem mortem depingi per eum non potuit; detur et locetur ad ipsam depingendam et faciendam fratri Bartholomeo pictori qui est in conventu et Ecclesia Sancti marci de florentia ord. pred. S. Domi, eo modo et forma et cum eisdem conditionibus et pactis et mercede cum qua, que et quibus et prout ipsa fuerat per prius locata dicto Filippo fratris Filippi. Arch. di Firenze. Protocollo delle Deliberazione de' Signori e Collegi dal 1508 al 1511. Bimestre di Nov. e Dec. 1510 (13 pages).

[3] See the memoranda MS. of the Syndic of S. Marco, and the deed of division drawn up by Mariotto,

the Marriage of S. Catherine was exhibited for several months in S. Marco, and was afterwards forwarded to the king of France.[1] The real facts are these. In 1512, Jacques Hurault, bishop of Autun, was envoy of Louis the Twelfth at Florence. The Florentine government, desirous of securing his favour, found an ingenious mode of doing so by the gift of Fra Bartolommeo's picture which was bought from S. Marco for 300 ducats. Hurault took the present with him, and left it to the cathedral of his diocese at Autun, from whence it passed at the revolution to the Louvre. The friar's signature and the date of 1511 are on the Virgin's throne.[2]

With this masterpiece we enter upon a new phase in Fra Bartolommeo's career; and we find him partly resign the tender, the kindly, and the meditative for a broader style more natural to his spirit and education.

The background is a semidome with advancing pillars and a bold cornice, in the centre of which the Virgin sits on a pedestal and rests her feet on a stool. Her right hand is on the head of Christ, who stands at her knee with one leg on the stool, and, as he turns, giving the ring to the kneeling S. Catherine of Sienna. This charming idea, rendered with Leonardesque elegance of lines, conveys a sense of great affection and veneration towards Christ on the part of his mother; not so much, however, by chosen type as by movements the softness of which emulates those of Raphael's Bella Giardiniera at the Louvre. The difference between Fra Bartolommeo and Sanzio now is, that the friar applies the most rigid rules of Da Vinci; whilst his friend has more sentiment

in Marchese, ub. sup. II. pp. 66 and foll^{s}, 144 and 365.

[1] Vas. VII. 158.

[2] The old frame bore the following lines: "Jacobo Huraldo Heduorum Episcopo Ludovici XII. francorum regis legato fidissimo senatus populusque Florentinus dono dedit anno MDXII. On the throne are the words: "Orate pro pictore. MDXI. Bartholomẽ Floreẽ. or. præ. (wood, oil), No. 65, at the Louvre (see Mündler, Essai d'une analyse &c. 8°. Paris. 1850. p. 87.) A note of the sale of the picture for 300 ducats to the Florentine government and of its gift to Monsignor di Othon (Autun) is in the memoranda of the syndic of S. Marco. MS. ap. Marchese, ub. sup. II. 66 and 144.

and more colour. The saints in the presence have already a sternness of mien, a gravity of deportment, and a grandeur in the fall of their drapery which illustrate the expansion of the master's mind. The child is no longer of tender age. Foreshortenings, of which the beginnings are noticeable in the flying angels of S. Romano at Lucca, become more hardy and more lifelike in the three boys who support the festoons of the dais. Perspective generally is used with perfect correctness in the figures which stand on their planes with extraordinary firmness. The tone is of a bright gay key, calculated for a particular place in S. Marco, though seen to little advantage in a gallery where one light serves for all; but it is also probable that the final glazings have been removed by cleaning.

The form which Fra Bartolommeo had thus given to a composition of frequent recurrence in past years, so perfectly suited the taste of the public that the atelier of S. Marco could not supply repetitions of it with rapidity equal to the demand; nor did the subalterns of the shop treat it with anything like the vigour and success of their chief, as is shown by the large example in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[1]

A more successful combination of the hand of Mariotto with that of the Frate in 1511 is the Madonna between SS. Peter and Paul on the altar of the Mastiani family at Sta. Caterina of Pisa; where we admire the noble attitude of the Virgin holding the child in benediction, as she rests her foot on the broken pediment of a column, and the grandiose air of the two saints standing in the full consciousness of solemn reverence on the foreground.[2] An inky tone pervading the surface is due to

[1] Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 65. Wood, oil, figures life size. Originally in Santa Caterina of Florence. The execution is weak, the colours at one painting, bricky and opaque, and the hand possibly that of Fra Paolino of Pistoia.

[2] The upper part of the panel is new, and most of its surface is repainted, except portions of the infant Christ and the feet of the standing saints. The figures are life size (in oil); and on the pedestal one reads: "Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles. 1511."

injuries caused by a fire that broke out in the church in the 17th century, but it is of interest to note upon the pedestal of the throne a motto and a date headed by a monogram repeated from a panel of 1510 assigned to Fra Paolino in the Belvedere of Vienna, — a monogram composed of a cross and two rings, which is to be found on a panel bearing the joint signatures of Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli at Geneva,[1] and on works hereafter to be mentioned by Fra Paolino or other assistants in the monastery of S. Marco.

Incomparably the grandest of the creations by the friar in company of Mariotto is that completed before the close of 1512 for S. Marco with a variation of the old theme, the Marriage of S. Catherine of Sienna. Having been unaccountably given away to the bishop "of some diocese" in 1588, it now adorns the Pitti collection, and bears the inscription: "1512, orate pro pictore".[2] Fra Bartolommeo having reached this point in the treatment of his favourite subject, may be said to have exhausted it, and set at defiance all future attempts at improvement. In composition, drawing, and relief, it was beyond his own power to come nearer perfection. Great as the charm had been with which he had invested the group of the Virgin and child in the altarpiece of bishop Hurault, he now infused new elements of beauty into it by increased grace in the shape and air of the Virgin, and by contrasting the turn of her head and frame with that of the Infant. Then balancing the positions of the kneeling saint Catherines at the foot of the pedestal, and seating two boy-angels with viol and guitar on the steps of the throne, he reared the well-known pyramid of distribution. He placed a fine S. Michael in armour, and a S. Bartholemew erect in weighty position as mainstays

Records of payments for the picture to the Frate and Mariotto are in Marchese II. 69. 70, and 144.

[1] In Sainte Madeleine at Geneva are two wings of an altarpiece representing the Virgin and angel annunciate with the monogram and the words: "Fris Bartho or. p. et Mariotti Florentinor. opus".

[2] No. 208, at the Pitti. Noted by Vasari VII. 158—9. Albertini, mem. 12, and Marchese II. 75. 146.

THE MARRIAGE OF S. CATHERINE OF SIENNA, an altarpiece by Fra Bartolemmeo, in the Pitti at Florence

on the foreground, uniting them by a circular chain of spectators in converse on the floor of the semidome. In rivalry with Raphael at times in bold foreshortening, he prodigally wasted his science in the reproduction of form and drapery, poising four lovely seraphs in flight under the festoons of the dais. The whole is thrown upon the panel, as Vasari says, in so gallant a style as to leave the impression of a living scene. Yet, it is more by truthful transition of neutral light and shade than by colour that Fra Bartolommeo obtained effect, the tone being reduced almost to a monochrome by the use of lamp-black; but here again the gallery is unfavorable to a work intended for a special place in a church; and the Marriage of the Pitti will not be seen to its best advantage till a niche is built expressly for it.

On the same principles, and under the same fortunate combination of circumstances it was that the splendid "Conception", which now adorns the Gallery of the Uffizi, was composed. With a versatility denied to all but a few, he formed another pyramidal arrangement of S. Anna in extasy on a plinth behind a beauteous Virgin watching the play of the infant Christ and S. John. He brought down the lines to the extreme foreground by the help of four standing and kneeling worshippers, giving symmetry to the distribution by a company of saints at each side, by a choir of infant angels and cherubs with instruments, or singing from a book held aloft by their hands, and by two winged children at the foot of the throne. Had this grandiose creation been finished, it would have been the *chef d'œuvre* of Fra Bartolommeo. Having been left in its present condition, which is that of a mere rough draught on the panel, with the drawing and preparation in brown; it is but a sketch; yet masterly as one by Buonarotti. Its interest is great, as revealing the growth of such a piece from its embryo to the first stage of completion. In certain sheets at the Uffizi we find the studies of the nudes and their subsequent repetition in drapery, designed, we believe, from the lay

figure of which Fra Bartolommeo was the first to make use, in preference to the models of clay, familiar to Leonardo and Credi. We can therefore trace each step taken by the artist, from the moment of planning to that of putting in the contours and shadows. We mark with what science and depth of thought, with what method he kept to Leonardo's rules in dividing space, and in combining groups to advantage at various elevations in a given room, in order to attain a result by which several intricate problems are solved. But there is something more than science and method to be discerned, and that is the inspired air of the S. Anna, the weight, the dignity, and proud bearing of the saints, the masculine strength of the art evolved. If, on issuing from his cell, Fra Bartolommeo was desirous to soften his style, and for that reason endeavoured to temper it by looking at the works of Angelico and Perugino, his relations with Mariotto, the reminiscences of his youth, and the current of the age took him back in 1512 to the true breadth of the great Florentines.

How it was that this "Conception" was never carried out is a mystery the more difficult to explain, because in June 1513 the government of Florence advanced a hundred ducats to the convent of S. Marco for it, and the receipt is preserved in the handwriting of the syndic.[1]

[1] For the latter see Marchese, ub. sup. II. 364. The advance is proved by the following:

"Libro de Stanziamenti de' Signori e collegi dal 1513 al 1521.

125. Die 10 Junii 1513. Item stantiarono che el camarlingo del monte che onterrà in uficio a dì primo di luglio proximo futuro del presente anno dia e pagha a frati, capitulo e convento di Santo Marco di Firenze e per loro al loro.. Sindicho e procuratore fiorini cento larghi d'oro in oro; sono per parte dipintura d'una tavola d'altare che si fa e lavora per frate Bartolommeo dipintore, frate in dicto convento, secondo l'allogazione factagli sotto dì 26 di Novembre 1510 da nostri magnifici et excelsi Signori, rogata per Ser Agnolo di Ser Alexandro Cascesi loro notajo. E la quale tavola finita sarà, si metterà in quello loco pubblico dove sarà giudicato da nostri excelsi Signori e savi e amorevoli cictadini de la nostra città. E per fare piu facile dicto pagamento si comanda al dicto camarlingo del monte che dicti danari paghi del mese d'Ottobre proximo futuro del presente e non prima, in tutto fior. cento.

Tulit frater Jeronimus Andreæ de Ginis Sindicus et procurator, ut dixit, manu Ser Filippi Cionis

There is reason to suppose that the first interruption was caused by the parting of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto which occurred in January 1512, and that others were caused by ill health.

In an evil hour for Mariotto, Santi Pagnini had been reelected prior of S. Marco, and his instalment had not long taken place when the association was brought to a close. Albertinelli drew up the memorandum of dissolution on the 5th of January, dividing the profits in equitable shares,[1] and stipulating at the close that: "the properties hitherto in common should remain in possession of Fra Bartolommeo till his death, and then pass to Mariotto," ex. gr. a wooden life size figure, already mentioned, which is described by Vasari, and is said to be that now in the Guardaroba of the Florentine Academy;[2] another of smaller size with joints (*ganghere*, or hinges), a pair of compasses, and a "bambino" of gesso moulded from one by Desiderio in S. Croce.

The partners having been separated in this manner, Mariotto surrendered himself to a violent paroxysm of discontent; and in his spleen declared that he would rather keep an inn than continue his profession any longer.[3] Fra Bartolommeo resumed his duties without Albertinelli's help, and sickening in July of 1514, was sent with his journeymen Fra Paolino and Frate Agostino to the country hospital of the Dominicans at Pian di Mugnone. Being allowed to throw some frescos on the walls "for his diversion and recreation",[4] he painted a Madonna in the

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sub die 31 Mai 1513. See also Marchese, II. 67. 8.

[1] To the brethren of S. Marco. The altarpiece of S. Romano at Lucca (the Eternal, SS. Catherine, and Mary Magdalen), a head of Christ given by the convent to Lionardo Bartolini (? missing), a round of the Nativity (? missing), the altarpiece (now in an unfinished condition) at the Pitti.

To Mariotto. A round (no subject given), a Christ carrying his cross with the thieves (? missing), two pictures, subjects not named, an Annunciation, small, in the hands of the Gonfaloniere.

[2] Vas. VII. 168, and annot.

[3] Father Marchese very judiciously assigns to this time the resolution of Mariotto to keep an inn.

[4] The record is in Marchese ub. sup. II. 367, under date of July 10th, 1514.

Cappella del Monte, another in the refectory of the infirmary,[1] and, we believe, a third which alone has survived. Whatever his bodily ailings might have been, they did not affect his powers as an artist. Not even a momentary weakness affected his brush. As a "frescante" he stands at Pian di Mugnone on the high level that had become familiar to Andrea del Sarto; as a draughtsman and composer he maintains his old and just celebrity. What he represents is one of those moments in the life of a mother, when the babe which is her delight and solace, suddenly clinging to her bosom, and crowing with an irrepressible fondness is folded as a priceless treasure to her heart. All this is shown in the cheery and sparkling expression of the child's round and regular face, in the action of the Virgin who glues her cheek to his forehead and wraps her tunic in an agony of love about his limbs. If to this be added an exquisite taste and transparence in tones of excessive brightness, and great perfection of modelling, we have an idea of Fra Bartolommeo's gifts at this time. His forms have none of the mildness of the earlier convent period, but are conspicuous by their breadth and solidity. In the child the glance is that which Raphael gave to the Christ in the Sixtine Madonna; but the group is most reminiscent as a whole of the Virgin of the Seggiola.[2]

After leaving his forced retreat, Fra Bartolommeo all but repeated the Virgin and child in a fresco of the Cappella del Giovanato at S. Marco, infusing a more ardent affection than before into the expression and movement of the mother of Christ; a greater life and flexibility into flesh of a true carnation.[3] He never, in the many Virgins

[1] Ib. ib. ib.

[2] The fresco is arched at top. The two figures are above life size; the lower part of the Virgin's dress abraded. If any reproach can be made, it is that the forms of the child are a little puffy.

[3] This fresco is greatly damaged, the shadows being altered by damp, and the Virgin's face full of scratches. The child's head is the best preserved bit. The figures are above the life size. A piece on the infant's shoulder has scaled, and the Virgin's red mantle is altered by moisture. The date is only inferred from the style.

and bust-pictures of the Redeemer and saints which were produced at this time, for instance in the panels and frescos that are his in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[1] rose to such genuineness of feeling or to such grave and noble individuality.[2]

Whether this boldness or freedom is attributable to a visit paid to Rome before the retirement of Pian' di Mugnone, is a question likely to remain obscure. Vasari says," that the Frate was so frequently entertained with rumours of Raphael's and Michael Angelo's successes that in order to judge of the matter personally, he asked leave of the prior and went to Rome where Fra. Mariano del Piombo gave him hospitality. His intention had been to repay this kindness by a present of a S. Peter and a S. Paul; but the air of the capital was so unfavourable to him that he was obliged to leave it, Raphael meanwhile consenting to give the last touches to the unfinished panels."[3] The sickness which forced the friar to Pian di Mugnone might under these circumstances be considered a consequence of the malaria of Rome. There is no doubt that Fra Bartolommeo would have found Sanzio at the Vatican in the spring of 1514. The death of Bramante had just occurred, and Fra Mariano had succeeded to the Piombo.[4] Some of the greatest frescos of the age were in existence, by Raphael in the Camera della Segnatura, by Michael Angelo in the Sixtine chapel. The SS. Peter and Paul to which Vasari alludes at S. Salvestro, are now at the Quirinal, one of them evidently repainted, and the intromission of Raphael is supposed to be confirmed by a passage of Castiglione's Cortigiano. But, on the other hand, Vasari tells almost the same story of Albertinelli as he does of the Frate,[5] and contradicts himself in the life of Rosso by saying, that Fra Bartolommeo left the

[1] Nos. 64. 78. 28. 82. See also 377, at the Pitti, as described postea.

[2] See for these the list at the close of this chapter.

[3] Vas. VII. 160.

[4] Fra Mariano got the Piombo in March, 1514, at the death of Bramante, Gaye, Cart. II. 135.

[5] Vas. VII. 186.

Eternal city without having done anything.[1] The Cortigiano is rather contrary to the theory which assigns two panels of S. Paul and S. Peter to the monk's stay at Rome, because it describes Raphael busy in the presence of two cardinals with *one* picture in which were a S. Peter and a S. Paul;[2] and again, the memoranda of the syndic of S. Marco declare that: "two 'quadri' of four braccia by Fra Bartolommeo, a S. Peter, and a S. Paul were valued at thirty ducats, but reduced in price to twenty-five in consequence of an imperfection in the S. Peter; and both were given away to S. Salvestro".[3] It is clear that, unless we admit the existence of replicas of these saints, we must doubt Vasari. The Apostles of S. Salvestro, now at the Quirinal, are obviously those registered in the syndic's memoranda, and done from the cartoons now in the Academy of Arts at Florence.[4] They are grand and stern; the S. Peter with mantle hanging over his right arm holding the keys, and the book pressed to his breast; the S. Paul looking out, and his hand on the hilt of a long sword. The colour of the first is reddish and rather opaque, the shadows of the head being taken up afresh, and the extremities being by another painter. The head of the second is corrected so as to leave the old contour visible; but the tone is transparent, and the execution exclusively that of Fra Bartolommeo.[5] Whoever may have been employed on the S. Peter, we do not fancy Raphael to have been that person; and we assume that if Fra Bartolommeo went to Rome, he did so

[1] Vas. IX. 73.

[2] Bernardo Bibbiena in the Cortigiano relates:

"Di questo modo rispose ancor' Rafaello pittore à dui Cardinali suoi domestici, i quali, per farlo dire, tassavano in presentia sua una tavola ch'egli haveà fatta dove erano San Pietro e S. Paolo: dicendo che quelle due figure erano troppo rosse nel viso. Alhora Rafaello subito disse, Signori non vi maravigliate, che io questo ho fatto a sommo studio, perche è da credere, che S. Pietro e S. Paolo siano, come qui gli vedete ancor in cielo così rossi per vergogna, che la chiesa sua sia governata da tali huomini come sete voi". "Il Cortigiano" by Baldassar Castiglione, &c. 4°. London. 1727. Book II. p. 213.

[3] Ap. Marchese ub. sup. II. 146.

[4] These were originally at S. Marco.

[5] Both panels 5 feet 10 inches in height. Each figure in a niche.

for a few weeks of pleasure or for health, as on a previous occasion he had gone to Venice. The Virgin of Pian' di Mugnone being a reminiscence of Raphael's Madonna della Seggiola, itself related in style to the Galatea of the Farnesina; the Virgin of Mercy of 1515 at Lucca, and the Resurrection of 1516 at the Pitti, having an imposing air, derived perhaps from study of Buonarotti, we might suppose that these results were due to a short but not unfruitful stay on the Quirinal. Yet, to build any statement of fact on such an insecure foundation, would be hazardous; and we must remember that examples of Raphael and of Michael Angelo were also to be seen in Florence.

There is no doubt in the meanwhile that, whatever the cause may have been, the Frate had gained a confidence and power which were the admiration of his cotemporaries, and that after his convalescence, and as if to show certain fault finders how unfounded their reproaches were, he rapidly produced a succession of things well calculated to disarm all criticism. One of these, a naked S. Sebastian, exhibited publicly in S. Marco, is alleged to have convinced the Dominicans in their confessionals of the temptations which they had unwittingly thrown in the way of female penitents. It was therefore withdrawn to a safe privacy from whence it only emerged to become lost to the history of the arts for ever.[1] But, in 1515, Fra Bartolommeo's industry yielded no less than three masterpieces one of which would alone suffice to give him renown. We allude to the Virgin of Mercy ordered by the Dominican, Lombardi de' Montecatini, now in S. Romano of Lucca; to the Madonna of the Hermitage at S. Petersburg, and to the Annunciation at the Louvre. With every new effort of the Frate we are struck by the ge-

[1] The S. Sebastian according to Vasari was sold to a dealer, and sent to France (Vas. VII. 161, and annot.) It has been stated to be now in possession of a gentleman in Toulouse; and truly a picture with this subject does belong to a person dwelling in that city. But when the authors were at Toulouse, the canvass had been sent to Paris; and when they were in Paris, it had been taken away again. Connaisseurs in Paris, however, are inclined to consider this Toulouse piece beneath the powers of Fra Bartolommeo.

nius which succeeds in giving a new form and an unexpected novelty to an old subject. It it surprising, with what abundance fresh poetry and thought are introduced into a well worn theme by his high pictorial sense. The Virgin of the Lucca altarpiece is in motion, so to say, on her pedestal, with one arm upstretched, and the other designating the crowd of her worshippers. Her face, expressing prayer and inspiring devotion, is turned upwards towards the Redeemer whom she alone can discern, as he majestically floats forward, winged in the flying folds of his dress, the fingers of his right hand in benediction. Between him and the Virgin an angel raises a tablet with the aid of two others whose winding ribbands are fast to its edges. Two boy-messengers loop up a capacious mantle, the green lining of which is a favourable background to the groups of adorers at each side of the foreground. Here you have people of both sexes, of different ages, thoughtful, tenderly meditative, eagerly demonstrative. The patron kneels, nobly gentle, and full of faith, and hears the explanation of a Dominican pointing to the Madonna. Before them a mother in joyful extasy grasps her babe, whilst a curly infant peers over her shoulder shrouded in the cloak of the dame behind. Opposite to these, a recumbent female describes the scene to her child. The classic movement of the principal figure, the varied but always elegant attitudes and action of the remainder are almost matchless instances of the mode in which scientific calculation gives nature as a result. In most of the minutiæ unusual power of observation is revealed. Nothing can be more pleasing than the manner of dividing the fingers with their play suggesting unconsciousness. Admirable are the draperies in which the folds are concentrated on the bends. The Redeemer is magnificently poised in air, and keeps his place by judicious choice of tone and a circumambient vapour. Looking at the composition suddenly, its flesh-tints may be raw, its transitions from light to shade, sudden; but as the eye by degrees takes in the whole, the atmosphere

A group from Fra Bartolommeo's picture in S. Romano at Lucca.

that permeates the space begins to appear, and the more we gaze, the more intense becomes the satisfaction; and we see the Frate illustrate an axiom described by Leonardo as essential to perfection. One could almost fancy that the words of Da Vinci were intended to apply to the Virgin of Mercy which is altogether according to his maxims. We enter into its darkest recesses, and glance from the lights and shadows to the half-tints that mottle the groups, as clouds cast a transparent darkness on the flatness of a landscape and vary its monotony.[1]

The Madonna of the Hermitage is a variation in oil of the frescos of Pian' di Mugnone and S. Marco, broad and weighty in the scantling of the frames; grandiose in movement rather than enticing by select mould of feature. Four winged children touch instruments or keep watch around her, as she sits on the ground and holds the spirited and smiling naked child to her bosom; but full enjoyment is forbidden on account of a pallid opaqueness imparted to the colours by restoring.[2]

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[1] Certamente mostrò Fra Bartolommeo in questa opera possedere molto il diminuire l'ombre della pittura e gli scuri di quella, con grandissimo rilievo operando, dove le difficultà dell' arte mostrò con rara ed eccellente maestria e colorito, disegno ed invenzione.

On the tablet held up by the angels, are the words: "Miscreor super turbam". On the Virgin's pedestal: "mr̃ pietatis et miẽ. FS. OP." which means: Frate Sebastiano de' Montecatini, ord. prædicatorum, the arms of the family being in the middle of the letters. That the canvass was ordered for Fra Sebastiano, is also proved by records, for which see Marchese ub. sup. II. 109, note; and 144. On the lowest step of the throne: "MDXV. F. Bartholomeus or. pre. pictor Florentinus". The outlines in many parts are seen as they were first drawn with a pen. In other places they are freshened with a bold touch of the brush. The flesh lights as well as the shadows are in half body, very broadly treated. Glazes are chiefly confined to the more distant parts, the light being concentrated on the front of the picture. Some hardness may be due to cleaning.

There is a small unfinished copy of this masterpiece, miscalled a sketch by Fra Bartolommeo, really of the seventeenth century, belonging to Signor G. B. Mansi at Lucca. Another small modern copy, on copper, is also under the Frate's name (No. 4) in the Leuchtenberg gallery at S. Petersburg.

[2] On a tablet in the upper part are the words: Mater Dei. 1515. Below: "Bart. Florñ ord. prædicatorum". Wood, oil, No. 20. Hermitage at S. Petersburg, formerly belonging to Crozat. The shadows of the flesh tints are retouched with liquid tints, and hence opaque. The pupils of the eyes and some outlines have also been repainted. There are spots

The same art in remodelling a familiar incident is exhibited in the Annunciation at the Louvre, as is shown at Lucca. The Virgin seated under a niche, and attended by standing or kneeling saints, bends backwards as she sees the messenger who flies down to her. It is clear that the latter was thrown off on the background of architecture at the moment when the rest was finished. The tones are warm and full of air, the execution is light and masterly, and some of the saints, the females kneeling in front especially, are Raphaelesque and feminine in grace and dignity. Fra Bartolommeo has reached a point where he defies every sort of difficulty.[1] It is the time when he may be supposed to have done the Isaiah and Job of the Uffizi, and the sketch of the Eternal in the same gallery.[2]

In spite of a passage in the memoranda of the syndic of S. Marco, from which we learn that the Virgin of Mercy of S. Romano was sent from Florence,[3] Father Marchese is of opinion that Fra Bartolommeo painted it at Lucca, at the request of Santi Pagnini.[4] We may be allowed to doubt the force of his argument, without denying that the Frate's summer was partly spent in 1515 outside the walls of S. Marco. Although it is true that he entered into an agreement to furnish a Madonna and saints to Jacopo Panciatichi for a chapel in S. Domenico of Pistoia, on the 15th of February, there is no evidence in the record itself to show that the friar was at Pistoia, nor indeed is there any proof that he ever performed the

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where apparently old scaling was stopped, and the new stuff has become dark. The blue mantle of the Virgin is in a great measure repainted with a certain loss of form resulting from the operation. It is not possible for this reason to say whether Fra Bartolommeo was alone or assisted in this piece.

[1] Louvre. No. 64. Small panel inscribed: "F. Barto. Floren. or.is pre. 1515.

[2] The Isaiah, No. 1126, at the Uffizi (Vasari VII. 163) in grand movement, life size, and warmly coloured.

The Job., No. 1130, in the same gallery of the same style, though not quite so fine, both wood.

The Eternal, round, No. 1152, a mere sketch with two angels blowing trumpets, but the figures hardy in action and refined in form.

[3] Marchese, ub. sup. II. 144.

[4] Ib. ib. II. 108.

promise that he then made.[1] A fresco of the Virgin and child, ascribed to Della Porta in S. Domenico, might indeed testify to his presence, and seems lined from one of his cartoons; but it is by a disciple such as Fra Paolino might have been.[2]

If Fra Bartolommeo however was neither at Lucca nor at Pistoia, his health again drove him in October 1515 to Pian' di Mugnone where he never came without bringing his tools. In order that time may not hang too heavily on his hands, he covers a lunette with a fresco of the Annunciation the treatment of which discloses great breadth and facility. It is delightful to see the angel's eagerness in coming and giving the message, and the speaking profile of the head with its oblique bend.[3] The Virgin receives the announcement with joy, and gathers herself well together under the folds of her mantle, her form being perhaps too square and masculine. But this would be the work of a leisure hour,[4] and might lead us to believe that the Frate remained but a short space at the hospital, preferring perhaps to wander away in another direction and look for his uncles at Suffignano whom he had not seen for years. Father Marchese quotes a cotemporary diary, in which a pleasant description is given of the relatives' meeting and the lucky guess of the grand nephew Pagolo di Vito, that the friar must be his grand-uncle Bartolommeo. When the moment of parting was near, the Frate said: "And now it may be long before we meet again, for the king of France has sent for me and wants to give me employment", from whence we

[1] See the record in full in Marchese II. 368.

[2] The contours are wiry and the colour washy. The group is finely outlined, but the forms and the drapery are not given with Fra Bartolommeo's grand boldness. The fresco has been removed from the convent into the church of S. Domenico. Tolomei quotes the name of Fra Bartolommeo, however, in connection with this Virgin, on the strength of convent records and says the patrons were the Fioravanti. (Tolomei, Guida, ub. sub. 109).

[3] A movement familiar in Andrea del Sarto.

[4] This fresco was done by the Frate on the 4th of October, 1515, according to the convent record in Marchese. II. 119. 368. Figures under life size.

learn that before Leonardo joined Francis the First, an attempt had been made to engage the Dominican in the same service. Why the negociation failed, we can now scarcely tell; but it is not unlikely that an event of the most painful interest to the Frate prevented him from leaving Florence. Mariotto, who had resumed the brush fell sick at the end of October 1515. The news of his illness necessarily reached Fra Bartolommeo, and brought him to his friend's bedside. We can imagine his grief when Albertinelli expired on the fifth of November.

The inexhaustible nature of the Frate and his capacity for keeping art at its highest level, even when time and circumstances were combining to give a variety to his manner, are displayed in the results of his labours during 1516.

Foremost amongst the creations of that year is the Resurrection at the Pitti, in which he discloses anew his progress towards the true grandiose. The Saviour, on a pedestal in front of a classic block of architecture, rests on his left leg, before moving the right from a step. The sceptre is in one hand, and the other is raised in benediction. A splendid cast of drapery falls across the breast, and sweeps round to the hips and limbs. There is a bold foreshortening in the S. Mathew who points outwards towards the spectator. Splendid gravity is in the features and pose of the S. Mark on whose shoulder S. Luke rests his arm, whilst S. John speaks to S. Mathew.

This subject, ordered for Salvadore di Giuliano Billi, was placed in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi[1] in a framework comprising, it is said, the two prophets Isaiah and Job, now at the Uffizi. It may have been completed just after a sketch at Panshanger in which we believe we see the apotheosis of a Dominican saint.

S. Antonino was a friar whom we recollect as the contemporary of Fra Giovanni, and of whom Vasari relates that Angelico recommended him to Nicholas the Fifth for

[1] Now No. 159, Pitti gallery. Marchese, II. 123. 5. 145; and Vas. VII. 163.

the archbishopric of Florence. After his death the order made strenuous efforts to secure his canonization, but invariably without success. When Leo the Tenth made his solemn entry into Florence in the winter of 1515, and on the day of Epiphany 1516 admitted the brethren of S. Marco to kiss the foot, he graciously whispered his intention to fulfil their wish, and left them swelling with pride at being favoured beyond all the religious communities of the Tuscan capital. Though Leo did not live to satisfy this pious desire, the brothers of S. Marco were prepared for a speedy fulfilment of his promise, and might in the meanwhile have intended to celebrate the occasion by the exhibition of a picture from the hand of their best artist. Fra Bartolommeo may thus have been induced to compose and finish, previous to its transfer to a panel of larger dimensions, the small one of Panshanger which, had it been so carried out, would probably have been the finest that he ever attempted. The body of the archbishop lies in state on a couch in the centre of a convent-yard, with friars about him, some on their knees grieving, others stooping over him, or trying to embrace his sandals; others again with tapers or prayer-books. Laymen at each side have gathered together in haste and great commotion, the nearest on each side of the foreground boldly set as pillars to support the framework of the composition; their weight increased by the architecture, and buildings of the court massively confined by high walls at each flank, and by lower ones in the distance, above which an orchard and hills are seen. In the background, the door of the church is open, with the head of the funeral procession about to issue from it; whilst amidst clouds, accompanied by angels bearing the throne, the lily, and crowns, the canonized saint ascends to heaven to meet the Eternal. Geometrical symmetry and balance are obtained with an ease almost unparalleled. Nothing like the truth or animation of the scene, the readiness and firmness of the movements, and the nature of the groups.

With this, varied character and individuality of expression, perspective of atmosphere and of lines, massive transitions of light and shade, and a powerful tone in the key of a deep and sonorous bass.[1]

Looking at the excessive skill of Fra Bartolommeo, and considering the grandeur of his performances in 1516, we should attribute to that time five lunette portrait-busts of Dominicans, in the lower dormitory of S. Marco at Florence; all of them superbly modelled and admirable specimens of stern gravity, though here and there injured by scratches, and not free from a certain vulgarity.[2]. We should place in the same class as to date and merit the S. Mark and S. Vincent at the Pitti[3] and Academy,[4] both of which are illustrations of the power with which a plastic appearance may be given to the human shape by scientific calculation of light and shade, by select casts of drapery and vigorous tints.

But, in addition to these we have the Holy Families of the Corsini Palace at Rome and of the Pitti at Florence,

[1] In this panel the colour is all half body, through which the ground gesso appears, giving the whole its transparence. There are forty figures in all. The Eternal and the Procession at the church-door are barely sketched. Purchased at Florence.

There is another panel assigned to Fra Bartolommeo in this precious collection of Earl Cowper; subject, the Virgin, child, S. Joseph and a female saint in profile, and the young Baptist kissing the infant Christ, a fine approximation by the Siennese Beccafumi to the manner of the Frate; sweet in colour and very freely handled.

[2] There are eight of these frescos in the dormitory, but three of them are modern. The first of those by Fra Bartolommeo is a friar with a star above his cowl and a lily in his left hand; with his right he orders silence. The second, with a red book and palm, is injured in the face by bayonet thrusts. The third reads in a red bound book. The fourth is preaching; and there are marks of an Eternal and angels having been on the back ground, near his head. The fifth and sixth are modern, the seventh is bare-headed with rays diverging behind. The eighth is of the eighteenth century. We trust these injured masterpieces will be removed to a place of safety from their present dark recesses. Marchese mentions them (II. 131).

[3] The S. Mark is No. 125, at the Pitti, in oil and on canvass (Vas. VII. 163).

[4] The S. Vincent is No. 69. Galerie des grands Tableaux, at the Academy of arts, wood, oil (Vas. VII. 162). Both were originally in S. Marco, the latter now much dimmed.

S. MARK: by Fra Bartolommeo, at the Pitti in Florence.

and the Presentation in the Temple at the Belvedere of Vienna.

A distant likeness between the first of these Madonnas and Raphael's portrait of Maddalena Doni at the Pitti might warrant the assumption that the Holy Family at the Corsini Palace is that which Vasari calls a chef-d'œuvre done for Agnolo Doni.[1] The panel is a small jewel,[2] with the signature: "F. B. or. pr.s 1516."

The Virgin on a flowery meadow, holds the child who struggles to cast his arms round the little Baptist's neck. S. Joseph looks smiling at this affectionate scene. It is a pyramidal arrangement, with a thorough combination of contours with chiaroscuro and aerial perspective. If anything, the figures are a little heavy and unselect. The Virgin, a fine matronly portrait in profile, with yellow hair in bands, covered by a falling veil, is reminiscent of Leonardo. Some forms are hard and dryly outlined, such as the legs and articulations of the Baptist; and the instant action of the infant Christ's limbs is incorrect, but the touch is masterly. The drawing appears generally beneath the colour. In certain spots there is strong impasto of enamel finish with bituminous shadows, in which one sees the track of the brush in Rubens' manner. Elsewhere we have a system like that of Rembrandt in dark bits struck with speed and decision over the semi-transparent brown preparation. The most charming feature of all perhaps is the landscape, in which a glowing vapour suggests comparison with the distances of Titian. The Frate has acquired all the tricks of hand that betoken long experience, tricks unhappily too easy to be caught, as they were in the sixteenth century, by men who had not the necessary ballast of education to justify their use of them.[3]

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[1] Vas. VII. 157.

[2] Wood, oil, 4 feet 6 by 2 feet 2 inches. A copy of a later time from this Holy Family is in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier, No. 81, named Fra Bartolommeo.

[3] A slight disharmony between the flesh tints and landscape may be due to cleaning. Some holes here and there in the surface of the panel have been stopped.

The Holy Family at the Pitti is almost an inverted replica of that of the Corsini palace. But the central group of the Virgin and two children is balanced by S. Joseph and S. Elizabeth; and the background is a green curtain. The composition is Leonardesque; the forms to a certain extent conventional.[1]

The Presentation in the Temple at Vienna, a magnificent conception, sins by shortness of stature in the personages, and has been deprived of harmony by the removal of glazes; but there are few subjects due to Fra Bartolommeo in which there is a softer gravity or a more melancholy beauty.[2]

To this long catalogue of masterpieces historians have always added an "Assumption" at Prato, registered by Vasari, supposed by some to have disappeared, and by others to be identical with that which now graces the walls of the Berlin Museum.[3] No very diligent search is required to trace the locality in which it may be found. The Assumption of Prato is not at Berlin, but in the great Salone of the Naples Museum; an arched panel with life size figures; — of the Virgin extatically raising her face and hands to heaven as she bends prostrate on a cloud, accompanied by two boy-angels, of SS. John the Baptist and Catherine of Alexandria kneeling at the foot of her tomb.[4] To describe the quality of this "Assumption" would be but to repeat the praise given to other works of 1516, the year in which the Frate seems to have exhausted his strength by over exertion.

Fra Bartolommeo sickened so seriously in the beginning of 1517, it was thought necessary that he should take the baths

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[1] Pitti. No. 256, not free from cleaning and old restoring.

[2] Vienna. Belvedere. Room 4. Ital. sch. No. 29, wood, oil, inscribed: "1516. Orate pro pictore olim sacelli hujus novitio" (Vas. VII. 169).

[3] Vas. VII. 166, annot. ibi, Marchese II. 117.

[4] It is said that the Assumption of Prato bore the date of 1516. The panel at Naples hangs high up in the Salone so that the date may be there though unseen by the authors of these pages. The colour is altered by flaying. There is an original drawing of the work in the Pitti gallery.

THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE : by Fra Bartolommeo, in the Belvedere at Vienna

of S. Filippo.[1] He also tried Pian' di Mugnone for the last time, leaving there a Vision of the Saviour to the Magdalen, which is almost equal in power to anything previous,[2] and then he came back to Florence, where on the 8th of October 1517 he died of a malignant fever. His death, at the early age of forty-two, was an irreparable loss to the Dominicans, who buried him with great honour in S. Marco.[3]

His furniture and tools, which would have passed to Mariotto had he been living, were hoarded as treasures for a long time. Many of the cartoons were used by Fra Paolino and others, and Bugiardini even completed some of the unfinished pieces. But upon this point some errors may have been handed down to us.

It has been usual to follow Vasari in affirming that the Pietà at the Pitti[4] received its last touches from Bugiardini; yet the evidence of this is not to be found in the execution. It is admitted that the composition is one of those that Fra Bartolommeo carried out most completely. The naked corpse of the Messiah is raised from a recumbent to a half erect position by S. John Evangelist, whilst the Virgin with excessive love supports his head and left arm, the Magdalen embracing his legs in an agony of grief. The group realizes at once all the precepts considered as final in the sixteenth century. It is a modification and an advance upon Perugino's, combining all the tenderness of the Umbrian with greater selection, astonishing individuality, pure nature, and refined feeling. It is not possible to cite an instance in which a lifeless form is rendered with more flexibility, or with more anatomical accuracy. As

[1] Vas. VII. 171.

[2] The fresco is in a small chapel near the entrance to the Ospizio of Pian' di Mugnone. The Saviour holding a hoe, turns away from the longing Magdalen: his frame is broad and square as compared to hers, her features expressive. The lines of the landscape are grand; and the scene is impressed with a stamp of unusual life and truth. The fresco is a little spotted and eaten away by time.

[3] Cujus obitus.. magno fuit omnibus detrimento.... Erat autem Diaconus. Obituary in Marchese, II. 369.

[4] Pitti. gall. No. 64.

regards foreshortening, the Magdalen is unsurpassed. We cannot admit that Bugiardini should have done any more than the two figures at the sides which by some accident, of which the details have been lost, were subsequently obliterated.[1]

In order not to extend these remarks to an unwarrantable length, we make out a list of Fra Bartolommeo's remaining works (genuine and the reverse) in the most convenient order that presents itself.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 64. Two rounds in one frame; — in each round a Virgin and child (frescos); both rapidly done at one painting without previous outlining, gay in tone, almost equal to those of Pian' di Mugnone and S. Marco. — No. 78. Five frescos in one frame. 1. Figure of Christ, like a Fra Paolino. 2. S. Catherine, in Fra Bartolommeo's manner, and of a very elegant gentleness. 3. A monk of grave mien (a little injured). 4. S. Peter Martyr ? imposing silence, a grand apparition of a friar. 5. S. Chiara, less good, and probably by Fra Paolino. — No. 82. Five squares in one frame; four of them in fresco, one in oil. The latter, 1. Bust of Christ carrying his cross, on canvass, with the line "Orate pro pictore 1514", of a thin colour darkened by time. 2. S. John the Baptist, original. 3. Profile of a S. Anthony the abbot perhaps by a disciple of Fra Bartolommeo, ? Sogliani. 4. A female saint (? the Magdalen) of soft air, genuine. 5. S. John the Baptist, of the sixteenth century. — (Both these numbers are made up of pieces taken from S. Marco, those by the Frate all dating from 1510—14.) — A copy of the Christ carrying his cross in the Palazzo Corsini, Lung' Arno, at Florence, No. 32, is called Francesco Francia, but is by a disciple of the Frate.

Florence. Pitti. No. 377. Ecce Homo, bust, fresco. The head, of the same stamp as that in No. 78 at the Academy, but of the Frate's early Leonardesque time, of mild aspect, delicate, and hatched.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1235. Wood, oil. A small Virgin kneeling near a plinth on which the infant is seated; — from a Raphaelesque composition of the Frate, by an inferior hand imitating him.

[1] Vasari says (VII. 169—70) that the Frate began the picture in S. Gallo which was finished by Bugiardini. He adds in the life of Bugiardini (X. 348) a description of the subject including two figures at the sides, of SS. Peter and Paul, saying that the panel was only drawn and shadowed in water colour. We cannot help fancying, there is an error in this statement; and we think the figures of S. Paul and S. Peter were removed, because they were out of harmony with the beauty of the principal group.

Florence. S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi. Sacristy. Centre of an altar-piece, the sides of which are by Sebastian Mainardi (see antea II. 494, where we unwittingly compared this panel with certain figures at Berlin). Subject, a saint, life size, in a niche, wood, oil, repainted over an older one. The character, mould, movement, and drapery are not unlike those of the SS. Paul and Peter at the Quirinal; but the condition under which the colour was laid in makes it a little opaque. The art, however, is that of Fra Bartolommeo.

Florence. Gallery of the Marchese Pianciatichi. No. 108. Half length of the Magdalen; wood, oil; damaged and reminiscent of Bugiardini. — No. 12. Virgin and child (life size) composed in the Frate's fashion, and the landscape not unlike his, retouched, and of a milky transparence, and now resembling a Mariano da Pescia (wood, oil). — No. 322. Virgin, child, S. Anne, S. Joseph, and three angels, a sketch, an old and fine copy of a picture by Fra Bartolommeo.

Cortona. Signor Passerini. Virgin giving the breast to the infant Christ, wood, oil, a subject in which the Frate was not less at home than Raphael. The child a little heavy, the period of execution about that of the Holy Family in the Corsini Palace at Rome. The ground is injured and renewed, leaving traces of a saint in the left hand corner. It is many years since the authors saw this Virgin which has since been missing (see postea for a copy of it in the Holford collection).

Sienna. Academy. Stanza dei Quadri di diverse Scuole. No. 99. S. Mary Magdalen, wood, oil, *half life size.* — *No. 91. S. Catherine* of Alexandria. On the latter, the cross and rings, monogram of the atelier of S. Marco during the partnership of the Frate and Mariotto, and the date 1512. These two saints were once in S. Spirito of Sienna, where Fra Paolino and Fra Agostino, Dominican assistants to Fra Bartolommeo, are known to have been. They are graceful and neatly done, but beneath the powers of the Frate; — a little cold in the shadows, clean, and wanting in massiveness of light and shade. They look as if they might be by Fra Paolino to whom a picture at Vienna with the same monogram and the date of 1510 is given, or at all events as if here the Pistoian had a large part in a work belonging to the association.

Lucca. Villa Saltocchio. Five miles from Lucca, is the Villa of Conte Bernardini where there is a pretty round of the Nativity, being probably that registered in the memoranda of the Syndic of S. Marco at Florence as sold for 20 ducats (circa 1513—16) to "Giovanni Bernardini Lucchese" (Marchese II. 144). The size of the figures is one third that of life, their style a mixture of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto.

Venice. Galleria del Seminario. Virgin and child (wood, oil, half life). Pretty, in its old pilastered frame, softly coloured, but with more smorphia and carefulness than was proper to the Frate, reminiscent of him, however, and suggesting the names of Mariotto or even Fra Paolino, but superior to others at the Borghese and Sciarra collections in Rome, and the Corsini Gallery in Florence, in which the latter may have had a share. The flesh is somewhat restored. The distance is a landscape with angels in the upper part.

Venice. Duchess of Berri. Round of the Virgin, child, infant Baptist and S. Bartholomew, in the character of the Brescianini of Sienna.

Turin. Gallery. No. 61. Round, wood, oil. Virgin, child, and angels, also in the superficial manner of the Brescianini, and reddish in tone. — No. 62. Holy Family, called Francia Bigio, the counterpart, as to execution, of No. 61.

Modena. Gallery. No. 483. Virgin and child. — No. 465. D°. Very different from anything by the Frate.

Rome. Gallery of the Capitol. Presentation in the temple (12 figures) partly repainted in the seventeenth century; the rest not unlike Giacomo Francia, particularly in the S. Anna.

Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Room II. No. 31. Nativity, dated 1511 with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra Colonna. Room IV. No. 1. Virgin, child, and young Baptist, with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Florence. Gallery of Prince Corsini. Holy Family with the monogram of S. Marco (see Fra Paolino).

Brescia. Galleria Tosi. Nativity (wood, oil, figures life size), composition perhaps by the Frate; the tones heavy, flat and without relief, probably by Sogliani.

Vienna. Belvedere. Fourth Room. Italian schools. No. 17. Virgin and child (half length, wood, oil), placed high up, but seemingly opaque in colour, perhaps by a pupil of the Frate. The same Virgin and child, more like a Fra Bartolommeo than this of Vienna, is in the Pitti (No. 242) under the name of Puligo.

Vienna. Harrach Gallery. Virgin with her hand on her bare breast, and the child on her knee, his hand also on her breast, and holding an orb. Wood, oil, by a follower of Sogliani, but repainted in the flesh. The movement of the Christ is reminiscent of Bronzino.

Vienna. Count Czernin. Profile of a friar looking up; of the close of the sixteenth century.

Berlin. Museum. No. 249. Assumption. Figures life size, wood, oil. The distribution and drawing are those of Fra Bartolommeo,

of the time when he and Mariotto were associates, and the lower part more particularly like Albertinelli. The comparative rawness of the colour may be due to the abrasion of the final glazes.

Munich. Pinakothek. Cabinets. No. 597. Virgin and child, canvass, not by Fra Bartolommeo, but a copy of a Madonna in the Baring Gallery in London. See, antea, Spagna.

Munich. Pinakothek. Cabinets. No. 579. Wood, oil. The infant Christ on the ground between the kneeling Virgin and S. Joseph. Not by the Frate, but a feeble and superficial production stamped with the impress of the school of Granacci.

Munich. Saal. No. 551. Virgin, child, and S. Joseph. Wood, oil, from the collection of Mme. Dubois in Paris, where it was bought by King Ludwig the First. Not genuine. Coloured of a vitrous enamel, with dark warm shadows reminiscent of the style of Michele di Ridolfo, Puligo, or the Brescianini of Sienna.

London. Stafford House. No. 88. Wood, oil, life size. The Virgin, in profile with the infant Christ holding a reed cross, and the young Baptist in rear. The composition seems an imitation of those by the Frate and Raphael; but the handling is more modern, like that of a follower of Correggio. Such at least is the aspect of the piece at present; but whether this is due to the obvious repainting of the panel or to other causes, cannot be decided.

London. Grosvenor House. No. 177. Wood, oil, small. Virgin and child under a conical dais, the curtain of which is raised by two angels. In front, SS. Jerom and Mary Magdalen on their knees. The subject is arranged in the method of the Frate and of Mariotto; it is pleasing and careful, but betrays an effort by, say, Michele di Ridolfo, to imitate the masters above named.

London. Holford Collection. Panel altarpiece, oil. Virgin and child enthroned, and two angels holding a piece of tapestry above her. At the sides, the kneeling S. Sebastian and a friar. Feeble, washy, of life size figures, by an artist later than the Frate and Mariotto.

Same Collection. Life size Virgin holding the infant, who lays two fingers of his hand on her bare breast, a copy of the Virgin once belonging to Signor Passerini of Cortona.

London. Baring Collection. Sketch, part outlined, part coloured, of the Holy Family; traces only of the S. Joseph being in the background to the left. The hands of the Virgin painted; not done in the mode of Fra Bartolommeo or his pupils and seemingly more modern; a little mannered and affected too as if by Raphael del Colle in his old age.

London. Lord Taunton (Ex-Stoke Park). Virgin and child, the latter on a parapet, between S. Lawrence and a bearded saint. Wood, oil, life size. This is a mixture of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, and not improbably by Puligo, the forms exaggerating the system of drawing of del Sarto, and the Virgin's head being an inspiration from one of the Frate's. The colour is somewhat sombre, and not absolutely satisfactory in the transitions from light to shadow.

London. Lord Elcho. Virgin enthroned with the child holding a cross, under a niche, a graceful, small thing, of a golden tinge, in the mode of Fra Bartolommeo, but without his weighty and superior style. We believe the author to be Mariotto Albertinelli.

London. Sir Anthony Stirling. Crucifixion, between the Virgin and Evangelist, a little miniature panel, of most careful execution quite with the impress of the Frate's school, in the character of Albertinelli also, and at the same time like a fresco in S. Spirito of Sienna. The painter may therefore be Fra Paolino. The intonation warm and the drapery broadly cast.

London. Late Northwick Collection. No. 95. Round. Holy Family, like a Sogliani. No. 101. Holy Family. No. 111. SS. Bartholomew, Biagio and Nicholas. No. 899. Holy Family, not by the Frate.

London. George A. Hoskins, Esq. No. 210, at Manchester. Virgin, child, and saints, not on the level of the powers of Fra Bartolommeo.

London. Abraham Derby, Esq. No. 93, at Manchester. Marriage of S. Catherine, inscribed: "Orate pro pictore"; superficial, feeble, by some follower of the Frate and Fra Paolino.

Bristol (near). Sir William Miles, Bart, of Leigh Court. The Virgin with the naked child holding on with his right hand to the bosom of her dress. A fine life size picture, but without the high qualities of Fra Bartolommeo. The mixture of della Porta and Andrea del Sarto might lead one to assign it to Puligo. The tints are gay, almost gaudy.

Glasgow (near). Hamilton Palace. Breakfast Room. Holy Family. The child on the Virgin's lap, blessing the young Baptist kneeling to the left, S. Joseph in rear to the right. Behind, a wall and a landscape. In front, a cup out of which a finch is drinking (wood, half life size). The Virgin and S. Joseph are apparently taken from Fra Bartolommeo; the two children are reminiscent of Raphael. The handling is like that of Bugiardini or Sogliani.

England. Lord Wenlock. Two friars (exhibited 1853 at the British Institution). These are of the Frate's school.

The following is a list of pieces not seen by the authors:

Geneva. See antea, p. 454.

Besançon. Cathedral. Assumption by Fra Bartolommeo. It was first placed by the chancellor of Flanders Jean Carondelet, archbishop of Palermo (born 1469, † 1544), in his family chapel in S. Etienne of Besançon. It came later into the cathedral. It represents the Virgin and child on a throne which is carried on clouds, by angels. Below stand, (left) SS. John Baptist, Sebastian and Stephen. Right, kneeling, the patron, John Carondelet, with S. Bernard and another saint behind him. On the foreground are roses. Distance, landscape. Of the master's best time. Passavant, annot. to Schorn's Vas. in Kunstblatt. 1844. No. 28.

Milan. Camillo Fumagalli. Assigned (Lett. Pittoriche. VI. p. 417) to Raphael, but according to Passavant by Fra Bartolommeo (Raphael II. 407). Subject: the Virgin and child in centre. Wings: SS. Catherine and Barbara. Outer side of wings: Annunciation in monochrome. See Marchese II. 48, and Passavant II. 407.

Foligno. Signor Gregori. Holy Family. Virgin seated with the infant on her lap, playing with its hands in the beard of S. Joseph who stands by. Below, the little Baptist looks up at the infant Christ. Passavant (Raphael II. 409) thinks the work (which is assigned to Raphael) by Fra Bartolommeo.

Paris. Galerie Abél. Madonna del Cappuccino, Said to be commenced by Fra Bartolommeo, finished by Raphael. Subject: Virgin and child, S. Francis kneeling between angels and the young Baptist giving fruits to the Saviour (see Marchese II. 47). Passavant (Raphael II. 413) says, Raphael at all events had nothing to do with this piece.

Florence. Signor Ricasoli. Head of Christ on a tile (Marchese II. p. 128).

Florence. Cav. Baldelli. A Nativity (Marchese II. 128).

Florence. Signor Volpini. Holy Family (Vas. Annot. VII. 169).

Perugia. Palazzo Penna. Dead Christ, Virgin and two apostles (Marchese II. note to p. 81).

The following are missing:

Florence. Madonna belonging to P. M. delle Pozze (Vas. VII. 151). A Nativity for Giovanni Cardinal de' Medici (ib. ib. 157). Various Madonnas in Casa Medici (ib. ib. 167). Virgin in Casa Capponi

(ib. ib. ib.). Virgin, child, and two saints in Casa Lelio Torelli (ib. ib. ib.). S. George and the Dragon, Casa Pier' del Pugliese (ib. ib. ib.). Compagnia de' Contemplanti, later in possession of Ottaviano de' Medici, a panel of wich no subject is given (ib. ib. 169). Palazzo Niccolini. Holy Family (Richa, Chiese, VIII. 48). Badia di Settimo. Virgin giving the breast to the infant (ib. ib. IX. 225).

Arezzo. Badia de' Monaci Neri. Monochrome, head of Christ (Vas. VII. 169).

Viterbo. S. M. della Quercia. Resurrection of Christ and Coronation of the Virgin (Vas. XI. 30, and Marchese II. 87).

Before taking leave of S. Marco, in which so many masterpieces were produced in the course of a century, we pause for a moment to say a few words of Fra Paolino, who has become inseparable from his superior Fra Bartolommeo. He was born about 1490 at Pistoia,[1] and received the first rudiments from his father Bernardino d'Antonio del Signoraccio, a local artist of the feeblest kind, to whom some works are still assigned.[2] He became a novice at a tender age, and is supposed to have taken orders in S. Domenico of Prato; from whence he was transferred with Della Porta to S. Marco. There he was the helpmate of the Frate and of Mariotto, assisting them in the execution of pictures which still bear the monogram of the atelier. Of these, the earliest and best are: — one under his name dated 1510, a Virgin and child amidst saints in the Belvedere of Vienna; and two saints in the Academy of Sienna (1514), catalogued as by Fra Bartolommeo.[3] Equally early, but of less value, are: a Nativity of 1511 in the Palazzo Borghese, a Virgin, child,

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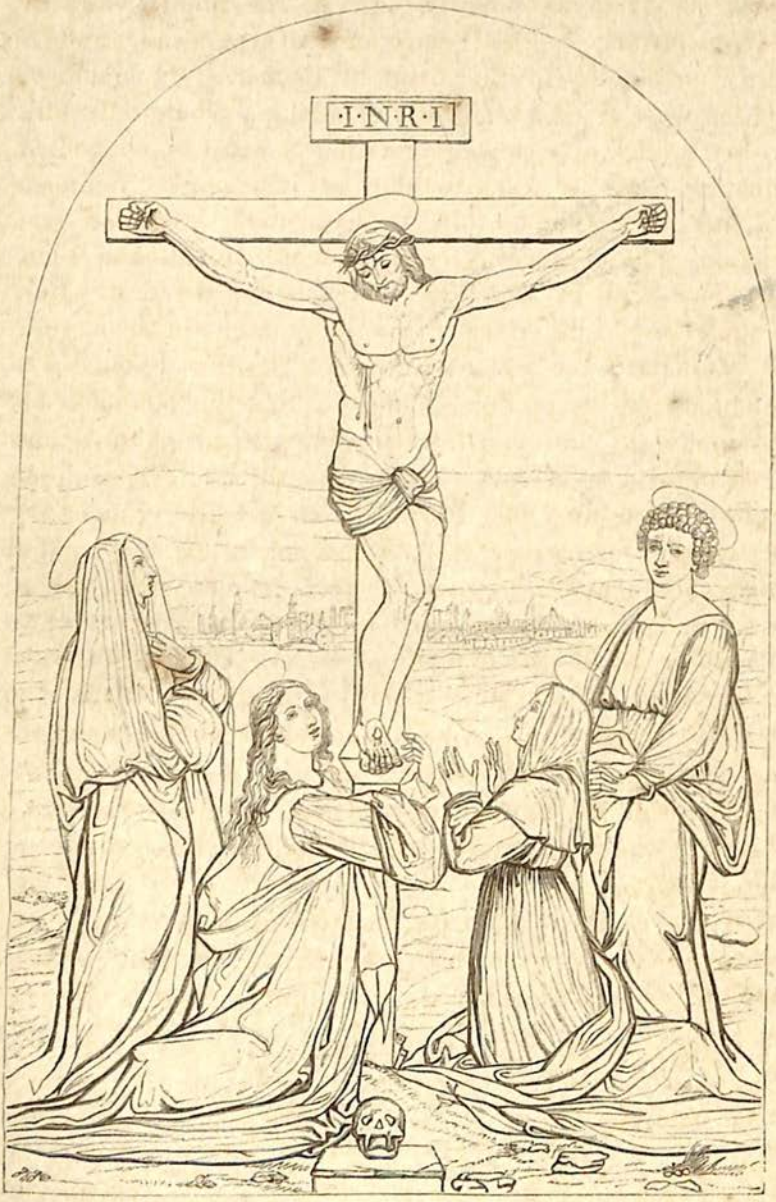
[1] The Register of deaths of S. Domenico at Pistoia contains Fra Paolino's eulogy, describing him as having died, aged circa 57, in 1547 (Tigri, in Marchese II. 370).

[2] Pistoia. S. Lorenzo. Virgin and saints, inscribed: "Bernardinus Ant° Pistorien. pis". S. Felice (outside). Virgin and saints with the signature: "Bernardinus Antonii de Pistorio pinsit. 1502." S. Gio. Fuorcivitas. S. Roch with the words: "Bernardino Vecchio. 1532. Pistoriensis, Prete Giuliano d'Antinoro fecit fieri" (Tolomei, Guida, ub. sup. p. 79. 102. 198. 9).

[3] See antea p. 473.



THE CRUCIFIXION; a fresco by Fra Paolino, in S. Spirito at Sienna.

and youthful Baptist in the Palazzo Sciarra Colonna, at Rome; a Madonna with the infant, the Baptist, and S. Joseph (1511) in the Palace of Prince Corsini, and a Virgin and child in the Antinori Palace at S. Gaetano, in Florence.[1] Such a man, as Fra Paolino, would naturally do better or worse according as the person who controlled him paid more or less attention to his labours. We need not for this reason hesitate to class under one head productions like those of Vienna, Sienna, Rome, and Florence, the last of which are much below the first. For, in spite of the difference in merit apparent in them, they all have the same general stamp.[2] That Fra Paolino was indebted for instruction chiefly to Fra Bartolommeo, is shown by the fact that the Crucifixion undertaken by him in S. Spirito of Sienna (1516) was till lately considered to have been by Della Porta.[3] He had free run of the sketches, drawings, or cartoons of the latter, and by that means frequently concealed his own deficiencies as a composer and draughtsman. His most successful effort as an executant is the Madonna of Vienna. Colour, on panel or canvass, is constantly bricky, opaque, and inky in shadow; contours are wiry and mechanical, faces vulgar, and drapery unnecessarily cut up with detail. In fresco, his brush is washy and powerless; relief by light and shade is scarcely attained at all; and lifeless stiffness is the consequence.

After Fra Bartolommeo's death, Fra Paolino made copious use of the great man's heirlooms, finishing what he had begun, or colouring on his outlines. This is apparent in a Pietà of 1519 at the Academy of Florence; in other

[1] In 1513 Fra Paolino modelled two figures of earth which were afterwards placed in S. M. Mad. of Pian' di Mugnone. Marchese, II. p. 207.

[2] One painter who might claim to be mentioned for a share of some of the pieces named, is Sogliani, another is Mariotto. But Sogliani imitated Fra Bartolommeo at a later period, and the stamp of Mariotto is not that apparent in the works before us.

[3] The record proving that the Crucifixion of S. Spirito at Sienna is by Fra Paolino, is in Marchese II. 210—11.

Frescos done in 1514, at Pian di Mugnone by Fra Paolino, have perished (Marchese II. 209).

subjects of the same collection, in a Madonna with saints of 1525,[1] at S. Lucia; and another of 1530 in S. Agostino, at or near S. Gimignano; and equally so in the later and more ambitious attempts which decorate the altars of churches in Pistoia. Fra Paolino had retired latterly to his native place. He died there of the effects of a sun-stroke, in 1547.[2]

The following register is not to be avoided:

Vienna. Belvedere. Room IV. Florentine School. No. 42 (canvass, oil, figures life size). Virgin and child between the kneeling SS. Chiara and Catherine of Alexandria, the standing Mary Magdalen and Dominick, Peter Martyr and Barbara. On the pedestal, beneath the monogram, is the following: "1510. sub tuum præsidium confugimus sancta Dei genitrix"; and on a scroll at the Virgin's feet, the lines from S. Dominick's legend by Theodoric of Apolda, beginning: "Caritatem habete" (March. II. 208). This is a good imitation of Fra Bartolommeo, but careful and cold in drawing, and ill balanced in composition, the effect being that of a mixture between the styles of the Frate and Andrea del Sarto, the colour being of a roseate red without massiveness. There is more grandeur in the child than elsewhere. The Virgin's type is fine, and her face, turned towards S. Barbara, has some softness. The best figure, however, is that of the kneeling S. Catherine which is quite reminiscent of the two saints (att. to Fra Bartolommeo, antea, p. 473) in the Academy of Sienna which for that reason we should place immediately after the Madonna of Vienna.

Sienna. S. Spirito. Crucifixion, fresco, under glass (see annexed outline) proved by records to be not by Fra Bartolommeo, but by Fra Paolino (Marchese II. 210—11) assisted by Fra Andrea, of whom no other notice exists. The head of the Saviour is not without refinement; but the frame, of regular proportion, is a lifeless and wooden nude, lame in hands and feet. The outlines and drapery are in Fra Paolino's character; the colour likewise. Hatching is copious and regular as in engravings. S. Catherine, in profile, kneeling, is most like an original of Fra Bartolommeo.

[1] In 1524 a picture was ordered of Fra Paolino for the Servi of Pistoia, but was never executed (Marchese II. 213. 269). An altar-piece done in 1525 for S. Domenico of Fiesole has disappeared (ib. ib. 214). Other works at Viterbo are likewise missing (ib. ib. 216).

[2] See Fra Paolino's long and uninteresting life in Marchese II. 204 and foll., and records in appendix, ibi, II. 369 and foll.

We have spoken of a neat little miniature panel like this fresco in the collection of Sir Anthony Stirling (see antea, p. 476).

Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 65. Marriage of S. Catherine of Sienna. Composition by Fra Bartolommeo, to whom the altarpiece is given in the catalogue, execution apparently by Fra Paolino (see antea, p. 452). No. 71. Assumption and gift of the girdle, once in S. Marco, and considered by the authors of the catalogue due to Fra Paolino, is possibly by Michele di Ridolfo.

S. Gimignano (six miles from). *S. Lucia a Babbiano.* Virgin and child between the kneeling SS. Catherine of Alexandria and Lucy, the standing SS. Gimignano, Antonino, Jerom, and a friar in a pilaster ornament (wood, oil, figures life size). On the lower skirting, three rounds including a saint, the Visitation and the Angel and Tobit. The date 1525 is on the Virgin's pedestal. The imitation of Fra Bartolommeo is most visible in the Virgin and kneeling females; the manner, generally, being that of the Madonna at Vienna, with less successful handling. The colour as usual.

S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. Virgin and child on a pedestal at the foot of which an angel plays a viol. SS. Nicholas, Vincenzo Ferrerio and two others at the sides (wood, oil, figures life size). This was delivered according to Canon Pecori (S. Gimignano ub. sup. p. 542) by Fra Paolino in June 1530, to S. Domenico of Pistoia; Marchese says to S. Domenico of S. Gimignano (II. 214). It is done from a drawing by Fra Bartolommeo, the group of the Virgin and child being a counterpart of that in the Marriage of S. Catherine (1511) at the Louvre and in the same episode at the Academy of arts in Florence. Reddish, with inky grey shadows and violet half tones.

Pistoia. S. Paolo. Virgin, child, and saints with angels, under a conical pavilion (wood, oil, figures life size). Free adaptation of an arrangement taken from the Frate, but without his symmetry or grandeur; the most important of Fra Paolino's performances, but cold and hard, not equal to the Madonna of Vienna, though superior to those of S. Gimignano. On the step of the throne the words: "Opus F. Pauli de Pist. or. præ. MDXXVIII". The yellow mantle of S. Peter is repainted.

Pistoia. S. Domenico. Adoration of the Magi (wood, oil), much injured by scaling, dark and opaque in shadow. There is much movement and animation in the composition which curiously recalls Andrea da Salerno, or Andrea del Sarto; and some grace is imparted to the Virgin presenting the child to the king who kneels and kisses its foot. Done according to Tolomei in 1539 (Tol. Guida, 111).

Same church. Choir. Marriage of S. Catherine of Sienna (wood, oil, life size), retouched throughout. The group of Virgin and child is a replica of that in S. Agostino of S. Gimignano. SS. Catherine and Mary Magdalen kneel as in the Marriage (No. 65) at the Academy of Florence. Coarse and unsatisfactory.

Same church. Crucified Saviour between the Virgin and Evangelist; S. Thomas Aquinas at foot, bad and much restored. Wood, oil, life size.

Pistoia. S. G. Evangelista, Fuorcivitas. Sacristy. Nude S. Sebastian in a landscape. Wood, oil. This is a long lean figure in Fra Paolino's manner. In part scaled.

Rome. Palazzo Borghese. Room II. No. 31 (named Fra Bartolommeo). Wood, oil, with the monogram and date of 1511. The child is stretched on the ground, near him the little Baptist with the cross. The Virgin in rear kneeling, and S. Joseph to the right. One sees that the foundation is by Fra Bartolommeo, but nothing more.

Rome. Palazzo Sciarra-Colonna. Room IV. No. 1. Virgin, child and little Baptist (named Fra Bartolommeo) with the monogram. Wood, oil, half the life size. In the same class as the Nativity of the Palazzo Borghese.

Florence. Palace of Prince Corsini. No. 22. Virgin, child, Baptist and S. Joseph (named Fra Bartolommeo) with the monogram and year 1511. Superficial (wood, oil, half the life size), rubbed down and retouched, inferior to, but in the same manner as, that of the Palazzo Sciarra at Rome. The types are like those of Mariotto. The colour reminiscent of Andrea del Sarto's pupil Puligo.

Florence. Palazzo Antinori a S. Gaetano (named Mariotto). Virgin and child, and Baptist, arched (wood, oil, almost life size). An angel on the left is by another hand. This also bears the monogram. It is like the foregoing, superficial, and lustrous.

Besides the foregoing we note as of still less importance: an Assumption at S. Maria del Sasso, near Bibbiano; a Virgin and saints in S. Maria delle Grazie at Pistoia; two panels at Cutigliano, a Virgin between SS. Francis and Benedict in the Academy, a Madonna and saints in S. Giovanni, the same subject in the Palazzo Commune, at Pistoia, and a Presentation in the Temple, of large size, in the late Bromley Collection.

After the death of Fra Paolino, the well-worn designs of Fra Bartolommeo passed to Suor Plautilla Nelli in S.

Caterina of Florence;—a lady who was born in 1523, and died in 1587 (Vas. IX. 6, 7, and annot:). We shall only mention one or two of her works, leaving the reader at his pleasure to go deeper into the matter in the pages of Vasari and Father Marchese.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 74. Originally in Santa Caterina of Florence. The Marys and other saints wailing over the dead body of the Saviour (wood, oil, eight life size figures): The composition is fine, and perhaps an unused one of Fra Bartolommeo, but the execution is a caricature of that of the classic school, the females being the least objectionable. The colour is dull and opaque.

Florence. Prince Corsini. Virgin, child, in a landscape, and a figure looking over the Virgin's shoulder (named Plautilla Nelli), an exaggeration of the forms of the Frate, of a low reddish and raw tone.

Berlin Museum. No. 250. Martha complains in the presence of Christ, Mary and Peter. This is falsely assigned to Plautilla Nelli being dated 1524, a year after her birth. It is a feeble piece of which the cartoon seems nevertheless by Fra Bartolommeo.

CHAPTER XIV.

MARIOTTO ALBERTINELLI AND BUGIARDINI.

The unimpeachable testimony of records has served to impress with an additional stamp of truth the opinion of Vasari as to the life and character of Mariotto Albertinelli. Born on the 13th of October 1474,[1] and put by his father Biagio di Bindo to the trade of gold beating, he soon tired of the monotony peculiar to this occupation and exchanged it for that of a painter. His choice of Cosimo Rosselli as a master threw him into contact with Baccio della Porta with whom he speedily entered into cordial friendship; and such was the inclination felt by the two apprentices towards each other that their companionship became inseparable; and Mariotto derived from his style the name of a second Fra Bartolommeo.[2]

We shall not dwell anew on the incidents which preceded the monastic retirement of della Porta; nor is it necessary to do more than bear in mind, that when the Last Judgment of S. Maria Nuova was left unfinished, Mariotto remained charged with its completion. What chiefly interests us is to see that during Baccio's novitiate, Mariotto continued the pursuits which had hitherto been carried on in common, and gave signs of a talented and promising manner resembling in principles as well as in technical methods that of his old partner.

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[1] Register of Baptisms at Florence in Tav. Alfab. ad lit. et an.

[2] Vas. VII. 180.

THE SALUTATION; an oil painting by Mariotto Albertinelli, in the Gallery of the Uffizj at Florence..

What became of the earlier pictures which fell into the hands of Cesar Borgia at Rome, or the likeness of Alfonsina de' Medici, has not been discovered;[1] but there is a small "Christ appearing to the Magdalen in the Louvre, in which reminiscences of Cosimo Rosselli's atelier are discovered.[2] It was to be expected that Albertinelli should become acquainted with the mode of drawing in which Fra Bartolommeo's familiarity with the works of Leonardo was betrayed; that he should have the same types and lively action; the same thin shapes and elegant proportion; and that his landscape should be touched with the Frate's careful tenderness. His system of painting necessarily had the same fresh sharpness and minuteness of handling. So natural indeed is this that the presence of all these features in one panel leaves no doubt as to its authorship. And if in that of the Louvre we discover an art less perfect than that of Fra Bartolommeo, it is only because Mariotto had not all the gifts of his associate. Both men had the same education, both were alike in their veneration of the maxims which were known in the shops of Rosselli and Verrocchio as alone true and unassailable.

There was a time when Mariotto might almost have hoped to ascend to the highest honours at Florence, the time when della Porta having apparently renounced his profession, varied his leisure perhaps by encouraging and advising his friend. To this favorable moment we owe the Salutation, engraved in these pages, and ordered of Mariotto in 1503 for the Congregation of S. Martino at Florence.

The scene is laid in a highly decorated portico, looking out upon a fair sky and pleasant country. The Virgin has stopped and bends slightly but courteously forward as Elizabeth steps up and takes her hand, a free expression of joy in her aged face contrasting with the more staid and noble attention in that of the Madonna.

[1] Vas. VII. 181.

[2] Louvre. No. 25. for a long time assigned to Perugino.

Both have the mien and bearing becoming their station. Admirable chastity and composure in the one; a winning honesty in the other. The action and the drapery are equally felicitous. In this application of the Leonardesque rules Mariotto was for this once almost perfect, and but for a little stiffness would be equal to Fra Bartolommeo. Technically he had not allowed any of the advantages of the age to escape him. All the acquirements known to da Vinci after his departure from Milan he turned to use for the attainment of full harmony and rich vapour, producing enamel transparence in a low key of tone with consummate skill by glazes.[1]

To this grand specimen of a picture of style succeeded a round of the Nativity now at the Pitti; — a brilliant easel-piece charming for its combination of the qualities of Leonardo and Credi; for noble seriousness in the face of the Virgin and the pleasing plumpness in the shape of the infant Christ; the landscape, of Ferrarese minuteness in detail like that of Fra Bartolommeo's Vision of S. Bernard.[2]

Shortly after this, Fra Bartolommeo appointed Mariotto guardian of his brother Piero, and resumed his artistic occupations. Whilst he was occupied with the Nativity and Circumcision of the Uffizi, Albertinelli was busy on a Crucifixion at the Certosa and a Madonna with saints, in S. Trinità of Florence.

The fresco, a simple form of an old theme, with the Magdalen at foot, the Virgin and Evangelist at the sides; and angels gathering the blood from the hands, is very much in Fra Bartolommeo's manner and tells by comparison what the lower parts of the Last Judgment at S. Maria Nuova must have been.[3] The Madonna, now

[1] On the pilasters, one reads: 'Anno MDIII." The predella, — Annunciation, Nativity, and Circumcision, is not less able than the principal incident, though raw from e abrasion of glazes.

[2] Pitti. No. 365. Wood, oil, figures half the life size. Three angels in the sky sing from a scroll. To the right behind the Virgin, S. Joseph. The shape of the Madonna is a little less noble and more square than in the Salutation.

[3] Inscribed: "Mariotti Florentini

at the Louvre, stands on a pedestal, the infant in her arms giving a blessing to SS. Jerom and Zanobius who kneel in front. Like that of the Frate in the altarpiece of S. Marco, the group of the Virgin and child is fine and full of feeling. The two saints are well proportioned; and the distance of hills is varied with episodes.[1] We dwell at length upon this period of Albertinelli's life, because he then achieved his greatest successes. As he grew older taking many pupils, such as Giuliano Bugiardini,[2] Francia Bigio,[3] Innocenzo da Imola,[4] and Pontormo,[5] he wasted more than his leisure in a vain attempt to improve oil mediums.

A Virgin and child with the infant Baptist, dated 1509, and greatly injured, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, serves less to prove this than to show that Bugiardini was probably then a journeyman in his shop.[6] A better illustration is the Annunciation of 1510 which passed from the Compagnia di S. Zanobi to the Academy of arts at Florence. In order to suit this subject for its position, he placed the panel on the altar and studied the perspective as well as the play of light and shade on the spot; and as he had some peculiar notions as to the propriety of combining marked relief with fusion, he tried a number of experiments with but little satisfaction to himself.[7] The result, as we now see it, was an excessive lucidity of colour, ob-

opus pro quo patres Deus orandus est. A. D. M. CCCCCVI mens. Sept."

[1] Louvre. No. 24. One reads on the base of the pedestal: "Mariocti Debertinellis. Opus A. D. M°DVI." The picture was ordered of Zanobi del Maestro and was taken to Paris before 1813. Adam and Eve near the Tree of Knowledge are on the pedestal as a basrelief. In the background S. Jerom prays at the foot of the cross, and S. Zanobius revives the child. The colour is of good impasto but raw from the removal of glazes.

[2] Vas. VII. 187 and X. 347.

[3] VII. 187.

[4] VII. 187 and IX. 93.

[5] Vas. XI. 30.

[6] No. 5. Wood, oil. The Virgin, erect with a pomegranate in her right hand, holds the infant, standing on a parapet. The latter hangs on to the bosom of His mother's dress, whilst the young Baptist looks on and carries the reed cross. A bird pecks food; and a vase of flowers is placed on the wall. In front one reads: "Mariotti Florentini opus 1509." Through a window, a landscape, the whole covered over with modern repainting.

[7] Vas. VII. 184—5.

tained by a copious use of strong varnish in the oils, and a substance at once viscous, flowing, and difficult to model. Time dealt severely with this example, and what it has spared has suffered from restoring; but besides, Mariotto gave evidence of an extravagant fancy in the confused arrangement and strange dresses of the angels surrounding the apparition of the Eternal; thus casting into the shade the finer points made in the fair types of the Virgin and angel. The subsequent removal to a gallery where the effect of a low centre of vision is negatived by hanging "below the line" combines with other disadvantages to give Mariotto's work an unfavorable aspect.[1] The circumstances under which he brought it, after incredible labour, to completion were such that a valuation by competent persons became necessary, and Pietro Perugino, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, and Francesco Granacci, had to give their opinion before the price was finally settled.[2]

In a more quiet and less fanciful mood, Albertinelli had occasion to furnish to S. Giuliano a "Trinity"[3] on gold ground, and an enthroned Madonna adored by two kneeling saints, which from thence have been transferred to the Academy of Florence.[4]

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[1] Florence, Academy of Arts, Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 73. The glory has become quite black, and disharmony is increased by the laying and repainting of the lower parts.

[2] Vas. VII. 185.

[3] Florence Academy. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 70. Wood, oil; the gold ground renewed to the detriment of some outlines. The face of the Eternal is fine, and well preserved; in type like one of Fra Bartolomeo's in S. Romano at Lucca. Two angels at his feet are pleasing and reminiscent, as regards action and form, of the Raphaelesque. The arrangement is on the Frate's principles; — the drapery broad; but the colour is of the same kind as in the annunciation (Vas. VII. 183).

In the Berlin Museum. No. 229. A round of the Trinity under Mariotto's name is very like the above in respect of arrangement, though more like a work of Granacci in touch and mode of colouring.

[4] Florence Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 72. Mentioned by Vasari (VII. 183). Wood, oil, figures life size. The Virgin is enthroned with the infant between SS. John the Baptist, Julian, Dominick, and Nicholas. A bold handling here reminds us of the Madonna at the Louvre of 1506, with something akin to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. The figures are firm and well proportioned, the chiaroscuro well defined, the colour a little bold.

In the midst of these occupations the friendship of Fra Bartolommeo, whose fame was increasing daily, had not been neglected. We have seen how vainly Mariotto tried to mediate in the summer of 1507 between him and Bernardo del Bianco. After the return of the Frate from Venice, the want of a skilled superintendent in the atelier of S. Marco became evident, and the old partnership which had been broken up in 1500, was renewed in 1510. Very few of the pictures undertaken while it lasted enable us to distinguish the hand of either artist. We barely have a trace of Albertinelli in the glory of the Murano altarpiece at S. Romano of Lucca. His presence is more decidedly apparent in the lower part of the Assumption at Berlin, and is slightly betrayed in the round of the Nativity at Saltocchio near Lucca.

At the division of profits which took place in January 1513, a panel which fell to Mariotto's share was one of Adam and Eve, contoured and rubbed in by Fra Bartolommeo.[1] After Albertinelli had digested the chagrin caused by the separation from his friend, and repented of having turned publican, we think that he took in hand this little piece, which is now at Castle Howard. On the left sits Adam in profile, obviously bent on dissuading Eve who stands against a tree about to pluck the fruit. She is tempted by the whispering demon whose body is twined about the trunk. In the landscape, the Creation and Expulsion are introduced as subordinate episodes. This is an exquisite thing, correct in the anatomy, proportions, and action of Adam, astonishingly appropriate in the hesitating movement of Eve. In spite of minute treatment, the touch is firm, and the tone rich, sweet, and airy.

Nor is this a solitary specimen of Mariotto's power. Its counterpart is a beautiful Sacrifice of Abraham, preserved likewise in the collection of Castle Howard;[2] and a simi-

[1] Memorandum of Mariotto (Jan. 5. 1513 n. s.) in Marchese II. 366.

[2] Both these little pieces have been successively called by the na-

lar character is marked in three fragments of a Coronation of the Virgin at the Museum of Carlsruhe.[1]

We cannot suppose that Mariotto long remained absent from his easel. For some months only did he keep a tavern at the Ponte Vecchio al Drago near the gate of S. Gallo; and congratulate himself on having entered on a trade "where he should be free from the taunts of criticism, and hear no more of muscles, of foreshortening, or perspective".[2] The means which had enabled him to take this strange step were, no doubt, soon exhausted; and in March 1513 he was glad to accept a commission for a shield of arms in the Palace of the Medici on the occasion of Leo the Tenth's elevation to the Papacy.[3]

The Annunciation at Munich, though undated, is but a continuation of the manner illustrative of this period in Albertinelli's career, combining the elegance and pious spirit of Fra Bartolommeo with a sentiment and method of colouring like that of Andrea del Sarto,[4] It shows that Mariotto, in this instance at least, could succeed in uniting strong contrasts of light and shade to atmosphere and fusion of colour, and preserve at the same time true proportions and flexibility in nude.[5]

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mes of Raphael, F. Francia, and Lorenzo Costa; and are the finest specimens of Albertinelli when he strove to rival Fra Bartolommeo. In the sacrifice, Abraham holds his knife to Isaac's throat, as the angel stops him and points to the lamb in a distant bush. The angel's wings are touched in gold.

[1] Carlsruhe Museum. No. 323. A boy-angel and part of a second with flowers, with a piece of the dress of the Virgin the rest of whose form and a piece of the Redeemer is in No. 324. whilst the third bit (No. 325) shows an angle of Christ's dress, and another boy-angel. These were perhaps done during the partnership with the Frate. These numbers at Carlsruhe are under the name of Fra Bartolommeo, but the drawing and execution are Mariotto's, the flesh lights being red, the shadows of a greyish blue and the vehicle viscous.

[2] Vas. VII. 183—4.

[3] Ib. ib. ib.

[4] Ex. gr. in the annunciation at the Pitti No. 124.

[5] Munich. Pinakothek. Saal. No. 545. At the sides of the principal group stand, a fine naked S. Sebastian with an angel consoling him by presenting the palm of martyrdom, and S. Ottilia with a dagger in her throat (wood, oil, figures almost large as life). The picture has been unevenly cleaned, the distance and foreground (the latter especially) being much abraded. The flesh shadows are slightly rubbed away and hence a little cool and grey. Purchased at Florence in 1832.

At the very last, and when one might think that Albertinelli must have surrendered all hope of receiving useful inspirations from the study of great cotemporary masterpieces, he was induced to proceed to Rome, whither, according to Vasari, he journeyed by way of Viterbo, after having finished there a picture begun by Fra Bartolommeo in S. M. della Quercia. He had scarcely given the final touch to a Marriage of S. Catherine for Fra Mariano at S. Salvestro, when he was seized with an illness which so prostrated him that he was brought back on a litter to Florence, where he died on the 5th of November 1515.[1]

Some doubtful classifications in public and private collections make the following list desirable.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1183. The dead Christ, on the ground, at the foot of the cross, surrounded by the Evangelist, the Marys and other females. Unimportant, but suggesting memories of Raphael's studies for the same subject. Not certainly by Mariotto.

Florence. Prince Corsini. No. 20. Wood. Painted from a cartoon assigned to Raphael (No. 22) in the Academy of Arts at Florence, by an artist subsequent to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

S. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 21. Named M. Albertinelli. Marriage of S. Catherine in the presence of SS. John Evangelist, Nicholas, Stephen, Francis, Jerom, John Baptist, and two others. Wood, oil, figures large as life; formerly in the Braschi Palace at Rome. In its present condition, being much restored, this is a mixture of Sogliani and Bazzi, the style of the latter especially clear in the Virgin and four principal saints at her sides, and in the sky with its dark cloud; the rest more Florentine, the S. Catherine particularly coarse and heavy. Age and retouching have changed the colour. Hence lack of harmony and transparence.

S. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg gallery. No. 43. Named Gaudenzio Ferrari. Wood, oil, figures almost life size. Virgin and child between S. Joseph and the sleeping infant Baptist, in a landscape, with angels playing instruments in the air to the left. Here the stamp of Mariotto is more marked than in the foregoing, but the

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[1] Vasari VII. 186. His death on that day and his burial in S. Piero Maggiore are proved by the register of deaths ad ann. See Tav. Alfab. ub. sup. — Of his works at Rome and Viterbo not a trace remains.

surface has also been deeply damaged by retouching. The painter seems to be Sogliani or some other imitator of the same sort.

S. Petersburg. Prince Gortschakoff. Round of the Virgin, child, infant Baptist, and two female saints. Wood, oil. The composition, after the fashion of the Frate, the forms and faces reminiscent of Raphael; the young S. John heavy and grotesque. The want of feeling and other features here betray Andrea del Sarto's pupil Puligo.

London. National Gallery. No. 645. Virgin and child, once in possession of Mr. Beaucousin in Paris, like a Mariotto, but possibly by Sogliani when imitating Fra Bartolommeo.

Paris. Ex-Pourtalès Gallery. Wood, oil. Virgin, child, the boy S. John, and S. Joseph in distance. Named Albertinelli. This is a rudely executed adaptation of Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo by Sogliani.

In the number of Mariotto's pupils Vasari names Visino, whom elsewhere he has called a disciple of Francia Bigio.[1] Amongst his performances the historian mentions one "of Christ taken from the cross together with the thieves, in which there is an ingenious and intricate arrangement of ladders".[2] This description points to a panel now in the Galleria del Seminario at Venice,[3] not unlike the joint "Descent from the Cross" by Filippino and Perugino, but carried out with a view to emulate Andrea del Sarto and Michael Angelo. Visino thus proves how an inferior talent assumes the garb of better ones, with a strange diversity at various periods.

A Virgin and child, classed not improperly as Pontormo in the Academy of Arts of Bologna, but attributed by many to Visino or Bugiardini, is another example of the mixture above noted. There is something of the Michaelangelesque, a little of Fra Bartolommeo, more of del Sarto, particularly in tone. The authorship may therefore be the same as at Venice. But Visino is not

[1] Vas. VII, 187. 8.
[2] Ib. ib. ib.
[3] 14 [figures] under the head: "School of Perugino."

alone in suggesting reflections on the productions of Mariotto's shop. Bugiardini, Innocenzo da Imola, and Francia Bigio, having been there, may all more or less have taken a part in the pictures that issued from it. Malvasia is inclined to doubt Vasari's assertion as to the connection between Albertinelli and Innocenzo, and perhaps his Florentine bias may be due to other causes. But setting him aside and considering such pieces as raise doubts whether they are by Albertinelli or his journeymen, we may form a class apart, in which traits of Albertinelli and his disciples are commingled so that the result is unlike Mariotto absolutely, and also unlike what the several subordinates were when they assumed their independence. One of these is a Virgin and child in the collection of the Duca Corsini at Florence, a round to which graceful grouping and a beautiful landscape, on the model of Mariotto and the Frate, give a certain interest, but in which paltry nude, pinched features, and affected melancholy are to be observed. These we are taught to consider as peculiarities in the first manner of Giuliano Bugiardini, leading us to the belief that the Madonna of the Duca Corsini may be his when under the influence of Albertinelli.[1] At Turin, too, is another specimen of the same kind, a round of the Madonna with a standing child, the young Baptist, and S. Joseph leading the ass.[2] The Virgin's face varies little from Mariotto's type, whilst the aged head and short stature of the Christ, and the vulgar heaviness of the little S. John disclose the derivation of Bugiardini from a school where he was enabled to assume something of the air of the great masters without much original talent. Both at Turin and Florence, the colour is cold and a little raw.

[1] The Virgin sits on a bank in a landscape in which the Nativity and Visitation are distant episodes. The figures are one third the size of life (wood, oil). The forms of the Virgin recall those of a Madonna (No. 220 at the Uffizi) under Bugiardini's name, long under that of da Vinci, in which we find the technical handling of a scholar of Mariotto conjoined with the type of Leonardo;—in which also the shape of the infant Christ is heavy and puffy. But see the text postea.

[2] Turin Gallery. No. 584. Round,

Giuliano Bugiardini whose earliest period of artistic development has thus been traced, was older by three years than Mariotto, and was born in 1471 in the suburbs of Florence.[1]

The diligence which he exhibited in the garden of the Medici, endeared him to Michael Angelo whom he followed into the shop of Domenico Ghirlandaio.[2] He afterwards performed the duties of assistant to Mariotto at Florence and Gualfonda, and was one of those whom Buonarotti uselessly employed in Rome when he first undertook the ceiling of the Sixtine chapel.[3] During a long service in irresponsible capacities, he was admitted to have been known for assiduity and precision in transferring the drawings of others to panel.[4] When he advanced late in life to an independent position, his ability in undertaking original subjects was necessarily slight, and he confined himself to the handling of the simplest incidents.

The Virgin and child, alone or accompanied by the little Baptist, sometimes attended by saints, was his usual theme; illustrations of which we find in the Madonna at the Uffizi known for years as by Leonardo; in a Virgin, child, and Baptist at the Museum of Leipzig, a Nativity at Berlin, and a Marriage of S. Catherine at the Pinacoteca of Bologna.

Bugiardini did not fail occasionally to discern the graceful and appropriate in his cotemporaries. His grouping in the Madonna of the Uffizi is not without merit. The Virgin's face, with its broken outlines and wasted angular features, is cast in the mould of Leonardo's nun at the Pitti, though tinged with a sickly melancholy. Her action is not without sentiment, her head being pensively bent, and her hand pointing at the breast which the child has just abandoned. There is even a Raphaelesque move-

wood, oil, figures ¼ of life size, called Mariotto (?).

[2] See the income return of his father, Piero di Mariano di Bonagiunta, in Tav. Alfab. ub. sup.

[2] Vas. X. 346. 7.

[3] Vas. XII. 190. — Circa 1508.

[4] Vas. X. 348.

ment in the Boy, heavy and round though his shape may be. The drapery gives a good account of the frame and limbs beneath, as it does in Mariotto and the Frate, but is rendered more after Michael Angelo's fashion. The colour is full of light, of good impasto, and fused like that of Albertinelli. We mark in fact the effect which a constant observation of the best models produces on Bugiardini.[1] In the Leipzig Madonna, greatly as it has been injured, the same dependence is manifested; and in a pleasant landscape Giuliano seeks to tint the hill-sides with natural variety according to their distance, and to give depth on the principles of Da Vinci. But his types are more vulgar and fleshy, his drawing more incorrect, his drapery more festooned than at the Uffizi.[2] The Berlin Nativity, of better preservation, is composed and painted more particularly in the method of Mariotto and the Frate, in a strong low key of harmonious tone, the figures still faulty and short.[3] A more effective distribution, better forms and truer proportions in the "Marriage of S. Catherine" at Bologna, are insufficient to compensate for the bricky tinge and rawness of a picture marked by something like the manner in which Innocenzo da Imola afterwards betrays his contact with the Florentines.[4]

Another phase in Bugiardini's character is to be noticed in genuine works in which the personages, instead of

[1] Uffizi. No. 220. Wood, oil, figures all but life size. The type of the child is like that in the Turin Madonna (antea). The colour shadowed in grey, fused like that in Mariotto's Virgin and saints (1506) at the Louvre. The prevailing tone is rosy, but some sharpness has been created by old cleaning and the consequent flaying of glazes.

[2] Leipzig Museum. No. 143. Catalogued, Giulio Romano, the inscription, having been altered from "Jul. Flor. f." to "Jul. Ro. f." The Virgin holds the infant in her arms, the Baptist in front pointing to him and holding the reed cross, the drawing heavy, puffy, and incorrect. The nimbuses have been removed; and many parts, ex. gr. the shadow on the Virgin's cheek and neck, the child's hand, and the foot of the Baptist are repainted.

[3] The infant sits on the ground adored by the kneeling Virgin, right, SS. John Evangelist and Philip; left, SS. Jerom and Joseph. In the air is an angel, distance landscape. Inscribed: "Jul. Flo. fac." Wood, oil, figures life size, well preserved.

[4] Bologna Pinacoteca. No. 26. The Virgin has the child on her knee,

being short or puffy, are on the contrary thin and small. The tendency in these is to remind of Leonardo and Raphael, and, in certain motions, of Michael Angelo, the resulting cento being highly finished and far from unpleasant, though wanting in the stamp of independence and originality. In the gallery of Signor Battista Mansi at Lucca, a Holy Family, inscribed with Giuliano's name and the date of 1520,[1] shows us the Saviour plucking dates from a palm and giving them to the Virgin by whose side the infant Baptist kneels. The landscape is the old one of the Frate, but the composition is a mixture of one by Leonardo and Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino, the faces displaying an effort to attain the gentleness of Sanzio's.[2] A variation of this, at the Padri Filippini of Bologna, is equally pretty and soft in colour; smaller and most carefully handled.[3]

Michael Angelesque attitude is observable in the strained grace of the principal figure in a round at the Zambeccari Gallery in Bologna, where the Virgin sits on a bank with a book in her hand near a grove of trees, and turns at the call of the infant Christ who has caught sight of the young Baptist coming.[4] The style is otherwise similar to that of the Virgin at Lucca. It may be recognized in a round at the Hermitage of S. Petersburg falsely assigned to Pacchia.[5]

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who gives the ring to S. Catherine, S. Anthony with one leg on the step of the throne at the left side; the little Baptist at the Virgin's feet. Wood, oil, all but life size; inscribed: "Jul. Flo. fac."

[1] This picture was probably done in Florence, as a record of September 1520 exists in which Bugiardini is proved to have joined Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in valuing an altarpiece by Jacopo del Sellaio, in S. Frediano del Bigallo.

[2] Wood, oil, figures life size. Of a ruddy tone, the young Baptist with his wooden cup injured by restoring. Inscribed: "Julianus Florentinus faciebat. 1520." In the distance S. Joseph and the ass.

[3] Wood, oil, 4 foot 1/2 by 3. Wood, oil, without the S. Joseph.

[4] Wood, oil, figures third life size. Very careful, the lights in the infant Christ's hair gilt.

[5] S. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 35. Wood, oil, transferred to canvass. The Virgin on the ground with the infant on her knee, to whom she shows a book, the Baptist asleep on the right. S. Joseph coming up with a bundle of sticks and a barrel on the right, distance a landscape. The forms are small and thin, hardly outlined, and with precision, enamelled and a little

The number of Bugiardini's panels in Bologna might lead to the inference that during the troubles of the years previous to 1530 he remained at a safe distance from Florence. His stay at the latter place in 1526 is known to a certainty by the record of payments for decorating the balustrade of the rostrum in the Palace of the Signori.[1] After the peace he was constantly Michael Angelo's companion at Florence, and was wont to divert his melancholy by harmless vanity and amusing self-sufficiency. He had the conceit of a Florentine Boswell, following Buonarotti like a shadow, and sunning himself in the borrowed light.[2] When the statues of the Day and Night at S. Lorenzo were finished in 1531, Bugiardini copied the latter on the wing of a triptych with the accompaniment of a lantern in the form used for trapping birds at dark; an idea as ludicrous, says Vasari, as if he had copied a nightcap, a pillow, or a bat.[3] With some difficulty he once obtained a sitting from Michael Angelo for his likeness, and having kept him two hours, produced a portrait in which one eye seemed awkwardly transposed into one of the temples Nothing would induce him to correct the error, for if error there be, he said, it is in the original.[4] The portrait is supposed to be that of

raw in colour, not by Pacchia to whom it is ascribed but by Bugiardini.

[1] Archiv. di Stato di Firenze. Stanziamenti de' Signori e collegi fr. 1521 to 1527.

233 tergo.

Die 5. Octobris 1526.

"Item stanziarono che detti massai, — dieno e paghino al d° Camarlingo della Camera dell' Arme fior. 20 larghi d'oro in oro netti; — sono per dargli e pagare a Giuliano Bugiardini dipintore per parte del prezzo del cartone che lui fa del disegno della spalliere della ringhiera del Palazzo, de' nostri Signori, le quali si anno a fare di nuovo — per essere quelle che di presente si adoprano, consumate, guaste e disonorevole." Favoured by G° Milanesi.

[2] He was a member of the club of the Cazzuola of which more in the life of Andrea del Sarto (Vas. XII. 11—13).

[3] Vas. X. 352.

[4] Ib. ib. 350. Michael Angelo succeeded in getting for Bugiardini Sebastian del Piombo's portrait of Clement the Seventh, from which he (Giuliano) made a picture of that Pope in company of Baccio Valori (see Gaye II. 228 and Vas. X. 133), and another of the Pope with Fra Niccolò Schomberg archbishop of Capua (Vas. ib. ib.). Bugiardini also copied Raphael's Leo the Tenth substituting Cardinal Cibo for Cardinal de' Rossi (ib. ib. X. 350), and he took the likeness of

the Louvre, which certainly has something of Bugiardini, though feeble even for him, and of a hard dull reddish tone.[1]

A letter of Giovan Battista di Paolo Mini, dated September 29. 1531, addressed to Baccio Valori, tells of a visit from Michael Angelo to Mini together with Bugiardini; and a second, interchanged between the same persons in the following October, mentions the Rape of Dinah, which Giuliano was then finishing from a design by Fra Bartolommeo.[2] The picture is now in the Belvedere at Vienna; and done clearly from the Frate's sketch, but without style or harmony of colour,[3] and far less successful than the Martyrdom of S. Catherine taken about the same time from a composition of Michael Angelo's for the Cappella Rucellai at S. Maria Novella of Florence. It is a pity, indeed, that so grand a distribution, one so complete in the relation of the groups to the architecture, should be marred by the want of power exhibited by Giuliano.[4]

Few of Bugiardini's panels or canvasses in addition to those we have mentioned remain to be noticed. We mark one in the Casa Susanni at Mantua,[5] others in the Co-

the historian Guicciardini (circa 1534 ? Vas. ib. 349). These are all missing, as well as the frescos at Baccio Valori's country-house and other things too numerous to mention (Vas. X. 347, 348, 349, 350). We have seen that he restored the four battle pieces of Uccelli at Gualfonda (see antea).

[1] Louvre. No. 526. A white handkerchief is on the head, inscribed: "Micha. Ange. Bonarottanus. Florentinus sculptor. optimus anno Ætatis Suæ 47" (ergo done 1522). The style is that of a man anxious to work in M. Angelo's way, hard in drawing, dull red in light; inky in shade, surface smooth as in Bronzino and Pontormo.

[2] This correspondence is in Gaye Carteggio II. 228 and foll.

[3] Vienna Belvedere. Venez. Sch. Zim. II. No. 2. 28 figures, wood, oil, of glassy colour, very feeble and with little of Fra Bartolommeo left.

[4] The panel is on the wall to the left of the entrance, the figures large as life. Vas. (X. 351) assigns the drawing of the foreground figures to Michael Angelo. The whole composition seems his. The saint remains magically in air between the wheels in the midst of the court, where the crowd of people and soldiers lie prostrate. Above a screen balcony, the angel appears; and on the balcony and at the windows of the palace looking on to the court are frightened spectators. This is the most important of Bugiardini's works. The figures are slender and full of movement. The surface of colour smooth as marble and now of sombre tone.

[5] Virgin, child, youthful Baptist and an angel, wood, called Fran-

lonna Palace at Rome,[1] in the sacristy at S. Croce of Florence,[2] in the Pinacoteca at Bologna,[3] the Baring collection in London,[4] and the Berlin Museum.[5]

Bugiardini died at a good old age on the 17th of February 1554.[6]

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cia, composition like a youthful one of Raphael, the character of the work Bugiardini's.

[1] Virgin, seen to the knees, with the child on a wall, signed: "Juliani Florentini," wood, third life size, much damaged by restoring.

[2] Nativity, the Virgin with S. Joseph and two patrons adoring the child, four saints (Anthony of Padua and Bartholomew, Ambrose, and John the Baptist), separated from the body of the picture. Formerly in the Cappella Castellani. The character of the figures here is long dry and lean, the drawing somewhat in the style of David and Benedetto Ghirlandaio. Were Bugiardini proved to be the author, we should take this as an example of his style as he issued from the school of Domenico.

[3] Bologna. Pinacoteca. No. 25. S. John in the desert drinking out of a wooden bowl, a dry and mechanically made out nude, of raw, bricky, and opaque tone, inscribed on the stone seat "Jul. Flor. f." on canvass, all but life size.

[4] Canvass, small. Same figures as No. 25 in the Pinacoteca of Bologna.

[5] Berlin Museum. No. 248. Death of Lucretia. Disagreable figure of unpleasant type, of sombre greenish colour, of glassy surface.

Berlin Museum. No. 285. Holy Family, very feeble but still possibly by Bugiardini.

[6] Tav. Alfab.

CHAPTER XV.

FRANCIA BIGIO.

Francesco di Cristofano, commonly called Francia Bigio, was a more finished artist, and did more honour to the teaching of Mariotto Albertinelli than Bugiardini. He was born in 1482,[1] and studied at the Brancacci. But when Michael Angelo exhibited his cartoon of the "War of Pisa" in the Sala del Papa at Florence in 1505, Francia Bigio swelled the current of the crowd which flocked there with easel and portfolio. The acquaintance of Andrea del Sarto which he then made subsequently ripened into friendship; though circumstances kept the youths for a time in the workshops of different masters. The first frequented the atelier of Piero di Cosimo; the second visited that of Albertinelli; and the result was the infusion of different elements into their respective styles.[2]

Francia Bigio is generally known by a manner resembling that of his friend; but an extant panel amongst those assigned to his early period would prove that his original tendency was to imitate Albertinelli, so as in some respects to resemble Giuliano Bugiardini. Of two subjects which were once preserved in S. Piero Maggiore at Florence, one is the Annunciation recently purchased for the Museum of Turin,[3] in which Vasari admires the

[1] Vasari (IX. 103) says, Francia Bigio died aged 42. The death is in the register of Florence sub anno 1525 (Jan. 14th). Tav. alfab. ub. sup.

[2] Vasari says that Francia Bigio only learnt for some months from Mariotto. The effect at all events was powerful and lasting.

[3] Turin Museum. No. 588. Figures half the size of life.

ready flight of the angel, the graceful attitude of the Virgin as she kneels to receive the salutation, and the ingenious perspective of a block of houses. He neglects to add that in the sky to the left the Eternal gives his blessing from a cloud in which pretty cherubs fly; and sends down the dove with a ray from his glory. In considering the question of authorship, we note that the ruddy flesh-tints with their cool shadows are in some measure like those of Pontormo. But the broad mask of the faces in the Virgin and Angel, the bony shape and small pinched features, the trite and straightly lined drapery, seem a modification of Bugiardini's by a man of superior attainments. The sombreness of the colour is apparently derived from Leonardo through Mariotto, and the buildings, so justly praised for their perspective, are not dissimilar from those of Del Sarto.[1] Every thing thus points to Francia Bigio.

Another contribution to the embellishment of the altars in S. Piero Maggiore was, according to the historian, the Virgin with the Saviour grasping her neck, and a boy Baptist playing with him,[2] a panel which has been missing for many years; though quietly ensconced at the Uffizi under the title of Madonna del Pozzo.[3] Passavant very properly expels this from the catalogue of Raphael's works,[4] though it is of a period when Sanzio left a clear impress on Florentine art. The playful clinging of the Redeemer to his mother's bosom, as if he had sprung there into charming security at the approach of the Baptist, the Leonardesque turn of her movement, are quite as characteristic of Francia Bigio when his style was not yet very distant from that of Bugiardini, as are the round head of the Virgin, the forms of the infants, and the dresses. In these we meet with a cento of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto, whilst the landscape is still nearer

[1] A fresco of S. Bernard, and a S. Catherine of Sienna, in S. Pancrazio, of the same period, are gone (Vas. IX. 97).

[2] Vas. IX. 97.

[3] Florence. Uffizi. No. 1125. Catalogued as Raphael.

[4] Passavant's Raphael, ub. sup. II. 407.

to one by the Frate, and the surface has the polished enamel of the Florentines of this time. The type, shape, and figures are almost as much Francia Bigio's as are those of the Bathsheba at the Dresden Gallery, or the frescos in the Scalzo.[1] Diligence and a cautious attention to the rules of proportion were, in Vasari's opinion, the qualities of Francia Bigio's oldest creations.[2] They would have been more enticing, if hardness and ungainly heaviness had not disfigured them. But, independently of their intrinsic value, they interest us by laying open the current of thought and of study in the master, and by revealing the influences exerted on him by the teacher from whom he learnt to admire Fra Bartolommeo, and the friend, towards whom he was attracted by conformity of taste and inclinations. They cause us also to remember that Leonardo and Raphael were the idols of their fellow artists, and that they more or less affected most of the rising men of their age. We shall see that it was to be Francia Bigio's constant chance to have his best performances called after Raphael and Del Sarto. That they should have received the last of these names, might seem an easy consequence of the connection between two men who were comrades at school and kept a joint atelier afterwards. But that the first should have been still more frequently used, is a distinction of no common kind.

We have no sure grounds for assuming any fixed date for the association with Andrea del Sarto; Vasari's statements being too general to permit of any safe deductions on that point, and Francia Bigio's works being from the beginning affected by the acquaintance of his future companion. We are inclined, however, to place before the Sposalizio of 1513, in the court of the Servi at Florence, the Virgin and child between SS. John Evangelist and Job, now at the Uffizi, the two angels at the sides of Sansovino's S. Nicholas in S. Spirito, and the Calumny

[1] The cartoon of this Madonna, once in possession of Mr. Wicar, was considered by him as from the hand of Francia Bigio.

[2] Vasari IX. 98.

of Apelles in the Pitti. Reminiscent still of the masters we have mentioned, and extremely smooth in surface, they are, all three, in a state that almost forbids criticism; but the Calumny is put together with figures of good though short and fat proportions, and outlined with a view to reproduce a well-fed and somewhat puffy, not a finely bred or noble, nature.[1]

That neither Del Sarto nor Francia Bigio were asked to paint the curtains of the altarpiece by Filippino and Perugino, at the Servi, as Vasari pretends,[2] is testified by the records of the convent which contain the payment of that work to Andrea di Cosimo.[3] That Francia Bigio was employed at the Servi in 1513, is testified by documents. It is credible that about that time a partnership existed between him and Del Sarto; and it cannot be denied that he had then acquired much more skill than is shown in the panels of his younger days.

In the court of the Servi, the high priest unites Joseph and Mary in front of a noble palace, on the walls of which bas-reliefs represent the Sacrifice of Isaac, Adam and Eve near the tree of knowledge, and Moses receiving the tables of the law. The joy of the grey-haired S. Joseph is tempered by the expectation of the buffet from the best man who stands behind him. The despair of the unsuccessful suitors is well depicted in one who wrings his hands to the left, as well as in a second, who sits and breaks the rod that would not blossom. To the right,

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[1] The first of these, No. 1264, wood, oil, life size, at the Uffizi, was originally in S. Giobbe (Vas. IX. 97) and is much dimmed by time and restoring. It hangs so high that one cannot see the initials: F. B. C. that are said to be on it.

The two angels likewise noticed by Vasari (IX. 97) are half as large as life, one with a lily, the other with a book; the surface cracked or blackened in the shadows.

The Calumny, No. 427, at the Pitti, a small piece, has become sombre, and is excessively retouched, but was originally of the same class as the foregoing. The initials: F. B. are on the plinths of the distant pillars, and an inscription at the base runs thus: "Claudite, qui recitis populus his vocibus aures sic manibus lapsus nostris pinxit Apelles".

[2] Vas. VIII. 253.

[3] Biffoli, in annot. Vas. IX. 111.

two youths stand with their arms interlaced, and a female chides her crying child.

As the fresco was all but finished, a day of great solemnity for the Servites came on, and some of the monks took upon themselves to remove the screens which covered it. The wrath of Francia Bigio was such that he walked straight from his lodging to the convent, and with a mason's hammer almost struck out the heads of the Virgin and some males and females. This act of choler was so much approved by Francia Bigio's fellow craftsmen that none of them would consent to restore the parts he had destroyed, and though as late as 1515 he was peremptorily ordered to put the wall into its original state, he successfully resisted every threat; and the fresco remains to this day in the condition in which he left it.[1] Enough has been preserved to justify Vasari's eulogy of the artist's diligence; and the soft contrasts of tints as well as the vague fusion of colour which rivals that of Del Sarto in rosy airiness and transparent delicacy, is an instance of the ability he possessed, and the great practise he had attained. The composition is correct according to the most rigid maxims, but there is a stilted affectation in some poses which cannot be commended. The drapery is fair, but has too many straight or parallel folds. The nude is well proportioned, but the drawing of the parts might be more careful, and the transitions from light to shadow should be better defined. Francia Bigio, however, never did anything better, and the Sposalizio of the Servi is his masterpiece in fresco.

Whilst he was thus giving evidence of talent in mural decoration, he strove to gain a reputation as a portrait-painter, and in that capacity achieved perhaps the most flattering of successes.

Every frequenter of the Louvre knows a sombre portrait of a young man standing, with his elbow on a ledge, at an opening through which a landscape and two little

[1] Vas. IX. 99, and Biffoli's records in annot. ibi.

figures are seen. His hollow eyes are sunken under a marked bony brow. His hair, cap, and dress are black. The forms of the face and hands are scant in flesh, and broken in contour, the cavities and retreating parts in deep unfathomable shadow.[1] Hundreds of students have copied this piece, round the melancholy charm of which a halo has been thrown by the name of Raphael. Yet, critics have long agreed that that name is not to be sustained; and in its stead have called that of Francesco Francia whose technical system is different, or of Bugiardini whose powers are too humble. The most obvious objection to the nomenclature hitherto preferred is derived from the essentially Florentine character of the likeness and its accessories. It discloses the studious effort of a highly accurate draughtsman, deeply impressed by the examples of Leonardo and his mode of handling, and familiar with the methods applied in more than one of Da Vinci's heads.[2] It defines a skeleton of bone like that in the Virgin of the Turin Annunciation. Its features instead of being simplified into grandeur, as Raphael would have done, are elaborated to the loss of simplicity, full of research rather than of feeling. One might apply to the author Vasari's opinion of Francia Bigio; "a man of slight refinement, because he laboured too much, producing with a certain hardness, but cautious and diligent in the measure of proportions".[3] The colour is of a low tinted, hard, and glassy enamel unknown to Raphael, its shadows thin and dark, its execution that of Francia Bigio, and betraying an acquaintance with that of Andrea del Sarto.

Had not other portraits of the same class presented themselves for comparison with this of the Louvre, it would have been becoming to put the question more in the light of an enquiry. But a whole series of similar

[1] Louvre. No. 385. Under the name of Raphael. A piece of dark colour all round the edges, is new.

[2] Ex. gr. and particularly in the "Portrait of a goldsmith", No. 207, at the Pitti.

[3] Vas. IX. 98.

ones exists; some of them catalogued as by Francia Bigio, and bearing his monogram; others with a similar cognizance, yet classed as by Raphael or Andrea del Sarto.

The first, known for centuries as Francia Bigio's, is that in the Pitti Gallery at Florence, of a youth in cap, tunic, and mantle, at a window through which we look at a pleasant, but not brightly lighted, undulating distance. A glove is in his right hand. The left gesticulates naturally. The pose is free, showing to advantage a handsome and juvenile person; the face is open, and the eyes beaming with a suppressed smile. A good flow of hair falls from his black cap to the dark dress that covers the shoulders.[1] On the border is the monogram twice repeated and the date: "A. S. (anno salutis) M.D.XIIII." Restorers have seriously interfered with the beauty of the figure; and the flesh has become tawny from time and retouching, but the style is here and at the Louvre perfectly alike, though it betrays a more recent date, and a more habitual skill in the painter.

Superior to this of the Pitti, in every sense, is the fine portrait of Stanstead House, which Mr. Fuller Maitland attributes to Raphael in spite of Francia Bigio's monogram. We cannot affect to contemn the reasons which induce the owner of such a masterpiece to cling to the name of Sanzio, when we remember that that of the Louvre has been for years so-called; and the stamp of art is similar and discloses the same hand in both. Whilst in the latter Francia Bigio exhibits the diligence, the precision and power of a man full of eagerness to excel, as well as to embody the maxims of Leonardo, the former discloses less carefulness, but more self-possession, a greater ease in the use of colours of a solid texture, more elasticity and good breeding in the pose, beauty in the contour and modelling in form. In this very progress lies, we admit,

[1] Pitti Gallery, No. 43. The monogram may be found in the Berlin catalogue, No. 245, or in Nagler: "Die Monogrammisten". 8°. München, 1861. II. Band, p. 207.

an additional ground for the supposition of Raphael's authorship. But the execution is not less decisive against Sanzio at Stanstead House than at the Louvre, and the Leonardesque system as derived from the companion of Fra Bartolommeo, or even from the contemplation of the Frate's own creations is so clear that, independently of Francia Bigio's sign-manual, no doubt can be allowed to exist as to his right to this piece. So perfect indeed is the coincidence between the technical habits of Della Porta and those of Francia Bigio here, that years have caused their works to undergo exactly similar changes. We have seen the flesh-tints of the Frate gain a strong low tinge and dark shadows that rob the surface of its original transparence and softness. This is what time has done for Francia Bigio in this instance, without however depriving him of any essential charm. The undulating landscape behind the figure is of the pleasing nature observable in all those of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael; the slopes neatly cut up by paths, dotted with trees and houses, and the vale parted by a stream flowing gently through meadows and crossed by a bridge. Every detail is touched with taste and accuracy. The person at the opening seems disinclined to enjoy these beauties. His age may be from twenty-five to thirty. The dark cap that casts its shadow on his forehead covers long locks of brown hair, and his dress, with ample sleeves, is adorned with an order of knighthood. His regular features and penetrant eyes are slightly contracted by melancholy thoughts, and he gazes at the spectator as he abstractedly holds a letter in both hands; repeating inwardly perhaps the motto written on the parapet: "Tar ublia. chi. bien aima". Of the note itself the words are illegible. A date 1514 (?1516) is on it; but no clue to the identity of the person to whom it is addressed.[2]

[1] This portrait, wood, oil, large as life, belonged in 1860 to Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald in London, and has been supposed, probably on insufficient grounds, to be that of Giulio the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici. It is clear that, after the drawing of this piece had been done, the flesh parts were rubbed in with a warm local colour so as

Next in order to this, and in the same manner, though much restored, is a half-length of a man at a window, in the collection of Lord Yarborough in London, supposed to be Antonio Caradosso of Milan by Raphael. Yet here as at the Pitti are the interwoven ciphers of Francia Bigio at each side of the date "A. S. MDXVI." The person reproduced is a jeweller, about fifty years old or more, portly, shaven, and of full flesh; his cap on, his dress of a brown coffee-colour. In his left hand he holds a plate of glass on which he has been tracing lines with a ring to try the genuineness of a diamond. Three other rings are on the window-sill. The execution is already freer than in the panel of Mr. Fuller Maitland.[1]

More interesting again, because we stumble on a portrait of which Vasari has spoken, is the factor of Pier Francesco de' Medici, ascribed to Andrea del Sarto, in the Queen's state drawing-room at Windsor Castle. Though restoring has left blemishes on particular spots, and the colour has the dinginess of age, especially in the shadows, there is no mistaking the hand of Francia Bigio whose monogram also is clearly outlined on the curved blade of a chopper hanging with another instrument of the same kind from a nail in a wall. The man is about fifty, in the usual dress of the period, with his head covered, writing in a book, a bunch of keys hanging from his wrist; an ink-bottle in his left hand; a shield in the border of stone upon which he rests bearing the six golden balls of the Medici; and an olive-branch denoting the peaceful nature of his occupation. Originally in the collection of Charles the First, this fine half length is singularly

to let the white ground appear through it. Thus we see in the transitions from light to shadow that the half tones are transparent, and receive light from within. More substantial are the superposed lights with their varied shades of cool or livid tinge, and the shadows of warm brown laid in over each other. The portrait is in first rate preservation.

[1] Wood, oil, life size, much injured and restored. In the distant landscape to the right two little figures on a road. The monogram is a little imperfect owing to abrasion, the upper part of the letter F being taken away. The colour in consequence of damage sustained, is of a heavy yellow in the flesh.

ready in movement, laid in with a full sweep of strongly consistent colour, in which we miss too obviously an absence of transparence in tones merging from fair yellow in flesh light to a cool grey in the half-tones, and black in the shadows. We thus perceive how Francia Bigio modifies his style, and gradually disimproves by assuming bolder and easier habits.[1] It is in this phase that he found himself when he finished a bust of a male in a cap and dark laced dress, with falling auburn hair, catalogued as by Sebastian del Piombo at the Berlin Museum, a thoughtful face, well drawn and modelled, and of substantial impasto.[2] The latest example of the series is the half-length, in the same collection, of a man almost in full front, with a pen in his right hand, and his left arm on a desk, done with great freedom; and less pleasing in tone than successful in the swing of the pose and knack of the handling. The date of 1522 and the monogram leave no doubt that we see in this the most advanced and least perfect thing of its kind by our artist.[3]

Whilst devoting himself, as occasion required, to portraits, Francia Bigio did not neglect the more difficult exercise of fresco. A much injured "Cena" in S. Giovanni Battista della Calza,[4] and another in S. Maria de' Candeli, with the initials of his name, due perhaps to the industry of his assistants as much as to his own, exhibit his talent in a less favourable light than at the

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[1] On the back of the panel is the royal mark R. C. surmounted by the royal crown. The portrait is in the catalogue of king Charles' collection (copied in Waagen, Treasures II. 478), under A. del Sarto's name. Vasari speaks of it (IX. 103). The monogram is upside down on the chopper. The figure size of life. All the flesh shadows darkened, and part of the left cheek, right hand, and dress, restored. The background is a wall, the writing in the book not legible, and probably never intended to be so.

[2] No. 235. Berlin Museum (wood, oil, life size), of a low grey and opaque tone. The background plain and of a dark brown.

[3] Berlin Museum. No. 245 (wood, oil, life size). The hands repainted, the rest of a cold tone, at one painting; the landscape clear and pleasant. A paper on the desk contains the monogram of Francia Bigio and the words: "1522, a dì 24 d'ottobre".

[4] This fresco is in the refectory and has been injured by damp. It is mentioned by Vasari (IX. 100).

Servi in 1513; whilst an Annunciation, a Crucifixion between S. Thomas of Villanuova and S. Anthony of Padua, a triad with S. Augustin, and a Nativity, also at S. Maria de' Candeli, serve to illustrate the carelessness to which men of fair attainments may occasionally succumb.[1] The truth may be that there was much in the occupations of artists at this time to favour the growth of slight or scenic painting; and when we find that Francia Bigio was invariably one of those engaged on public occasions, whether mournful or the reverse, in which decorations were required; as on the funeral of Julian de' Medici in 1516, and the wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1518,[2] we seek no other reasons for the hasty manner which he occasionally assumed.

At the Scalzo in 1518 and 1519, Francia Bigio was employed to fill the void created by the absence of Andrea del Sarto. But previously to that time, and possibly when still in partnership, he might have had a share in the Baptism of Christ which is framed in one of the compartments next to the allegory of Charity. It has been usual to give this feeble number of a great series to Andrea del Sarto;[3] though the drawing is loose, defining short fat forms without any of the vigour which we expect from Andrea; and were it even proved that the commission was his, we should suppose the work to have been done with the help of Francia Bigio when both men lived in common at their shop in the Piazza del Grano.[4]

[1] S. Maria de' Candeli is now the Liceo militare in Via de' Pilastri. The Last Supper is in the usual form, with Judas alone at the front side of the table. Near him is the inscription: "Fa Bo". The figures are almost life size and rudely reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. SS. Nicholas and Monica, near the Last Supper, are a little better perhaps: but all the other work in the refectory is poorer, and probably by pupils, of whom the chief may have been Sogliani.

[2] Vas. IX. 101—112. XI. 203.

[3] Vasari VIII. 254. 5.

[4] The Baptism is one of the few frescos of which the date is not positively proved (see annot. Vas. VIII. 301) and, if done in 1514, would show a strange dissimilarity to the work of del Sarto elsewhere.

In the Departure of S. John for the desert, and the Meeting of Christ with the Baptist, the figures are designed with neglectful ease, in proportions far too curt and pinguid to please the eye; and the absence of breadth and mass in light and shadows which alone produce a perfect semblance of relief, as well as coarse features and festooned draperies, place Francia Bigio in unfavourable contrast with his rival.[1]

When both men subsequently competed (1521) at the Medici palace in Poggio a Cajano, the same comparison might have been made; and although Francia Bigio showed that he possessed the power of animating his personages, and distributing them with propriety, he not only proclaimed a decline from the standard erected by himself at the Servi, but he fell into greater coarseness and heaviness than was consistent with his duty. His triumph of Cicero, with all its apparatus of obelisks, rostra and temples, is coloured without much harmony or transparence; and the supernatural proportions of his people are common and square. But, in spite of this he surpasses Pontormo, and shines by the side of the later Allori; and the general division of the decoration which he planned is not altogether amiss.[2]

Francia Bigio's endeavour at last was, it is clear, to make a livelihood by rapidity of hand. On Vasari's own showing, his first wish had been to lay a strong foundation by the constant study of nude and anatomy,[3] but finally he accepted on principle every order that was given to him; having come to the conclusion that he had not the stuff for rivalling men of superior genius. Still, to the last he kept at a respectable level, especially in small

[1] These two subjects at the Scalzo were begun in 1518, and finished in March 1519. The ornament in the court, of arabesques, festoons and cherubs' heads, where they are not repainted, seem to us to be by Francia Bigio.

[2] Andrea del Sarto did his fresco in 1521 as is shown by the inscription, and Vasari says he and Francia Bigio painted together (IX. 101). Pontormo's work dates 1532; Allori's 1582. The waggon roof, with white relief ornament, on gold ground, and the Medici arms are Francia Bigio's.

[3] Vas. IX. 101.

things, and the Bath of Queen Bathsheba and her nymphs, with the Royal Feast at the Dresden Museum, which he finished in 1523, secures respectful if not unconditional admiration. We may object to the short stature and puffiness of the females, yet praise the vigour and lucidity of the colour, the freedom of the touch, the beauty of the composition, and the natural force and truth of the movements. We observe, as before, a style ingeniously formed on the models of Fra Bartolommeo and Andrea del Sarto.[1]

The death of Francia Bigio took place at Florence on the 14th of January 1525 (n. s.).[2]

The catalogue of works unnoticed in the foregoing text will be short:

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1223. Temple of Hercules. Part of a "Cassone". Wood, oil. Of Francia Bigio's late period, broad, animated, and quickly done, of a strong brownish tone. Some figures taken apparently from Dürer.

Florence. Casa Ciacchi. Noli me tangere. Genuine. Vasari IX. p. 103.

Berlin. Museum. No. 105. Marriage of the Virgin. Piece of a predella, gaudy and slight, and below Francia Bigio.

S. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 27. Half length portrait of a man. Fine. Not by Francia Bigio, but difficult to class. The handling and colour are reminiscent of Bronzino, but also of Antonio Moro.

It seems appropriate to close the list of men who assumed the manner of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto, with Giovanni Antonio Sogliani, who first learnt the elements from Credi and then sought to gain the qualities which he did not find in his own master, by look-

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[1] Dresden Museum. No. 41. The monogram is on the jug carried by a female, on the right, in the bath. The date A. S. MDXXIII, on the side of the bath itself. In the background a shield quartering the arms of the Medici. Wood, oil, preservation good, figures small.

[2] Tav. alfab.

ing at the works of most of the great Florentines. Sogliani was born in 1492;[1] he staid in Credi's atelier twenty four years,[2] was registered in the guild of Florence in 1522, and must therefore have been apprenticed at a very tender age.[3] Few of his pictures have dates, except the Martyrdom of S. Arcadius of 1521 in S. Lorenzo, and S. Dominick's miracle of the bread, a fresco of 1536 in S. Marco, at Florence. But some of his numerous panels at Pisa are done after the return of Perino del Vaga from Genoa (circa 1528) and others after the death of Andrea del Sarto in 1531.

We have had occasion to mention his name in connection with Credi's least successful productions. We see how he could imitate that artist in the poor copy of his Nativity at Berlin,[4] and ape his smoothness of tone in the somewhat empty lucid colour of a S. Martin, on one of the pilasters of the church of Orsanmichele.[5] In the martyrdom of S. Arcadius on the cross at S. Lorenzo in Florence, Sogliani has occasion to introduce a broad exhibition of nude in which he betrays the study of Mariotto, Francia Bigio, and Andrea del Sarto, preserving at the same time an exceedingly even and polished surface of reddish tone. It is in good condition, handled with tolerable judgment; and not wanting in life, yet without the stamp of originality.[6] In the Assumption at S. Giovanni Battista, contiguous to the Spedale di Bonifacio, there is something incongruous and fantastic in the arrangement of a glory in which the Eternal floats above the Virgin, holding up the train of

[1] He died, aged 52, in 1544 (Vas. IX. 49. and Tav. alfab).

[2] Vas. IX. 42.

[3] The annot. of Vas. (IX. 42, note 1) say 1522. The register of Gualandi, Memorie, ser. VI. p. 182, says 1525. The annotators are likely to be right.

[4] Berlin. Museum. No. 99. Copy of Credi's No. 51; in the Florence Academy of Arts, flat, red in tone, and, to use a French expression, lêché.

[5] On a pilaster facing the S. Bartholomew of Credi, much dimmed by time.

[6] Chapel 21, in S. Lorenzo. Wood, oil, with the inscription in gold letters at foot of the cross of: "Johannes Antonius Soglianus faciebat 1521". The picture was, however, lately withdrawn during the restoration of the church.

her cloak, whilst his own mantle is raised by angels. On the foreground, the group of saints and the prostrate Adam disclose a judicious clinging to nature, correct outlines of limb and extremity, fair movement, but square shapes, with a scruple of Fra Bartolommeo's grandeur in air and drapery. The mask of the Eternal is reminiscent of Mariotto, and traces of Credi are in the puffy contours of the angels.

In colouring this subject Sogliani strives also to master the methods of the Frate and of Albertinelli, combining them with the excessive smoothness of Lorenzo, his teacher, and a misty vapour known only by the Italian word *sfumato*.[1]

At S. Jacopo sopra Arno, a Trinity, with three saints, illustrates the same phase in Sogliani, though raw and feebly done at one painting.[2] But the best example of it is the sacrifice of Noah, in the choir of the Pisa Duomo, in which the males have a bold masculine strength, and the females compensate for vulgarity by feeling.[3]

Two figures of Cain and Abel in this cathedral, and a Virgin, under a conical dais with numerous saints, are of a later date.[4] The last indeed had been commenced by Perino del Vaga, and presents for that reason perhaps an unusual slenderness in the forms, and a composition akin to those of Rosso, but the system on which the whole is coloured is true to the maxims handed down through Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto from da Vinci;

[1] The church is in Via S. Gallo at Florence. The picture on wood, in oil, with life size figures. The Virgin is paltry in shape, as are some of the lower saints. There is atmosphere in the sky, and harmony in the parts. The flesh shadows tend to green.

[2] S. Jacopo sopr'Arno at Florence. Sacristy. Wood, arched at top, oil, split vertically in two places. Above, the Eternal holds the Saviour on the cross. Below, S. James, the Magdalen, and S. Catherine. Figures life size.

[3] The colour of this panel (oil, life size) is injured, i. e. blackened by time, retouched, and has in part scaled.

[4] Cain advances with an offering of corn. Abel kneels holding up a lamb. Both figures are of the size of nature, on panel (oil), the colour low and brown, and blackened in the shadows.

and the deep brown tone has been darkened by the effects of age.[1]

Having in this instance taken a subject to finish which a Raphaelesque Florentine had sketched out, Sogliani next attempted the "Virgin with saints" at the altar of the Madonna delle Grazie in the Duomo of Pisa, a panel which Andrea del Sarto had begun for the Compagnia di S. Francesco. In most of the figures he kept the outlines of the original cartoon except perhaps in the kneeling S. Jerom on the foreground, who is colossal and heavy.[2] He reverted to his own distinct manner in the miracle at S. Marco, where S. Dominick is seated with his brethren whilst the food is brought in by two angels, and in a crucifixion with saints in a lunette above it.[3]

His friendship for Credi lasted till the death of the latter, in proof of which it is only necessary to state that Sogliani witnessed Lorenzo's will in 1531.[4] From that time till 1544, when he died,[5] he doubtless furnished many pieces of which we can only register the following.

Anghiari. Chiesa di S. Maria del Fosso. Last Supper (not seen). Described by Vasari (IX. 44. 5) and by Reumont (Life of del Sarto.

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[1] Wood, oil, figures life size. Two angels supporting the conical dais are a distant echo of those of the Frate. S. Catherine and S. Barbara seated in the foreground, are of fair proportions and in easy pose. S. Torpé to the right, with his shield, is grand enough, S. John the Baptist, opposite to him at the other side, too slender in contrast. The other saints are five in number, amongst them Peter, Francis, and a female. The colour is sombre, but careful, fused and "sfumato".

[2] This picture (wood, oil, life size) was long in the compagnia di S. Francesco (Vas. IX. 47. VIII. 288) and was transferred to the Duomo in 1785, the compagnia having in the meantime been suppressed (Morrona. Pis. Illust. ub. sup. I. 207). The Virgin is enthroned in a landscape, with the child, between the young Baptist and an angel playing a viol. In front, besides the S. Jerom, are SS. Nicholas and Bartholomew, erect.

[3] Besides the Magdalen and S. John Evangelist, S. Antonino and S. Catherine of Sienna kneel at the sides. The date of 1536 is on the frescos, the lower parts of which are injured. Sogliani had intended to paint the Miracle of the loaves and fishes, but was prevented by the fathers of the convent (Vas. IX. 47. 8).

[4] Gaye, Carteggio, I. 376.

[5] He died July 17th, 1544. Tav. Alfab.

Small 8°. Leipzig 1835; p. 164. 5) as a panel in oil, on the model of del Sarto's Cena in S. Salvi at Florence.

Fiesole. S. Domènico. Adoration of the Magi, finished, according to Vasari, (IX. 43) by Santo di Tito. This bears no trace any longer of the hand of Sogliani.

Florence. Monache della Crocetta. A Last Supper, in oil (Vasari IX. 43. 4), much injured.

Florence. Ex-Palazzo Taddeo (now a magazine, via de' Ginori). Fresco of the Crucifixion, greatly damaged.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 166. Virgin with the child blessing the young Baptist. Wood, oil. The origin of Sogliani's education under Credi is marked in the puffy forms of the children. The execution is that of a follower of Mariotto. The panel is the best of the following series at Paris, Brescia and, London.

Paris. Ex-Pourtalès Gallery. Virgin, child and Baptist. Noticed in Mariotto (p. 492).

Brescia. Galleria Tosi. Nativity. See antea in Fra Bartolommeo (p. 474).

London. National Gallery. No. 645. Ex-Beaucousin collection. Virgin and child. See antea in Mariotto (p. 492).

Florence. Duca Corsini. Porta al Prato. Virgin with the child and the infant Baptist at her knee. A genuine Sogliani, of heavy aspect and hard diaphanous tone. Wood, oil, figures half as large as life.

Brussels. Museum. No. 305. "Unknown". Virgin with the child to whom the young Baptist presents a cross; small panel in oil, in Sogliani's manner when still reminiscent of Credi. The composition is almost similar to the following.

Turin. Museum. No. 123. "Cesare da Sesto". Virgin, child, and Baptist, by Sogliani or one of his followers.

Brussels. Museum. No. 309. Holy Family, with the initials: "M. A.", suggestive for this of Mariotto, but not unlike a work of the school which Sogliani cultivated; perhaps by Mariano da Pescia.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 80. Virgin, child, Archangel with Tobit, and S. Augustin. In Sogliani's manner. Same Room. No. 86. The Virgin gives the girdle to S. Thomas; SS. John Baptist, Catherine, and Giovanni Gualberto; dated A. D. MCCCCCXXI. Originally at S. Maria sul Prato. This is by a follower of Sogliani who imitated Fra Bartolommeo. His name is Sigismondo Foschi of Faenza, by whom we possess a Virgin and child between saints at Milan:

Milan. Brera. No. 55. Signed: "Sigismundus Fuscus Faentinus faciebat 1527." In this the imitation of Fra Bartolommeo is still more clear. A glory of angels in the arching is a broad caricature of the Frate, such as Bacchiacca might have done. The composition is like that of the Frate's Madonna at S. Marco. The outlines are mannered, the nude exaggerated in the Michaelangelesque direction; the colour dull and of thin texture, with an excessive use of bitumen. The following is another example of the same kind by Foschi.

Faenza. Academy. Virgin and child between the erect SS. Paul, John the Baptist, Benedict, and Sebastian, and the kneeling SS. Catherine and Appollonia. Here is a still stronger *sfumato*, and less truth and vigour than before in style and drapery.

Florence. S. Giovanni Battista. Contiguous to the Spedale di S. Bonifazio. S. Brigitta, on a pedestal, between several nuns and friars, in prayer, looks up to a vision of the Virgin and child, and issues the rules of an order. At her feet is a crown, and on the pedestal the words: "Orate pro pictore". 1522 (wood, oil, figures life size). The composition is in Fra Bartolommeo's fashion, and some of the figures are carried out with elegance and feeling; but the colour is fluid and laid on at one painting with copious vehicle. The names of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto which first come into consideration, become doubtful in respect of the execution which is more according to the habits of Sogliani. Yet it is almost too good for him, and something Bolognese in its appearance might point to Innocenzo da Imola, and confirm Vasari's assertion that he studied under Mariotto. In the same place is the Annunciation assigned by Vasari to Soggi, but more like a Sogliani, as we have already noted in this volume, antea, p. 48.

CHAPTER XVI.

RIDOLFO GHIRLANDAIO.

On the 11th of January 1494, intelligence was given to the officers of his quarter at Florence that, early in the morning, Domenico Ghirlandaio had died of pestilential fever, after four days illness. The consternation caused by this announcement was so great that the family was not allowed to perform the ceremony of burial in daylight; and the corpse was taken at midnight by the brethren of the company of S. Paolo to the house vault in S. Maria Novella.[1]

Florence lamented the untimely death of its greatest painter in the ripeness of his talent. The real mourners on this melancholy occasion were, the widow, Antonia, the brothers, Benedetto, and David, and six children; of whom three were sons.[2] In little less than four years, Antonia and Benedetto followed Domenico to the grave, leaving David guardian of the children.[3] Of these, the daughters had the good fortune to marry men of respectable condition; two sons, Antonio and Bartolommeo entered

[1] Since the first volumes of this history were published, the registry of Domenico Ghirlandaio's death and burial have been published in Tav. Alfab. ub. sup.

[2] See the genealogical table in Vas. V. 88. 9.

[3] The death of Benedetto took place on the 17th of July 1497. There must be an error, therefore, in Gaye's record (I. 267. Carteggio) in which it is said that Benedetto becomes guardian in "loco patris" of Domenico's children, anno 1498. Perhaps 1493 would be the proper date. The year of his birth is 1458 (Tav. Alfab.)

holy orders; and the third Ridolfo was brought up to the profession of his father.

During the life time of Domenico, his brothers had been chiefly employed on his behalf; and it is related of them both that they shared with Granacci the honour of finishing, after his decease, the altarpiece of the Tornabuoni at S. Maria Novella. Of the five pieces parted from this decoration and carried to Germany, the Resurrection at Berlin, exhibits most imperfection, in the stiff and strained action of the figures, the addled confusion of the drapery and the dull flatness of the colour. The S. Vincent is still reminiscent of Domenico, being a tempera of good outline and proportion; whereas the S. Antonino, in oil, is in most respects a companion to the least successful parts of the Resurrection.[1] The latter, being distinctly assigned by Vasari to Benedetto, together with a S. Lucy of the same class in S. Maria Novella,[2] may thus be considered typical of the man, and justify the name attached to a "Christ on the road to Golgotha" in the gallery of the Louvre.[3]

In this ill favoured performance, an executioner threatening the Redeemer with his fist, betrays an extraordinary absence of refinement. Not in the action only, which stiffly renders a quick and passionate movement; but in the coarseness of the face and expression, is vulgarity betrayed. Meanness of station and want of breed are to be found in most of the other actors in the scene, but chiefly in a S. Veronica whose face is altogether rigid and ignoble. The anatomy of the human frame is in every instance false, the drapery without style, the outline continuous and wiry, the colour sombre and without transition. Such a combination of bad qualities in a man whose chief was remarkable for

[1] Berlin Museum. No. 75. The Resurrection. No. 74. S. Vincent. No. 76. S. Antonino.

[2] Assigned by guide-books to Ridolfo, but really by Benedetto, and like that of the Louvre, No. 203. The S. Lucy is life size, with a portrait of Fra Tommaso Cortesi adoring her (Fantozzi, Guida, p. 508, and Vas. XI. 285).

[3] No. 203. Louvre. Originally in S. Spirito at Florence.

the dignity of his conceptions, is surprising, but may be explained by the fact that Benedetto who had been a miniaturist and had almost lost his sight, would naturally be unsuccessful in works of importance and compass.[1]

David Ghirlandaio was superior in talents to Benedetto and his elder in years. He was married and fifty eight years old when his brother died, and a master in the guild of Florence.[2] His chief occupation was the setting of mosaics of which he furnished specimens, in a Virgin amidst angels (1496) now in the Cluny Museum in Paris,[3] on the front of the Duomo at Orvieto (1492),[4] in the Cathedral of Sienna (1493),[5] in the Cappella di S. Zanobi at S. M. del Fiore of Florence (1501),[6] and at the SS. Annunziata de' Servi (1504—14).[7] He had previously painted a crucifixion in the convent of the Angeli.[8] But in no instance did he display any extraordinary talent, being a mere mechanical executant, without ability in reproducing life, without feeling for colour or relief. Yet it was to be his duty to direct the talents of Ridolfo, who lived with him in the Via del Cocomero and frequented his shop on the Piazza S. Michele Berteldi.[9]

Ridolfo was born on the 14th of February 1483; and threatened to be of a sickly complexion.[10] But he

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[1] Vasari says he resided some time in France (XI. 285). His father says in a Portata al Catasto, of 1480: "Benedetto was a miniaturist, but left that art because he has an impediment of sight".

[2] Born March 14th, 1452 (Tav Alfab). Married and living with his wife Caterina Mattei in 1490 (Gaye, I. 268). Registered in his guild, date unknown (Gualandi, serie 6, p. 180).

[3] Hôtel de Cluny. No. 1795. The Virgin and child between two angels and two palms, on gold ground, once in a chapel at S. Méry of Paris, inscribed: "D. Jo. de Ganai. p̃sids. parisie. p. atulit Ⅾ Italia. parisiũ hⓒⓟũ mus." The words: "Opus magistri Davidis Florentini MCCCCLXXXXVI", said to have been once on the frame, are gone. The mosaic is fine and recalls Domenico Ghirlandaio whose design was perhaps used.

[4] Note to Vasari XI. 286. The mosaics are missing.

[5] Doc. Sen. II. 452. The mosaics are gone.

[6] Vas. VI. 167, and XI. 286. The work also absent.

[7] See the records in annot. Vas. XI. 292. See also, as to a portable mosaic, Vas. XI. 286.

[8] Vas. V. 78. XI. 285.

[9] Portata al Catasto 1498, in Gaye, I. 268.

[10] He was put out to nurse at Prato where, at two years old, his

grew up strong and hearty, and had the advantage, after his father's death, of being acquainted with most artists of promise in Florence, whose rivalry or council might compensate for the deficiencies of his uncle. He went early to the Brancacci chapel, where most of his contemporaries copied the frescos of Masaccio, and later to the papal Hall, after the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo had been opened to public view;[1] but the persons to whom he was most indebted for guidance and encouragement were Granacci, Piero di Cosimo, and perhaps Rosselli himself.

Under the combined influence of the examples bequeathed by his father and uncles and of the precepts instilled into him during the course of a careful education, he laboriously perfected a "Procession of Christ and the Marys to Calvary" now in the Palazzo Antinori a S. Gaetano in Florence. Benedetto's idea of this subject had obviously left a vivid impression on his mind; and whilst he probably felt how little it was calculated to satisfy the requirements of the time, he appropriated some of its principal combinations with intuitive tact. We thus see at the Palazzo Antinori a composition more artfully balanced, richer in details, and more copious in its filling than that of the Louvre, and drawing that reveals more study of models or of nature; but we mark also the repetition of unattractive types like that of the S. Veronica with its round staring eye, or of scowling soldiers with features gathered into wooden corrugations. The weighty coarseness peculiar to Granacci contrasts here and there with more select shapes such as that of the Redeemer whose bending figure recalls Leonardo, the Virgin who wrings her hands with dignified grief, or the female in rear of her, whose pleasing and regular face is replete with soft melancholy.

life was despaired of. His parents "vowed a taper of three pounds to the Madonna delle Carcere, and he was saved". See annot. Vas. XI. 298, and Tav. Alfab.

[1] Vas. III. 162. VIII. 6. XI. 286. 7.

Slightness of build is usually noticeable; and the tones are laid on with the smoothness of the Leonardesques, Credi, and Piero di Cosimo.[1] How strongly Ridolfo's young mind could be affected by the constant observation of masterpieces by Da Vinci and Credi, may be judged from the low-tinged but highly finished Annunciation that still hangs in the sacristy of the Montoliveto abbey outside Florence; — a panel in which the gently curved contours and pretty mould of slender and youthful personages, the broken draperies, and hilly landscape are not less characteristic of this tendency than the hard enamel and thick substance of the colour.[2] There was scarcely one amongst the aspirants to fame in Florentine art at the opening of the sixteenth century who did not feel himself attracted towards Da Vinci, and it probably happened that Ridolfo, knowing Cosimo Rosselli, and being acquainted with Baccio della Porta, as well as Mariotto and Piero di Cosimo, caught their enthusiasm for that master, and devoted particular attention to his creations. Vasari indeed affirms that Ridolfo studied under Fra Bartolommeo, insinuating that this occurred at the time when Raphael and the Frate had close intercourse with each other; but they might, and we think they did, meet in the shop of Rosselli, whose mode of distribution and thick coating of sombre reddish tints Ridolfo imitated in 1504, in a Coronation of the Virgin undertaken

[1] The landscape is a little cold and yellowish in tone, with trees of a raw green; the touch crisp, and contrasts marked. The figures are half as large as life. The panel, partially split vertically in three places, is much injured and repainted in the lower part, and generally deprived of its glazes, the result being yellow flesh with earthy shadow. The picture was once in S. Gallo at Florence (Vas. XI. 287—8). A replica of it, done with the help of Michele di Ridolfo, is in S. Spirito at Florence.

[2] This panel (wood, oil, figures 1/3 life size) has remained unobserved, and at first suggests the name of Granacci; but on comparison with the picture previously described, seems more appropriately to come under that of Ridolfo. The surface has undergone some cleaning, and the head of the Virgin is raw from that cause. There is some resemblance in her face to that by Domenico Ghirlandaio in the panel once at S. Giusto and now at the Uffizi, lately changed from No. 1206 to No. 1295.

for the nuns of the convent of S. Jacopo di Ripoli[1] at Florence and since transferred to the Louvre.[2] From the comparative imperfection of this work, in which we trace an approach to Mariotto and Baccio della Porta through Rosselli and Pier di Cosimo, to the more successful mode of delineation, truer proportion, and more plastic relief in four saints at the same convent, a marked phase of improvement is evident. Not that the general tone is less strong or of less lustrous impasto, but that it is richer in the warmth of the yellow lights and brown shadows, whilst the thin figures are more energetic in play of limb and muscle, more correct and natural in movement, in cast of drapery, and in transitions from dark to light.[3]

In a Nativity of this period at the Hermitage of S. Petersburg, we follow Ridolfo in the same track as at Ripoli, yet combining peculiarities derived from the ateliers of Rosselli, Mariotto, and Baccio della Porta, with those of his old friend Granacci. Granacci's name indeed is that under which this piece has been placed, although it exactly corresponds with Vasari's description of one in the life of Ridolfo:[4]

"Having received an order from the monastery of Cestello for a Nativity of Christ, he took pains to surpass his rivals by extreme labour and diligence, depicting the Virgin in adoration before the infant Christ, S. Joseph and two figures of S. Francis and S. Jerom kneeling, and a beautiful landscape like that of the Sasso della Vernia, with a choir of angels singing above the pent-house, the whole well coloured and of fair relief".[5]

[1] Now Conservatorio in Ripoli. Via della Scala at Florence.

[2] Louvre. No. 205. Two angels are at the side of the glory, in which Mary is crowned by the Redeemer. Below, SS. Peter Martyr, John the Baptist, Jerom, Magdalen, Francis and Dominick, all kneeling. The figures are more or less dry and bony (wood, oil), small panel with the date: "MDIIII", not 1503, as stated in the catalogue. There is something in the Coronation still reminiscent of Benedetto Ghirlandaio's S. Lucy at S. M. Novella.

[3] These saints hang singly on the entrance wall of S. Jacopo, under the organ left, in painted niches. They represent SS. Sebastian, Cosmo, Damian, and a hermit with a lion and string of beads (wood, oil).

[4] Hermitage. No. 22. Wood, oil. life size.

[5] Vas. XI. 288.

The full and weighty shape of the S. Jerom as contrasted with the more delicate Virgin and S. Francis, and the polished surface of the fused colour most remind us of Granacci, whilst the strong, well harmonized tints, and vigorous chiaroscuro, and the atmosphere which pervades the groups are all characteristic of Ghirlandaio. But it is of interest to find in a picture like this the proof that Ridolfo, as Vasari states,[1] was still in a position to accept assistance from a favorite pupil of his father.

There is another feature, meanwhile, deserving of special remark. The landscape, with its rich and pleasant vegetation, its distant edifices, its ruins, and episodes, is treated in the manner of Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael, and introduces us to the time when they became friends, and might by their interest for Ridolfo give an additional spur to his exertions.[2]

That Ridolfo's art between 1504 and 1508 entered upon this phase, is notorious; and it is pleasant to trace it from this beginning to its subsequent development. The change which was then produced did not affect his idiosyncracy. He still held to his usual brown and somewhat hard enamel tones; but he became a thorough master, not merely of form as derived from nature; but of

[1] "Stando col Grillandaio": says Vas. IX. 219.

[2] The picture is in oil, a little out of balance as regards composition, in consequence of the size of the S. Jerom; slightly out of keeping from abrasion and retouching of the flesh tints in the S. Joseph, S. Francis, and Virgin. The piece has been transferred with success to canvass.

In the same gallery of the Hermitage we find three pieces under the name of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. No. 29. wood, transferred to canvass, is a round of the Nativity, within the pent-house, almost entirely renewed. But from what remains of the original in the infant, the young Baptist, and two angels, as well as of the draperies and bits of unaltered colour, the hand is more likely to be that of Francia Bigio, or Bugiardini. No. 30. Virgin, child, and Baptist; round, wood, transferred to canvass. No. 31. Virgin and child; square, wood, transferred, are both by one painter, a follower of Ridolfo, either Michele di Ridolfo or Mariano da Pescia. The handling is careful, the colouring raw, and there is some want of feeling in the figures. The conception is that of Raphael's carried out by the feebler hand of the men above named.

select form, in true relief, of perfect modelling and outline. Whilst he felt in this sense the effects of the companionship of the Frate, he was moved by that of Raphael to a tender youthfulness of type in his impersonations, to a soft fleshiness, especially in children, and to brightness in minutely touched landscapes. Of this we have examples in a pretty Raphaelesque Nativity at the Berlin Museum,[1] and in a bolder, more brilliant, and facile specimen of the same subject in the Esterhazy collection at Vienna.[2] The severer qualities of plasticity united to breadth of light and shade, he exhibited in a female portrait of 1509 now at the Pitti,[3] where his powers appear undoubtedly superior to those of Granacci and Piero di Cosimo; whilst in a predella at the Oratory of the Bigallo at Florence, his composition and his drawing emulate the energy, grandeur, and fullness of life distinguishing the works of Mariotto and the Frate; and his colour assumes a new richness and warmth.[4]

Raphael's trust in the talent of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio was so full and complete that we are told he allowed his friend to fill in a part of the drapery in the Bella Giardiniera which was to be sent to Sienna;[5] and when Sanzio reached Rome in 1508, nothing pressed him more than the desire to get Ghirlandaio to join him. But Ri-

[1] Berlin Museum. No. 91. Wood, oil, the surface, of a crystalline polish like that peculiar to Granacci.

[2] A composition of eleven figures a little reminiscent, as regards distribution, of Signorelli. The child, on the centre of the foreground, between the spectator and the kneeling Virgin. At her side a shepherd adoring, behind whom a young pastor points out the infant to a third carrying a kid. To the right, in front, a youthful saint is in prayer facing S. James, in similar attitude, on the left. In rear of the latter stands S. Joseph leaning on his staff. Behind, is the pent-house, with the ox and ass, and in the sky is a choir of three angels. On the border one reads: "Ridolfus Grillandaius florentinus faciebat".

[3] Pitti. No. 224. Female, seen below the waist, with a vest bordered at the neck and shoulders with white. Sleeves dark green (wood, oil, about large as life).

[4] This is a predella of five panels with: 1. the Execution of S. Peter Martyr; 2. the Nativity; 3. a Virgin of Mercy; 4. the Flight into Egypt; 5. the brethren of the Bigallo carrying a wounded man (wood, oil). Vasari truly says of these little panels that they are magnificent miniatures (XI. 290).

[5] Vas. VIII. 12; XI. 287.

dolfo, though still living in the house of his uncle David, was probably married, and encumbered with the cares of property and children.[1] He had a strange aversion to moving out of sight of the cupola of S. Maria del Fiore, and clung to his native place with extraordinary tenacity. He therefore refused Raphael's kindly offers, and staid quietly at home.[2]

It was under these circumstances that, continuing to follow the path of progress into which he had entered, he completed in 1514 the ceiling of the chapel of S. Bernard, in the Public Palace at Florence,[3] and the "Assumption and gift of the girdle", now in the choir loft of the cathedral at Prato.[4]

One of the striking features of his earliest productions had been slenderness of shape in figures. When he began more assiduously to study Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo, he fell into the habit of giving shortness and plumpness to the human frame. He now corrected even this defect, of which evidence is given in the Assumption at Prato, whilst in two first rate representations of single saints at S. Girolamo sopra la Costa a S. Giorgio in Florence, he is perfect in proportional division, and at the same time bold, and easy as a thorough craftsman might be who still honours and reveres the pattern of the Frate.[5]

In 1510, Mariotto Albertinelli had, with incredible labour, as we have seen, furnished a Virgin and angel annunciate to the Compagnia di S. Zanobi which

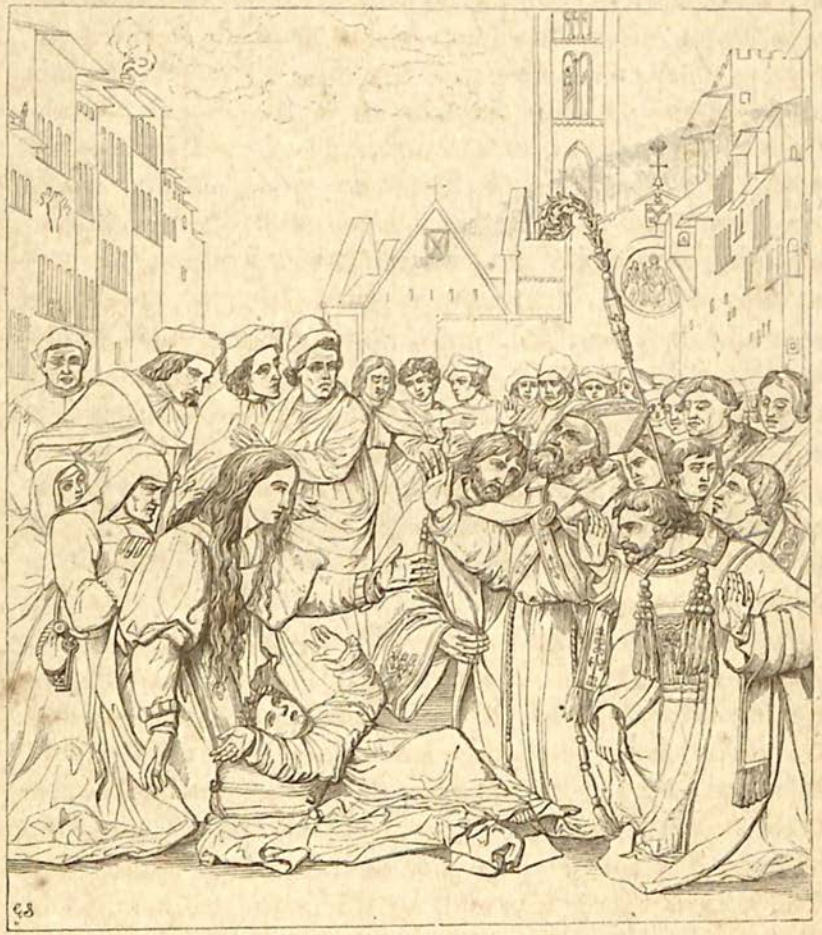
[1] Ridolfo says in a Portata al Catasto of 1511, that he resides with his wife Contessina in the house of David Ghirlandaio. Gaye, Carteggio, I. 268.

[2] Vas. XI. 287.

[3] This represents the Trinity in the centre with angels holding the emblems of the passion, the heads of the twelve apostles, four evangelists and the Annunciation. These frescos were valued in 1514 by Lorenzo di Credi (Vasari, notes to VIII. 209; and XI. 291).

[4] The Virgin ascends accompanied by cherubim, between two angels. Below, at the sides of her tomb, SS. Margaret, Lorenzo, Catherine, Thomas, Stephen, and a saint in episcopals. The figures are half the size of life, not free from retouching (wood, oil). See Vas. (XI. 291).

[5] S. Francis and S. Catherine (wood, oil, large as life), a little injured, but well drawn, and in fine easy pose.



S. ZENOBIUS RAISING A DEAD CHILD; an oil painting by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio in the Gallery of the Uffizi at Florence.

was valued by Perugino, Granacci, and Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.[1] After a time, the brethren resolved to ask another to do the miracles of S. Zanobius on two panels at the sides of the Annunciation; and they gave the commission to Ridolfo. We shall not describe the composition of the "Raising of the child", a line engraving of which will be found annexed to this page, but merely point out that in this as in the "Burial of the saint" Ghirlandaio's skill has reached its highest expansion.[2] Extraordinary liveliness and nature stamp the movements and expression of the eager and wondering crowd which presses round the kneeling bishop, as with uplifted arms he restores life to the fallen boy. Masterly are the drawing, modelling and transitions of light and shade, warm, rich, and harmonious, the strong tone of colour. Grandeur, imposing by its simplicity marks the bishops who carry the corpse of the saint; and there is a dignity and breadth in action and drapery that almost equal those of Domenico.[3]. The system of handling peculiar to Mariotto and the Frate had never as yet been so successfully applied by Ridolfo, who having previously surpassed Granacci and Piero di Cosimo, now rivalled even Andrea del Sarto. Admirable as the latter had been in embodying the highest laws of art; unapproachable as he then was in the knowledge of fresco, he lacked something to entitle him to equal praise in the execution of easel pictures, his tones being too unsubstantial and misty to give unexceptional satisfaction. Ridolfo as a Florentine and an oil painter now stood at the head of his class, in a position exactly contrasted with that of his father Domenico who had achieved fame by the production of unrivalled mural decorations. Nor

[1] Vas. VII. 185.

[2] Uffizi. No. 1275. S. Zanobius raising the dead boy. No. 1277. Translation of the remains of S. Zanobius (wood, oil).

[3] Another picture, a round of the Virgin, child, and sleeping boy Baptist, No. 1224, at the Uffizi, has quite the stamp of Ridolfo at this time, though it has not all the beauties of the "Miracles" described in the text. The colour is sombre, the forms a little paltry. Still this is comparative only, the conception being pretty and essentially Florentine.

was this a fleeting interval in his career. The same nobleness is to be found in the Madonna and saints of S. Pier' Maggiore at Pistoia as in the "Miracles of S. Zanobius", with an additional touch of Raphaelesque grace;[1] and Ridolfo deserved, as indeed he obtained, all the encouragement of his countrymen. He had inherited from his father a principle which had been held by many great men before, that an artist, if he kept a shop, should attend to every order that was brought to him, however small it might be. He never grumbled for that reason when asked to make pennons, standards, or banners, or to colour crosses, curtains, or processional properties.[2] He preserved by this means the facility required for carrying out vast scenic canvasses of which the Florentines were profuse during the first half of the sixteenth century. The earliest of these with which he was connected, were made for the wedding of Giuliano de' Medici.[3] But the most magnificent were undertaken for the solemn entry of Leo the Tenth into Florence, in November 1515.[4]. On that occasion the republic and the Medici[5] vied with each other in the sumptuous character of their preparations. Triumphal arches in the principal streets of the city were raised and painted by Baccio d'Agnolo, Jacopo di Sandro, Baccio di Montelupo, Giuliano del Tasso, Granacci, Aristotile da S. Gallo and Rosso. Mimic temples, obelisks, pillars and statues like those of Rome were got up by the ingenuity of Baccio Bandinelli, Antonio da S. Gallo and others. Andrea del Sarto and Jacopo Sansovino restored for a day the front

[1] The Virgin sits in a semicircle of saints the nearest of whom to the spectator are S. Sebastian and Gregory on both sides of the foreground, the rest being S. Anthony, two female saints, and S. James. The figures are life size (wood, oil). The panel scaled here and there, and the colour opaque in certain places from retouching. This work is noticed in Vasari, XI. p. 882.

[2] There are records of payments for various matters of this kind in the archives of S. M. del Fiore in 1518—19. See note to Vas. XI. 293. 4; XIII. 77.

[3] Vas. XI. 293.

[4] Ib. VIII. 183; IX. 69. 218. 224. 266; XI. 38. 203. 293.

[5] "La Signoria e Giuliano de' Medici". Vas. XIII. 77.

of S. Maria del Fiore. Masquerades and triumphs were imitated from those of heathen times. The guilds, as they followed the procession of Leo, were all gaily dressed in new costumes, and waved flaunting banners or flags on models invented by Ridolfo and his journeyman Granacci. Ghirlandaio himself adorned, with the help of his apprentices, the papal residence at S. Maria Novella, and the palace of the Medici, and produced, with Granacci, the scenes for the comedies that were given in the evening.

From festive days like these to mournful ones which also required the aid of artists, there was but a step; and Ridolfo arranged the funeral of Giuliano de' Medici who died in retirement at the abbey of Fiesole in March 1516.[1]

From grave to gay again. In 1518 Lorenzo de' Medici, duke of Urbino, held grand court on the day of his wedding at Florence; the "apparato" and plays being prepared under the joint superintendence of Ridolfo and Francia Bigio, with the assistance of Aristotile da S. Gallo and Andrea di Cosimo.[2] Equal pomp, but of a doleful kind, at Lorenzo's death in 1519, when Ridolfo is more in request than ever.[3]

The Medici were grateful to him for his success and punctuality on so many of these occasions of joy or grief. They gave him special marks of honour as a citizen of Florence; and he was made "painter" of the opera of S. Maria del Fiore.[4]

The property which he had inherited from his father increased, in spite of the heavy charges that weighed upon him in the shape of fifteen children; and he was able to number, in his returns to the "catasto", a continual increase in his possessions of land.[5] In the midst

[1] Ib. XI. 293.
[2] Ib. IX. 101. XI. 203—293.
[3] Ib. XI. 293.
[4] We find him in this capacity in records of 1519. See annot. Vas. XI. 293—4.
[5] Gaye, Carteggio, I. 268. The last "Portata" is of 1534.

of prosperity, he remained consistently honest and conscientious in the pursuit of his art; and in spite of the numerous works which he had carried through, he showed no signs of relinquishing any of the diligence that had been so conspicuous in his first manhood. Of this we have a convincing proof in a Pietà of 1521, at S. Agostino of Colle di Valdelsa where the Saviour supported by the Virgin and Baptist, mourned by the Magdalen, and adored by SS. Jerom and Nicholas, discloses his talent in the same path as of old. Composition in the fashion of the Frate and Mariotto, refined forms, noble nude, and true harmony of keys exhibit the unaltered perfection of his style; and the sole difference that one perceives, is in the comparative lightness of tones which have lost some of the old richness and fullness.[1]

With greater "bravura", but in the same system he furnished the dexterously handled Assumption of the Compagnia de' Battilani at Florence, now in the Berlin Museum, in which the only fault that can be found, is slight emptiness of colour;[2] and we begin to perceive that Ridolfo is thinking of his ease and puts his confidence in the aid of his disciple Michele. We then enter fully upon a period in which the vigour of the man seems on the wane, producing the flat and unrelieved S. Jerom penitent,[3] and the loosely executed Annunciation, at S.

[1] Wood, oil, figures life size. In a predella are the arms of Mario di Niccolò Beltramini for whom the picture was ordered (Vasari annot. XI. 297), and the following subjects: No. 1. S. Nicholas visiting the three youths in prison; 2. the decapitation of John the Baptist; 3. the Resurrection; 4. S. Jerom in the desert; 5. the Communion of the Magdalen.

[2] Berlin Museum. No. 263, with a portrait of Ridolfo which was taken by Vasari for his lives (see also Vasari XI. 292. 3). The date of this piece may be fixed just before 1527. After the siege of Florence in that year Ridolfo repainted the lower part that had been spoilt. In truth the lower apostles are treated more frankly than the glory, the latter being nearer in style to the Frate, the former to Sanzio. The portrait is the head of the saint next to S. John the Baptist.

[3] Altar to the left. The colour is flat and yellowish, the surface polished. In the distance to the left, S. Francis receives the stigmata. To the right the angel leads Tobit. The panel has been scaled in part.

Girolamo,[1] closing, as it were, with the Last Supper of 1543 in the refectory of the Angeli at Florence in which del Sarto's "Cenacolo", at S. Salvi, is copied with unnecessary fidelity.[2]

In this long interval, however, many incidents of interest are worthy of notice. We find Ridolfo, in 1520, valuing with Bugiardini an altarpiece by Jacopo del Sellaio,[3] and in 1524, appraising frescos by Guglielmo di Marcilla.[4] In 1525 David Ghirlandaio dies in the arms of his nephew and surrounded by Ridolfo's children.[5] In 1536 the entrance of the emperor Charles the Fifth into Florence gives rise to a display equalling, if not surpassing that of 1515, in which Ridolfo erects and adorns with great splendour, in company of Michele di Ridolfo, a triumphal arch at the Canto alla Cuculia.[6]

Similar rejoicings take place at the marriage of Cosimo de' Medici in 1539, and at the christening of his son Francesco in 1541.[7] Ridolfo is constantly busy for the grand duke of Florence in his palace, and he paints, 1543, a series of frescos in the monastery of the Angeli.[8] In the meantime his children are well educated and enter into business as merchants in France and at Ferrara. Ridolfo, without giving up his profession, becomes almost a sleeping partner in his own business, suffers from the gout; but lives on for a while, rolled about in an easy chair. At last he is taken from the world in 1560, outliving most of his cotemporaries except the immortal Michaelangelo.[9]

Of the altarpieces which may be said to have been jointly done by Ridolfo and his disciple Michele di Ridolfo, we make the following list.

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[1] Altar to the right. The surface has Bronzino's enamel (Vas. XI. 291).

[2] This fresco is rapidly losing colour from damp. The S. Bartholomew especially is much injured, as indeed is the whole upper part.

[3] MS. records in our hands.

[4] Vas. VIII. 103.

[5] Vas. XI. 289.

[6] Vas. X. 15; XI. 296, and Vasari to Aretino, May 1536, in Bottari, Raccolta, 3. 43 and foll[s].

[7] Vas. X. 269—270. XI. 321. XIII. 162.

[8] Where his brother Bartholommeo was in orders. Vas. XI. 289—90.

[9] Vas. XI. 298.

Florence. S. Felice in Piazza. Virgin, child, and SS. Bartholomew, Sebastian, Peter, and another, with the Eternal amongst angels in benediction (wood, oil, figures life size), injured by restoring. There is some affectation in the Madonna. The enamel surface is like Bronzino's (this is not the "tavola" mentioned by Vasari. XI. 295).

Florence. S. Spirito, originally in the Cappella de' Segni, now in the left transept (Vas. XI. 295). Virgin and child, behind whom is S. Anna. At the sides, four standing saints and SS. Mary Magdalen and Catherine kneeling (wood. oil, much damaged). Same as above. — Virgin and child between SS. Bartholomew and Benedict, erect, Giovanni Gualberto and another kneeling (wood, oil, life size). — Christ carrying his cross. The first is a soft and rather feeble production, reminiscent of the Raphaelesque in the Virgin and child, of a mild rosy tone, with a touch of Credi from whose school Michele came. The second is a sort of replica of the altarpiece at the Palazzo Antinori.

Florence. Academy of Arts. Gal. des grands Tableaux. No. 85. Virgin and child between the kneeling SS. Francis and Chiara, the standing James and Lawrence. Wood, oil. Same Gallery, same room, No. 77. Marriage of S. Catherine. The first was once in SS. Jacopo e Francesco (Vas. XI. 295), the second in S. Catarina at Florence. These are also weak and of a rosy tone. Same Gallery. No. 90. Martyrdom of the companions of S. Ursula. Doubtful.

Florence. Pitti. No. 180. Holy Family, better than the foregoing and apparently done by Ridolfo, with little or no help from Michele.

Florence. S. Marco, Sacristy. Annunciation, in the same style as the pictures at the Academy (but see, antea, Fra Bartolommeo p. 431).

Florence. Galleria Torrigiani. Of the same class and character as the foregoing, is a fine copy of a Virgin and child by Raphael, now No. 38, in the Bridgewater Gallery in London.

Florence. S. Jacopo di Ripoli. Two pieces here have been already noticed. A third, of a different period, may be added to them. It represents the Marriage of S. Catherine (Vas. XI. 287), the Virgin and child recalling Sanzio; and takes a place in the series here classified on account of the gentleness of the types, the light rosy tints, and slight shadows.

Florence. S. Martino delle Monache. Virgin and child, on clouds. Below, S. Sebastian and another saint. Two angels fly above the head of the Madonna. Distance, landscape (wood, oil, figures large as life). Similar to the last mentioned.[1]

[1] The following have been either not seen by the authors, or fail altogether. Not seen; — Ripoli, Virgin and saints (Vas. XI. 295). Flo-

Prato. S. Rocco (seen in 1857). Once in possession of Signor Giov. Gagliardi of Florence. Virgin, child, S. Sebastian and S. Roch (Vas. XI. 296).

Florence. Gates of S. Gallo, al Prato and alla Croce. There are remnants, in the first, of a Virgin and child between SS. John Baptist and Cosmo; in the second, of a Madonna, with the same saints; in the third, of the Virgin and child, between SS. John the Baptist and Ambrose (Vas. XI. 298).

Venice Academy. No. 536. Virgin and child between two angels with lilies, SS. Peter Martyr and Lucy (much repainted, the angel at the side of S. Peter renewed as to the head), a work more like Mainardi than Ridolfo.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. No. 35. Portrait of a man ¾ to the left, in long hair and cap, assigned to Raphael, injured by restoring and in the manner of Ridolfo.

Hampton Court. No. 1084. Portrait of a man, in very bad condition, but recalling Ridolfo.

Of Ridolfo's pupils, we shall at present only mention Mariano da Pescia whose pictures may be taken in the following order.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 44. Virgin, child and S. Elizabeth presenting the infant Baptist. Though Vasari says that Mariano was Ridolfo's pupil, the picture here cited by him (XI. 294) in no wise reminds us of that master. The composition is fair, but the forms are swollen and the tone bricky. The art revealed is lifeless. In the same character we have a number of others.

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rence. Ognissanti. Virgin, Baptist and S. Romualdo (Vas. XI. 291). Prato. Duomo. Virgin giving the girdle to S. Thomas (Vas. XI. 291). Florence. Chiesa della Concezione via de' Servi. Meeting of S. Anna and Joachim, now in Casa Passerini (Vas. and annot. XI. 291—2). Florence (near) Giogoli. Pieve. Tabernacle. Virgin, child, and angels (Vas. XI. 293). Florence (near) Certosa de' Camaldoli. Tabernacle frescos (Vas. XI. 293). Monte S. Savino. Madonna de' Vertigli, monochromes, scenes from the life of Joseph, altarpiece and fresco of the Visitation (Vas. XI. 296. 3. 23). Gone. Florence. Cestello or S. M. Madd. de' Pazzi. Nativity (Vas. XI. 288). Florence. SS. Annunziata de' Servi. S. Michael Archangel, copied from Fra Bartolommeo in the cemetery of S. M. Nuova (ib. ib. 294). Florence. S. Felicita, two chapels in fresco, visible in Richa's time (Chiese IX. 303. 308, and Vas. XI. 295). Florence. Compagnia de' Neri. Martyrdom of the Baptist (Vas. XI. 295). Florence. Borgo S. Friano alle Monachine, Annunciation (ib. ib. 295). Florence. S. Martino alla Palma, tavola (ib. ib. 296). Città di Castello. S. Fiordo. S. Anna (ib. ib. ib.). The three feats of Hercules sent to France (ib. ib. 291. 2).

Florence. Casa Torrigiani. Virgin, child, youthful Baptist and S. Joseph. Wood, oil, enamel surface.

Florence. Marchese Pianciatichi. No. 12. Virgin and child (but see antea, Fra Bartolommeo, p. 473).

Brussels. Museum. No. 309. Holy Family (see antea, Sogliani).

Montpellier. Musée Fabre. No. 210. Portrait of Petrarch (?) assigned to Ridolfo, but more modern.

In Francesco Granacci who preserved through life an intimate connection with the family of the Ghirlandai, wee see how happily a man of respectable attainments can reach a haven of comfort in his old age, when his ambition does not exceed his skill, and when he shows in daily intercourse a kindly and cheerful disposition. Granacci seems to have possessed, in a supreme degree, the art of being companionable. He was quick at discerning talents surpassing his own, and before these he took off his hat, acknowledging with surprising modesty the superiority even of those who were by many years his juniors. Hence the friendship which united him with Michaelangelo, and his willingness, at a later period, to act as the assistant of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. Hence his inability to fill any of the high places reserved for the great men of his age. He was born in 1469,[1] and bred in the atelier of Domenico and David Ghirlandaio.[2] In the Brancacci chapel, where he studied like most candidates for pictorial fame, he sat to Filippino Lippi who took his portrait in the "Resurrection of the king's son".[3] His youth was thus spent in the company of the best masters of the fifteenth century; and in the shop where he served, he was held to be the most promising of draughtsmen.[4] As Michael Angelo began his time with

[1] The "portata al Catasto" of Granacci's mother, dated 1480 (Gaye, Carteg. note to vol. II. p. 468) states that at that time Francesco was eleven years old.

[2] Vas. V. 85; IX. 217. 18; XI. 285.

[3] Vas. III. 162; V. 243.

[4] Ib. IX. 218.

Domenico Ghirlandaio in 1488, Granacci at once observed the lad's precocious nature, and furnished him abundantly with drawings; and thus laid the foundation of a lasting intimacy.[1] It was about this period that Lorenzo de' Medici, having placed his collection under the charge of Bertoldo, had determined to try, if it were not possible to bring up some boys as sculptors, in view of restoring to that branch the importance it had lost in consequence of the great preeminence acquired by professors of painting.[2] Domenico Ghirlandaio having been consulted upon this subject, entrusted Granacci and Michael Angelo (1489) to Lorenzo as the most likely scholars; and thus the companionship which had begun under favorable circumstances seemed destined to a happy continuance. Michael Angelo soon did justice to the choice of Ghirlandaio, and during his rapid progress, repaid the kindness of Granacci by presents of designs and by advice.[3] But Granacci did not for his part take to sculpture; and Lorenzo was only enabled to use him as a draughtsman and decorator in the jousts and triumphs with which he kept the Florentines in good humour at carnival time. In these, however, according to the testimony of Vasari, Granacci was admitted to have been highly successful; and here also Domenico Ghirlandaio approved himself a competent judge of the ability of his pupil.[4]

If it ever happened to Granacci to take an extensive share in any of the numerous undertakings in Domenico's atelier, we should say he may have been principally occupied in the production of a Madonna amongst saints, now at Mr. Barker's in London,[5] or a Coronation of the Virgin in Santa Cecilia at Città di Castello.[6] In Ghir-

[1] Ib. XII. 159.
[2] Ib. VII. 205; XII. 162. 3.
[3] Ib. ib. ib.
[4] Ib. IX. 218; XI. 203.
[5] See antea, II. 492.
[6] See antea, II. 552. The Virgin kneels to the right, before Christ, in a circular glory of cherubs' heads, outside of which eight angels play musical instruments. Below, on clouds, are SS. Francis, Bernardino and Buonaventura erect (left), Louis, another, and Anthony erect (right). In the centre, kneeling, SS. Rosa, Mary Magdalen, Catherine, and Chiara. This altarpiece is called a Piero della Francesca, but the figures

landaio's great frescos at S. Trinità, or S. M. Novella, his help was of too general a character to be perceptible. But he took part in the altarpieces finished by Benedetto and David after 1494; and two figures of saints, — S. Anthony, in which his cooperation is proved by Vasari,[1] — or S. Vincent, upon which, though finer, the Aretine is silent, disclose a noteable superiority over the brothers of Domenico Ghirlandaio, an approximation, indeed, to the latter, in form, proportions, outline, and drapery.[2]

We might believe, in consideration of two very clear toned, and slightly relieved, but much finished bust likenesses of a male and female, in the Museum of Berlin, and in the gallery of Oxford, that Granacci was frequently engaged in his youth as a portrait painter.[3] His tendency from the beginning to imitate the Michaelangelesque might be illustrated in a tempera of the Virgin, child, and saints at Berlin.[4]

Another early contribution to the collection of his works is to be found in the kneeling S. Jerom and S. Francis, part of an Adoration of the Virgin, in the Berlin Museum. The S. Jerom especially denotes a masculine and vigorous complexion in the artist, without the feeling which avoids reproducing the vulgarity or Herculean nature of a model. For the same reason the anatomy is correct whilst the drapery is involved and bundled into heaps. Unlike the rest of the picture, the two saints are in oil,

are slenderer than his, and the tempera has the reddish flesh tints of Granacci.

[1] Vas. XI. 285.

[2] These remarks apply more particularly to the S. Vincent; a tempera which is numbered No. 74 in the Berlin Museum; the S. Anthony being No. 76 in the same gallery, and in oil.

[3] Berlin Museum. No. 80. Female, 3/4, to the left, tempera, with the words "Noli me tangere" on the parapet of the opening at which the bust is visible. The school of Dom. Ghirlandaio and Mainardi is here plainly revealed; and the execution is not unlike that of a profile (No. 81. Berlin) attributed to Sandro Botticelli.

Oxford gallery. Male, full face, almost life size, ascribed to Masaccio (tempera, almost life size). Same character as the foregoing.

[4] Berlin. Museum. No. 97. We have here the style of Ghirlandaio dwarfed, but something modern in the marked character of the action and poses. The execution is careful (wood).

of a hard, even brown-red impasto, with dull shadows sharply contrasting with the lights, yet of insufficient relief. They are freely handled in the imperfect system common to Rosselli and Piero di Cosimo. The art is that apparent in the Madonna and saints at S. Pietro al Terreno, with the difference that the figures at Berlin are carried out in a more facile and manly spirit, and have a muscular appearance akin to that with which we are familiar in Michael Angelo.[1]

Granacci, therefore, appears to us at the close of the century as a man who had already surrendered much that he might have learnt in the atelier of Domenico Ghirlandaio, in order to adopt the energetic hardihood of his friend Buonarotti.

That he should seek, at the same time, to acquire the technical improvements taken by Piero di Cosimo from Leonardo, and still more ably applied by Mariotto and Fra Bartolommeo, was probably owing to the fact that Michael Angelo could not assist him in this respect as he did in the rendering of form.

For a considerable interval Granacci preserved this duplicate tendency. Without making any progress in the mode of imparting relief by light and shade; — now and then giving short proportions to the human frame, as in the four saints of the Munich Pinakothek,[2] occasionally long and slender ones, as in the six predella scenes from the life of S. Apollonia in the Academy of Arts at Florence,[3] — he made himself known by freedom of movement, and by a decisive and broad sweep of touch allied to great finish and fusion. His colour no longer had its previous monotony of brown redness, nor dullness of

[1] Berlin. Museum. No. 88. See antea, vol. II. p. 491.

[2] Munich. Pinakothek. Saal. No. 533. S. Jerom; No. 535. S. Apollonia; No. 536. S. John the Baptist; No. 540. S. M. Magdalen. These figures, all in niches (wood, oil, all but life size), are fair and well draped, but somewhat muscular and coarse. Are they a part of the panel in S. Apollonia of Florence mentioned in Vas. IX. 221?

[3] Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des petits Tableaux. No. 22. 29. The tall and slender figures are in lively motion, broadly treated, and Michaelangelesque in the brave mode of Rosso.

shadow, but a transparent gloss due to copious vehicle, and a gaudy lightness producing the effect of emptiness. "Bravura" in carrying out, a strong accent upon action in torso and limb, are the characteristics of a Trinity very fairly assigned to Granacci, at the Berlin Museum, and doubtless of this time.[1]

But the most favorable specimen of his manner under these conditions is the Assumption and gift of the girdle in the Casa Rucellai at Florence.[2] There is soft gravity in the deportment of the saints conversing by the tomb; and the drapery is grand in the breadth of its cast. Two angels supporting the glory of flaming rays, almost embody the grace of Filippino. But the muscular type and energetically forced motion of the S. Thomas rising from his knees to take the girdle handed down to him by the Virgin, as well as the enamelled surface of the panel, and its minute laboriousness, are derived from Michael Angelo, in emulation perhaps of the Madonna at the Uffizi which seems to date from the first years of the sixteenth century.[3]

Whilst Granacci thus faithfully followed his great and now celebrated guide, forgetting as he proceeded the atelier out of which he had originally sprung, there was one quality which he could not reach, and that was the quality of relief, in which he was far surpassed by Ridolfo. His method of dealing with colours was in so far different from that which Leonardo perfected, that he always sought transparence from the white ground. He tried to get light in the greatest fullness, even to the sacrifice of shadow which, when properly used, is a set off to light.

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[1] Berlin. Museum. No. 229. Round, wood, oil; (?) that noticed by Vasari, as furnished to Pier Francesco Borgherini (IX. 220). This round is almost a repetition of the same subject by Mariotto in the Berlin Museum.

[2] Originally in S. Piero Maggiore (Vas. IX. 220). The picture is on wood, in oil, and the figures are large as life. The saints below, in addition to S. Thomas, are SS. John, James, Lawrence and Paul.

[3] The Madonna by Michael Angelo, in the Tribune of the Uffizi. No. 1139.

Granacci's devotion to Michel Angelo lasted long. He was, no doubt, one of the firmest supporters of his friend's opinion when, in 1503, he was asked, with many others, to choose the place for the gigantic David.[1] Though he was affiliated to his guild in 1505,[2] he did not disdain to join Ridolfo, del Sarto, and the host of their companions as they copied the rival cartoons in the Papal Hall.[3] Yet he could not remain an inattentive spectator of the coming of Raphael; and there are pictures like the Holy Family, in the Casa Rucellai in which we already notice a prettiness and elegance that can only have been suggested by the careful examination of the works of Sanzio.

This tendency to fall off from his old allegiance may have been hastened by an incident which could not but cool the relations between Granacci and Michael Angelo. In 1508, it was proposed that the vaulting of the Sixtine chapel should be decorated with frescos, and Buonarotti upon whom this duty devolved, sent to Florence for assistants, amongst whom Bugiardini and Granacci were the most prominent. Upon trial, even these were found very far from the mark by their fastidious employer, who instead of dismissing, locked the door of the chapel as well as of his own house, against them.[4] It was natural that Granacci after this rebuff should feel very greatly angered, and rather inclined to forget than to remember the lessons of a man to whom he owed much indeed, but who had treated him too rudely.

Certain it is that the influence of Raphael now gained the ascendant with Granacci; and there are two very fine "Virgins in glory", at the Uffizi and Academy of Arts in Florence, as well as some Holy Families which fully bear out this statement.

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[1] Gaye, Carteggio, II. 455. 6.

[2] The annotators of Vasari (IX. 222) say his name is in the books of the guild in 1501—5. The date of his receipt of the freedom is illegible in the register of the guild. Gualandi, Mem. ser. 6. p. 182.

[3] Vas. XII. 179. He belonged to the club of the Cazzuola of which we shall speak.

[4] Vas. XII. 190.

In the "Virgin in glory", at the Uffizi, two angels at the sides of the glory are Raphaelesque rather than purely Florentine. The Virgin's own face is of a gentle softness which certainly had not its origin in Buonarotti; whilst the S. Thomas to whom she hands the girdle, and the archangel Michael, below, are more in the Herculean mould.[1] The same contrasts are to be seen at the Academy where the Virgin looks down from heaven at four kneeling saints;[2] and a Holy Family at the Pitti, though a little low in tone and reminiscent of Puligo, still seems to have been composed by Granacci in the same mood.[3]

Elsewhere we trace in Granacci a bias in the direction of Fra Bartolommeo, as in two ovals representing S. Anthony and an angel, in the University gallery at Oxford;[4] and the same aspect of his talent is divulged in an Assumption belonging to the Earl of Warwick considered hitherto by many as a masterpiece of Raphael and the Frate.[5]

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[1] Uffizi. No. 1280. The Virgin and child, between two angels, in a glory of flaming rays, gives the girdle to S. Thomas who kneels below with the archangel Michael near him. Figures life size, the archangel grand, but of herculean stature.

[2] Florence. Academy of Arts. Galerie des grands Tableaux. No. 75. The Virgin in prayer, in clouds surrounded by a flaming glory and four angels. Below, the kneeling SS. Catherine, Bernard, the cardinal Gio. Gualberto, and George. This picture is gaudy, owing to abrasion and restoring. Wood, oil, figures life size. Distance, a landscape.

[3] Pitti. No. 199. Round, wood, oil. The Virgin caresses the child who holds a book and turns towards the young Baptist holding the cross. The colour is very smoothly enamelled, with rubbed glazes in the shadows, and rather cloudy at the outlines.

In the same manner we have a round of the Virgin and child, with two adoring angels, belonging to Mr. Fuller Maitland, and a Holy Family belonging to G. F. H. Vernon Esq., feebler though still in Granacci's style.

[4] Small panels. The colour in part fallen out, and more dropping.

[5] This panel, No. 91, at Manchester is mentioned by Geheimerrath Waagen (Treasures, sup. 499) and by Passavant (Raphael I. 130, and II. 414). The Virgin looks down from a glory of flaming rays. At the side of her tomb kneel SS. Thomas and Francis, at whose flanks stand S. Paul and another. We can see, in this picture, nothing of the Frate or of Raphael, but we perceive that it is the work of a Florentine under the inspiration of both those masters. The technical handling is like that of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio and Granacci, the composition essentially that of the latter.

We believe that Granacci surrendered himself to scene painting chiefly when he joined the atelier of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, after his return from Rome and his quarrel with Michael Angelo. As Ridolfo's partner probably he assisted in valuing Mariotto's Annunciation in 1510;[1] and in the same subordinate position he painted standards, theatrical hangings, and one of the triumphal arches at Florence, in 1516, at the solemn entrance of Leo the Tenth.[2] He also furnished cartoons for glass to the brotherhood of the Gesuati.[3] But he lived for many years after that, making a will in 1533,[4] and died in 1543,[5] without our being able to ascertain whether he was intrusted in the interval with any great or independent commissions.[6]

[1] Vas. VII. 185.

[2] Vas. VIII. 267; IX. 218—19.

[3] Vas. IX. 221.

[4] Gaye, Carteggio, II. 468.

[5] Tav. Alfab. ad lit. He was buried in S. Apostolo at Florence.

[6] Amongst the missing works of Granacci we note scenes from the life of Joseph mentioned by Vas. IX. 220. We have not seen the Virgin and two children, SS. Zanobius, and Francis, once in S. Gallo (Vas. IX. 221), and said to belong to the brothers Govoni at Florence (annot. ib. ib. ib.).

CHAPTER XVII.

ANDREA DEL SARTO

Though Andrea del Sarto was but the son of a tailor, his pedigree has been traced with ease into the fourteenth century. His great grandfather, Luca di Paolo del Migliore, was an agricultural labourer, his grandfather a linen weaver. Agnolo, the tailor, was twenty seven years old, when his wife Costanza gave birth (1487) to Andrea del Sarto. Their usual place of abode was Gualfonda, until 1504, when they lived in the Popolo di S. Paolo;[1]

[1] *Root of the family of A. D. Sarto.*

Luca di Paolo di Migliore b. 1392, labourer m. Agnola b. 1402; begets	Piero b. 1425. Antonio b. 1427. Francesco b. 1430, weaver m. Genevra b. 1441. Maria b. 1442. Antonia b. 1445.
Francesco, begets	Agnolo, tailor, b. 1460, m. Constanza b. 1468. Andrea, priest, b. 1461. Giovanna, b. 1463. Domenica, b. 1466. Agnoletta, b. 1469.
Agnolo, begets	Lucretia, b. 1485. ANDREA, PAINTER, b. 1487, † 1531. (Vas., in error, VII. 251, dates his birth 1478.) Veronica, b. 1492. Francesca, b. 1495. Domenico. —

Amongst the ancestors of Andrea del Sarto Luca lived in S. Maria a Buiano (Catast. 1427 Port. d. Contado Quart. S. Giov[i]; Popolo S. Maria a Buiano, Piviere di Fiesole. Luca is then 35 years of age). He

but previous to the latter date, the future painter had been apprenticed; and almost before it was possible that he could read (1494), he was introduced to the shop of a goldsmith.[1]

A declared aversion to cold chisels and files was the first sign that the boy gave of his unfitness for the business he was bound to. But he showed no such disinclination for the models from which the journeymen of his master were made to work. His childish cleverness in drawing from them was watched with interest, if not by the goldsmith, at least by his neighbour Gian Barile; and the result was the transfer of Andrea from the one to the other.

Whatever might have been the chagrin of Agnolo that his son should be withdrawn from a great guild to be entered into a lesser one, he was obliged to yield to circumstances, and Gian Barile kept Andrea till about 1498.

There is no telling how del Sarto would have turned out, had the connection lasted longer. Gian Barile was a man of contemptible talents and coarse manners,[2] to whom his pupil may have been indebted for much that was slipshod and common in his ways; but if he had faults, want of sympathy and generosity was not one of them, and this he proved by recommending the youth as a draughtsman and a colourist to Piero di Cosimo. Upon trial, this eccentric artist fully approved of Barile's

afterwards went to S. Ilario a Montereggi (Catast. 1455. Port d. Contado Q. S. G. P. d. Fiesole, Popolo di S. Ilario a Montereggi, Potesterie di Sesto).

Francesco, came to reside near Florence. Piviere di S. Giovanni of Florence (Catast. d. Contado 1471, Quart. S. M. Novella Piv. S. Giov.? Pop. S. Lorenzo di Dentro da S. Gallo, Potesteria di Firenze. Francesco who makes the return is 40 years old.

Agnolo in 1487 lived in Gualfonda and in 1504 in popolo S. Paolo of Flor. (Cat. d. Contado 1487. Quart. di S. M. Novella, Piv. d. S. Giov. Firenze, Pop. S. M. Novella dentro. Agnolo who makes the return is thirty, and says his son Andrea is one year old.

It is clear that the family name of Vannucchi never had any foundation in fact. But see also Tav. Alfab. ad lit. (Favoured by G° Milanesi.)

[1] Vas. (VIII. 252) says, Andrea was bound to a goldsmith when seven years old.

[2] Vas. VIII. 252. He must not be confounded with Giovanni Barili of Sienna, for notices of whom see com. in Vas. VIII. 93 and foll^s, and Doc. Sen.

judgment. He kept Del Sarto for years, allowing him spare hours for outside study,[1] especially at the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo, and delighted to hear that amongst all the striplings who copied there, his "garzone" was one of the ablest.[2]

In the papal hall where these famed compositions stood, the earliest visitors were Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, Raphael, Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, and the Spaniard Berruguete; in Andrea's time, that is about 1507—1508, Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, and Tribolo.[3] It was there that the friendly intercourse of Del Sarto and Francia Bigio commenced, there that they matured a plan for opening a joint shop of their own.

We shall not pretend to give an exact date to this event, though we suppose that it occurred before the frescos illustrative of the life of the *beato* Filippo Benizzi were begun in the court of the SS. Annunziata de' Servi.

Francia Bigio and Del Sarto took a lodging together on the Piazza del Grano in the heart of Florence, and are said to have worked in common, their maiden undertaking being perhaps the "Baptism of Christ" at the Scalzo, which Vasari classes amongst the first of Andrea's efforts. We must confess grave doubts as to whether this episode could have been executed by Del Sarto alone. So different is the neglected drawing, or the unrefined character of the figures from that which is to be found at the Servi. We might, however, admit that such a production by two young masters just entering upon their career, would be accepted as an instalment of great promise and induce many to give them their patronage. As

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[1] At the Brancacci, Vas. III. p. 162.

[2] Vas. VIII. 252. X. 296. The Aretine only alludes to one instance where Andrea del Sarto had a share in Piero de Cosimo's works, and that is when the car of death was made for one of the carnivals during the supremacy at Florence of the Soderini (VII. 115 to 117).

[3] Ib. XII. 179.

a cento of Francia Bigio and Del Sarto in which the impress of Andrea is preponderant, we may look upon it as a valuable and perhaps unique product of an association which was soon dissolved. The two men had both been nurtured at one source. Andrea at the school of Piero di Cosimo, the imitator of Leonardo, and the companion of Fra Bartolommeo and Mariotto; Francia Bigio under the tuition of Mariotto. Francia Bigio had less genius than Del Sarto, but he was the eldest of the two. So the partners probably agreed to live together, but to paint apart. They often spent their days in the same places, but never, as far as we know, divided the labours of one and the same picture.[1] They competed at the Servi, at the Scalzo, at Poggio a Caiano; but cotemporary history contains no reference to anything that they did in companionship. That the Baptism of Christ was the first of a long series at the Scalzo, and that it was followed by the scenes from the life of the beato Filippo Benizzi, at the Servi, is as clear from Vasari as from the evidence of style, the latter being entirely Andrea's without assistance from Francia Bigio. But the mere fact of two such competitors living in constant intercourse, led to the inevitable results that Francia Bigio assumed and kept a reminiscence of Del Sarto, and Andrea for his part took something from his friend.

There is a panel, in the Duke of Northumberland's castle of Alnwick, in which a man of twenty, in a black cap covering long hair, sits resting his elbow on a table. The hand thus reposing holds a scroll with an illegible direction. On the table itself is an ink bottle, a pen, and a sheet of paper, on the corner of which one reads: "Al di ..... Andrea del Sarto pictore .... entia".[2] This is supposed to be Andrea's own portrait, though it might

[1] The curtains of the altarpiece at the Servi, by Filippino and Perugino are now proved to have been, not by Francia Bigio and Andrea del Sarto as Vas. says (VIII. 253) but by Andrea di Cosimo, who did them in 1510—11. See the record in Vas. IX. 111 annot.

[2] The words immediatelly following "Al di" are not particularly clear and may be omitted.

represent another and unknown person. It is coloured in a soft and harmonious manner in oil, with well fused and fatty impasto; but it is somewhat empty, feeble in the transitions from light to shade, and timidly drawn. The technical method is that of Francia Bigio's teacher Mariotto, the character generally that of Del Sarto in the frescos of the Servi, but without the breadth to which he already expands there. In this effort to approximate to Albertinelli and Fra Bartolommeo, we trace the force of Francia Bigio's persuasion or precept on Andrea; unless we assume that Francia Bigio is himself the author, in which case he and Del Sarto would have painted exactly alike. Yet as Andrea for some time longer felt a sympathetic leaning towards the Frate and Albertinelli, we may consider him more likely to have done the portrait of Alnwick Castle than Francia Bigio.

Since the days of Baldovinetti and Cosimo Rosselli the court of the convent of the Servi had received no additional decoration. In one corner Alesso had left a Nativity, carried out in new and perishable materials; in another, Rosselli had scarcely finished a Miracle of the sainted Philip. The Brotherhood of the Servi, though poor, was ambitious of completing these adornments, and with much tact sought out rising men from whom skill and small charges were to be expected. Thus it was that from 1509 to 1514 it had in employ three young fellows of great promise—Francia Bigio, Andrea del Sarto, and Andrea Feltrini. We can scarcely tell, indeed, whether most to admire the cleverness which could discern the value of these youths, or the cunning with which jealousy was sown between Francia Bigio and Del Sarto, in order that the convent might reap the advantage of their rivalry. To the latter, who had already the reputation of being soft and malleable, the sacristan Fra Mariano suggested how quickly his name would become known were he to leave a successful proof of his talent in a public and much frequented locality; and how important it would be for him to work rather there than

elsewhere, even for a minimum of wages. It was hinted meanwhile that if he refused so favorable an offer, Francia Bigio would accept it, nay, had already consented to do so. This final argument appeared so conclusive to Andrea that he signed a contract for three frescos which he immediately began; and in a few months he had uncovered: "S. Philip sharing his cloak with the leper"; "S. Philip cursing the gamblers"; "S. Philip restoring the girl possessed of a devil".[1]

Age has affected the episode of the saint and the leper, in which Andrea's ability as a draughtsman and an imitator of easy motion is divulged in figures of good proportions. The Curse of the Gamblers is more spirited, and illustrates Andrea's versatility in thought, as well as the power with which he gives life to every part of a vast landscape. The rabble of men at arms playing cards under a tree, has been overwhelmed or dispersed by a stroke of lightning at the moment when the saint turned to assure them of the wrath of God. The two attendant brethren have stopped because S. Philip halted. The muleteer in the distance hurries away as he looks back at the havoc;—the whole scene so vivid in its contrasts, so happily impulsive in their rendering, that little remains to be desired except perhaps some of that higher and less homely quality the lack of which makes Andrea take a place below Fra Bartolommeo. A ready action, variety of position, appropriate drapery, fine and accurate drawing of frame and limb, disclose his inborn strength, as well as facility for making the best features of the great masters his own. Space, divided according to the rules of the best Florentines, is filled up with a sense of the undoubted dignity and earnestness of legendary history. In the groups, life, pulsation, and the boldness of Uccelli distinguish every personage. The execution is that of a man already confident in himself, uniting freedom with ra-

[1] Vas. VIII. 255—6.

pidity in reproduction, not clinging rigidly to pure science and severe measure, but substituting for these quickness and spirit.

The same simplicity and tact are preserved in the central episode of the fresco in which S. Philip drives the demon out of the female supported in the arms of her relations; the interest of the spectators in the miracle being well kept up and made evident without coarseness either in attitude or in expression.

The applause which these three pieces received encouraged Andrea to proceed, and he at once resumed the brush for the "Death of S. Philip", and the "Children cured by S. Philip's garment".

The first of these, arranged in a form that was scarcely to be avoided, represents a friar behind a couch, leaning over the prostrate body of the saint, whilst two groups stand on the sides of the foreground. The clergy in rear to the left suspend their chant in order to express their surprise at a wonder occurring before their eyes. A child lies dead on the floor, and revives at the touch of the bier, the two incidents of the death and resurrection being judiciously compressed into one. In this, more than in any other composition of the series, Del Sarto tells of the study which he devoted to Domenico Ghirlandaio not only for the sake of fit distribution, but for the purpose of acquiring a just partition of the masses of light and shade. Nothing can be more clearly demonstrated than this in the head of the friar who leans over S. Philip, where the transitions are given with remarkable force; nor would the fresco as a whole have lost anything had this law of equilibrium been extended with equal impartiality to the rest of the dramatis personæ. But Andrea seems never to have been fully penetrated with the necessity for applying the strict rules of chiaroscuro. Carried away by his feeling for harmony of colour, and charmed whenever he could realize a vague and vaporous

twilight of tone, he was unable to combine that appearance with absolute neutral contrasts; especially when urged onwards by the supreme ease and confidence with which he was gifted. But whilst he was thus robbed of one quality, the balance was almost restored by the facility with which he obtained transparence, gay colours, and smoothness in the melting of tints into each other. Without hesitation, and, as Vasari said, *"senza errori"*, in a somewhat subdued and quiet key, he overcame the greatest difficulties of his art, and if not in 1510, certainly in 1514 deserved to be called the best fresco-painter of central Italy, not excepting even Sanzio. If his aim principally was to reach this point, it was natural that he should be unable to stop at will to attend to the modelling of form or to achieve that which a more phlegmatic but less able *"frescante"* would have done. For if the latter had failed in this at one sitting, he would have tried to supply the deficiency at a second by dry touching, a remedy which Del Sarto habitually disdained.

The "Children cured by the dress of S. Philip" is attractive, symmetrical, and full of truth. A priest, in a doorway, lays the cloth on the head of a child kneeling in front of its mother. Two persons ascend, or stand at the foot of the steps on each hand. To the left, a cripple receives charity; to the right, an aged man leaning on his staff is the portrait of Del Sarto's friend Andrea della Robbia. Fleshy rounded curves in the contour of females denotes sensuality in the artist. Males are depicted with a rougher, coarser grain of flesh. Each party to the action has his individuality. Avoiding an ideal of perfection to which he might be obliged to cling, as we see the Frate occasionally doing, Andrea has no thought for anything but the reality. Yet that reality, if below the ideal and not absolutely select, is dignified and genuine. The drawing is good in style and invariably correct. The motions are without strain, and generally appropriate. There is a conscientious attendance to all requirements, such as we are not always able to find at

a subsequent period. The general tone is powerful, harmonically without discord, tasteful, and pleasing.[1]

As a whole, we possess in these five frescos, done, we must remember, before the close of 1510, a very creditable series, in which we find no difficulty in tracing how much Andrea del Sarto was indebted to the works of Leonardo, Fra Bartolommeo, and Mariotto. From the first he took a dimpled smile that might almost be called stereotype; and from the two last, certain models of form and the peculiar seeking after elegance which they derived from Da Vinci. To the warm and sympathetic gaiety of colour remarkable in the Frate, he gave an additional vagueness and transparency; — to the full and swelling forms of female beauty in Della Porta, something more of the sensuous. The public justly applauded his performance, and as he began to feel the position he had won, he observed to his clients, that greatly as he was honoured by the patronage of the Servi, he still preferred employment of a less barren kind.

In order to avoid the fatigues and loss of time consequent upon a daily walk from the Piazza del Grano to the Servi, Andrea had taken rooms with Francia Bigio in the Sapienza, a block of buildings close to the SS. Annunziata, where Jacopo Sansovino and Rustici already had their lodging,[2] and not far from the shop of Nanni Unghero.[3] In Sansovino, Del Sarto found a friend with whom to discuss the most diverse problems of his profession. He had been at Rome, and witnessed the meeting of two generations of celebrated painters there.[4] His experience was already great, his conversation probably instructive. He was reserved for a noble career as an architect at Venice, and in the meanwhile was a student of sculpture at Florence. He and Andrea constantly exchanged views and opinions, whilst not unfrequently his

[1] On the foreground we read: A. D. MDX. Vasari fully describes these five frescos (VIII. 255—7).

[2] Vas. VIII. 252—3.

[3] Ib. X. 244.

[4] Vasari: Life of Sansovino Temanza do. do.

models were those from which Del Sarto made drawings for his pictures.[1]

Rustici was a sculptor too, but older; a man of independent means, whose house was the rallying point for artists in general, and the seat of a club of twelve or *dodeka,* to which Andrea del Sarto belonged. This club, which was called the "Company of the Kettle", was chiefly remarkable for the jollity of its dinners to which every member was allowed to invite four strangers. At these convivial gatherings each brought his own food, and was fined if his dish happened to be that of his neighbour. But on grand occasions concert being required, previous consultation took place; and ingenuity was exhausted in making temples of pastry and sausages, and figures carved out of cold beef or sucking pigs. Yet, eating and drinking was not the exclusive business of the association; and we are told that in 1519, when Francia Bigio became chairman or "archipaiuolo", he recited a comic epic called the "Battle of the Mice with the Frogs", which has been assigned by some to Andrea del Sarto, whilst others believe the author to have been Ottaviano de' Medici.[2]

As it often happens when such clubs consist not merely of boon companions, but of persons known for talent in their business, the more exclusive circles are moved by curiosity to visit them; a connecting link is created between persons whose relative rank would otherwise keep them for ever apart; and a curious mixture is produced in which the worker has a chance of learning to ape the polish of the high-bred noble, and vice versa the man of station condescends to a dangerous familiarity with those whom he has not ceased to regard as his inferiors. After the successful establishment of the Kettle-club, that of the "Trowel" arose in 1512.[3] The associates were ranged in

[1] Vas. XIII. 71.

[2] Vas. XII. 9. and Reumont's A. del Sarto. sm. 8°. Leipzig 1834. Intr. p. XVII. The poem was published by the Abbate Fontani in 1788, and is in Biadi's life of Del Sarto. Flor. 1829.

[3] For these and the subsequent facts, see Vas. XII. 11. and follg.

divisions answering to those of the great and small guilds of Florence, with a third class adjoined and called "Adherents", of whom Del Sarto was one. Here it became fashionable to read burlesques and to get up masquerades, the arts as usual contributing to the entertainment by quaint decorations, or by scenic paintings.[1] As the meetings were not held in one locality, the wealthier subscribers were able to distinguish themselves by display according to their means; and some instances are mentioned where great expense must have been incurred, as when Bernardino di Giordano gave the "Mandragola" of Niccolò Macchiavelli in 1524 with the scenes and properties by Andrea del Sarto and Aristotile da S. Gallo. This comedy was played before Alessandro and Ippolito de' Medici, adolescents at that time under the care of Silvio Passerini cardinal of Cortona; and it was not considered improper to let them listen to dialogues the indecency of which is said to exceed the utmost stretch of licence.[2] In the fifteenth century Lorenzo de' Medici patronized, as we have seen, with a judicious measure and a due regard to social positions. He respected men of genius like Domenico Ghirlandaio. He made an associate of a scholar like Alberti. In the sixteenth century, artists were drawn into the vortex of dissipation and immorality which peculiarly characterized the upper classes in Italy; and there is reason to believe that their decline was the more rapid for that cause.

The frescos of S. Philip Benizzi had scarcely been finished by Andrea del Sarto, than commissions poured in upon him from many quarters. To accept these whilst he was bound to finish the court of the Servi, was dangerous. The sacristan had a contract, and might have enforced it. But he probably had enough knowledge of the world to be aware that if he pressed his advantage too hard, del Sarto might escape from his obligation indirectly. It was therefore arranged that two more frescos

[1] Tantalus in the lower regions was represented at one of the club dinners. Vas. XII. 16.

[2] See Vas. XI. 204. and annot. ibi.

should be furnished in the SS. Annunziata for a better price than that which had hitherto been conceded, and their completion was probably left indefinite as to time. It is hardly to be doubted that at this juncture, as Vasari says, part of the refectory of the Vallombrosans at S. Salvi was adorned with figures of saints, that an Annunciation was done at the corner of Orsanmichele, and that two or three altarpieces were delivered at the same period. The first of these are so like the frescos of S. Philip at the Servi, that they must date immediately after them. They represent two cardinal saints, SS. Giovanni Gualberto, and Benedict, resting on clouds in a blue sky; and they are the ornament of a vaulted recess in which Andrea many years later, placed a Last Supper.[1] The Annunciation, at the corner of Orsanmichele, is all but obliterated.[2]

A fine and fairly preserved "Christ appearing as a gardener to the Magdalen", ordered by the monks of S. Gallo, is said to exist in a private church belonging to the Covoni in Casentino, finished cotemporarily with an Annunciation in the same monastery which is now at the Pitti.[3] The angel, in the latter, seems to have dropped slowly from heaven on a cloud, and to have surprised the Virgin at her desk. His mien is calm and composed, and the mode in which he is presented recalls Fra Bartolommeo in the altarpiece intended for S. Pietro at Murano. But the movement and lines, though soft and gentle, are unconstrained and free, as in Del Sarto's own creation, the Nativity at the Servi. The Virgin is most dignified in air and pose. Decorum and grave beauty are almost as completely combined as in Della Porta. Without the emptiness which grew into a defect with

[1] Vas. VIII. 257—8. Figures life size, in fresco, tastefully coloured, reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo, and fairly preserved.

[2] There are marks of an Eternal, and of the Virgin's head, and part of angel still in existence. The rest is gone. The fragments are like the works at S. Salvi. See Vas. VIII. 258.

[3] Pitti, No. 124, once transferred from S. Gallo to S. Jacopo fra Fossi. Vas. VIII. 260. XI. 31. The flesh in the Virgin is somewhat injured. The figures are life size.

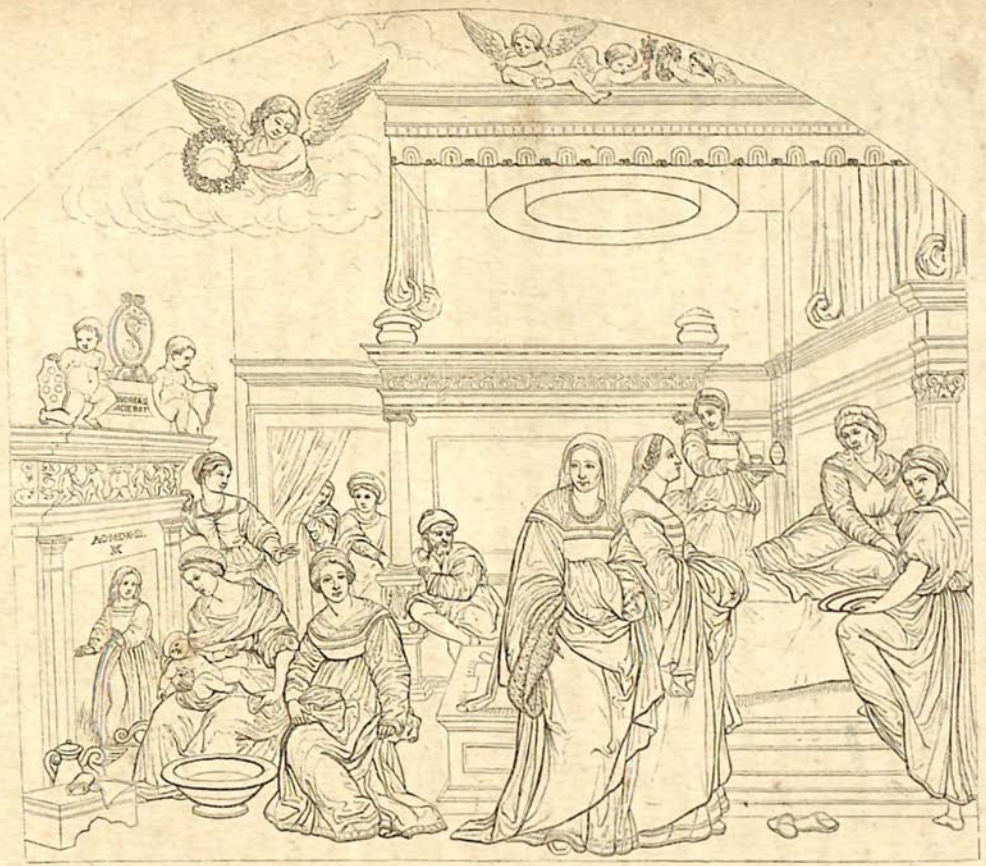
Andrea's later years, the colour is rich, and in good keeping with a landscape full of atmosphere. The lights and shadows are almost as well defined as in Mariotto and the Frate, and the handling is surprising for its lightness and ease. All that is wanting to entitle the painter to an equal rank by the side of the masters we have named, is the scientific correctness of form and chiaroscuro. We ascertain the exact date of this panel from the fact. that the predella was entrusted to Pontormo who entered the atelier at the Sapienza in 1512, and left it in 1513.[1]

If, in 1510, Andrea deserved already to be called one of the best executants in fresco of his day; in 1512, he might fairly be adjudged excellent in the practise of oil. Nor is there any reason to doubt but that this excellence was willingly admitted. Amongst the acquaintances made during the study of the cartoons of Michael Angelo and Leonardo in the papal hall at Florence, Baccio Bandinelli is to be numbered. His designs had been praised so highly by his comrades and other judges for their boldness and decision that his vanity claimed a place abreast of Buonarotti. Anxious to add to this quality that of a good colourist on panel, he asked Andrea del Sarto to take his portrait, hoping, in the event of his consenting, to secure a good likeness and to surprise the newest tricks of the profession. Vasari amusingly dwells on the indignation of Del Sarto at this mixture of cunning and deceit in Bandinelli, and affirms that Andrea kept Baccio so long sitting he could not learn any of the desired secrets.[2] The story, apart from its illustration of Baccio's character clearly proves the respect felt by Andrea's cotemporaries for his power as an easel-painter.

Towards the end of 1511, and during the two following years, Del Sarto was occasionally busy in finishing a Nativity of the Virgin, and a Procession of the Magi, in the court of the Servi, and two parables in the garden of the same convent. With the help of Andrea Feltrini and

[1] Vas. VIII. 260. XI. 30. Pontormo's predella is gone.

[2] Vas. VIII. 265. and X. 297.



THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN; a fresco by Andrea del Sarto, in the SS. Annunziata dei Servi at Florence.

his own pupil Pontormo he got up the cars for a triumph with which the elevation of Leo the Tenth to the Papacy was celebrated in the early part of 1513. All Florence was in excitement at the return of the Medici. But neither his professional occupations nor the vicissitudes of politics were of interest to Del Sarto in comparison with one particular pursuit to which his attention was most exclusively devoted. He had long been under the charm of a lovely hatter's wife whose husband Carlo Recanati had a shop in the Via S. Gallo. The death of the latter gave Del Sarto an opportunity which he is said to have long desired. He married Lucretia del Fede, and according to Vasari took a very beautiful but very faithless partner to his side.[1] Lucretia, it is certain, was of a most overbearing and intermeddling temper; and her treatment of Andrea's apprentices, Vasari amongst the number, is perhaps the cause why her character has been depicted in a most unfavorable light. It is not said, indeed, that Pontormo left his master because Lucretia teased him; but there is no doubt that this occurred immediately after Andrea's marriage in 1513.[2]

As regards Andrea himself, it cannot be affirmed that his new state contributed in any sense to impair the talents with which he had been gifted. On the contrary, there are no examples of success in his whole lifetime equal to that which his two last frescos in the court of the Servi obtained.

A glance at the annexed engraving of the Nativity will show that he really possessed the eminence that was conceded to him as a composer. Consistently in the path which had been opened with the incidents from the legends of S. Philip, the great art of appropriately disposing figures is applied. You see two principal groups occupying the chief places, and bound to each other by the

[1] The marriage ceremony was performed on the 26th of December 1512. Biadi in Reumont, ub. sup. Life of Del Sarto, note to p. 54.

[2] See Vas. I. 3. VIII. 262. 263. XI. 30. 32. XII. 49—51.

brooding Joachim who moodily sits, as if carved by Michael Angelo, in the background. S. Anna is the centre of attraction in the group on the right, the infant Virgin that of the group to the left. The dimpled faces of the females in attendance, and the grave dignity in the gait and air of the two visitors are those which we admire in Leonardo and Domenico Ghirlandaio. There is an excessive freedom and natural appearance in the movements and full developed forms which tell of the progress of the age and the influence of Fra Bartolommeo. The proportions are good, the outlines sweeping. The action is varied and expressive, the draperies full and excellent in cast. The perfect fusion and more than usually successful contrast of light and shade suggest the presence of real flesh and blood,[1] the handling being more than ever faultless, and producing transparence without objectionable thicknesses of surface. Richness and relief are united with finished modelling. What Da Vinci produced with oils in the Mona Lisa, seems realized by Andrea del Sarto with fresco. In the subdued yet gay tones peculiar to himself, he gives sweet chords of harmony with none of the glare of the primaries, yet without the excessive soberness of tertiaries. There is a calm depth of atmosphere over all, in the upper mist of which cherubs disport with charming vivacity.[2] In short, the Nativity is on the highest level ever reached in fresco. There is only more "bravura" in the Last Supper of S. Salvi, or in the Madonna del Sacco.

Yet, as every object in life has its unfavorable side, this masterpiece has also its defects. We miss in its complex the strong control which is usual in Fra Barto-

[1] Vasari truly says so (VIII. p. 259).

[2] The colour in the upper arch of this fresco is somewhat eaten away by time, or absorbed by the plaster. There is a constant contrast of warm light with cool shadow. The flesh of a pearly grey in the darker places. On the mantel shelf one sees the arms of the Medici held by a child, and on an ornament the words: "Andreas faciebat". Between the pilasters one reads: AD. MDXIIII. and beneath is the double A interlaced, which is Andrea's usual monogram.

lommeo, Raphael, and Leonardo. Domenico Ghirlandaio accustoms us to a serene severity in the presentation of such scenes as these. Leonardo and Michael Angelo added what was necessary to create modern art in its technical improvements, its select ideal in elegance of action and shape. Fra Bartolommeo had his part in this striving which was crowned with final success by Raphael. Andrea del Sarto who gave the last polish to fresco, introduced the germ of a licence which soon became very marked. The variegated aspect of his tints, which is already apparent even in his Nativity, becomes offensive by excess. Masaccio, who was the colourist of his age and who forestalled it as regards atmosphere and chiaroscuro, kept to a stern simplicity of key. Fra Bartolommeo already shows us how surfaces can be broken especially in shadow, by intricate interweaving of tints. This principle was carried out with still greater frequency by Del Sarto, who thus rivalled the Frate in giving a new feature to Florentine painting. But they inaugurated a system which was soon to be productive of evil by substituting artificial effect to the study of nature. This evil arose in Del Sarto probably from the attempt to work on panel with the same fluid vehicle as on lime, using the underground as a means for transparence. But in this attempt the speed with which he laboured placed him at a disadvantage, and for that and other reasons he remains far below Leonardo. Thus it happened at Florence that the very reverse occurred from that which we note in Venice. In Florence, fresco was carried to far greater excellence than oil-painting because its use was most common. The Venetians transferred the technical methods usual to them from canvass to wall, and failed almost invariably in the trial.

As Jacopo da Empoli sat in the court of the Servi copying the Nativity of Del Sarto (about the year 1570), an old lady, who had evidently come to mass, stopped by his easel and began talking to him. She pointed out one of the figures in the fresco as a likeness of Andrea's

wife, and, as she warmed over this theme, revealed herself to Jacopo as Lucretia del Fede.[1] The person most like Del Sarto's spouse is the female in the centre of the foreground, whose type and face her husband, with or without intention, repeated from this time forward in almost all his Madonnas. She was a full matronly woman of fine proportions, of whom we have the lineaments in a fine portrait by Andrea at the Berlin Museum,[2] though not perfectly coinciding in every respect with a second in the Museum of Madrid.[3] She must have had some considerable amount of patience to sit, as she so frequently did, to her better half.

Simultaneously with those of the Nativity of the Virgin, Andrea had made the cartoons of the Procession of the Magi, intended as an amplification of the Nativity of Christ by Baldovinetti. With great activity and ready movements in the crowd of kings accompanied by their court and suite, with sufficient dignity in the several parts, this fresco is done with a still more running hand, but with less chastened sentiment than its companion. Perhaps the wish to contrast staid and modest bearing in females, of which the Nativity chiefly consists, with bravery and energy in males, of which the Procession is exclusively composed, had something to do with the self-confident swing generally prevalent in the figures. The result only confirms the impression previously created. Amongst the king's followers, to the left of Sansovino who stands with the musician Ajolle on the right foreground, is the likeness of Andrea del Sarto, by himself; the same in features as another at the Uffizi which Vasari engraved for his Lives. The face is regular; it is that

[1] Baldinucci. Opere ub. sup. Life of Jacopo da Empoli.

[2] Berlin Museum, No. 240 (wood, oil, life size).

[3] Madrid. No. 664 (according to the catalogue of 1850). This portrait is very fine, dignified, and noble in pose, but deprived of much transparence by restoring. The form is given with some of Leonardo's precision. The matronly shape and squareness of Lucretia is not in this portrait, which is one of the best by Del Sarto.

of a man of robust constitution but far from refined, and in this respect a reflex of Del Sarto's individuality. It neither suggests the elevation of Leonardo, nor the polish of Raphael, nor the grand force of Michael Angelo. Without the feeling for gorgeous tone peculiar to Titian, but with a sense of vapour akin to Correggio's, he is well described as almost "divine" in his mode of colouring. Born a painter, according to Vasari,[1] he was versatile as a composer, with a tendency to conventionalism because he overlooked the variety required in the treatment of different objects, such as flesh, cloth, wood, stones, leaves, and sky. But he was homely even in his energy because he had not the breed of his great rivals. We have spoken of the portrait at the Uffizi. It is on a tile hastily but freely laid in at a late period of the master's life.[2] There is a much finer one in possession of the Marquis Campana, who purchased it from the Capponi family at Florence. Here we have the same general contour, shape of bone, and character of the head, as in the Procession of the Magi at the Servi. Though much restored, it unquestionably resembles that of the Uffizi, and is undoubtedly by Andrea himself, when aged about thirty.[3]

The frescos of the Servi having been finished in 1514, were uncovered at the same time as the Sposalizio of Francia Bigio.[4] Those of the Servi garden which have perished, and others of inferior interest, were no doubt completed at the same period.[5] We do not know when

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[1] Vas. VII. 7. VIII. 251—2.

[2] Uffizi, No. 280. The face is vulgar, and the dress neglected, the colour thick, opaque and reddish in flesh. Fresco.

[3] Mr. Reumont mentions this portrait, which he had seen in the house of the Marquis Vincenzo Capponi at Florence. On the back of the panel, we are told, are the words: "p°. 1518." The face is turned 3/4 to the left. The head adorned with long hair of pleasing curl falling from a black cap, the white chemisette covered by a dark silk vest with violet sleeves. On the green ground the double A interlaced. Life size, oil, wood. The face and hair much repainted.

[4] The whole sum promised to A. del Sarto for the frescos was 98 florins. He received a bonus of 42 florins in addition (annot. Vas. 257).

[5] There are records of part payment for the "Procession of the Magi" on the 12th of December,

the head of Christ on the high altar, which Vasari praises so much, and which in a great measure deserves his encomiums, was done.[1] It is known that the Assumption for which he contracted in June (16th) 1515, was afterwards carried out by Pontormo.[2] The Brotherhood of the Scalzo had overbid the brethren of the SS. Annunziata, and Del Sarto had been induced to promise the continuation of the monochromes, of which a solitary example had been furnished so many years before.

Before November 1515 he had finished there the allegory of Justice, and the Sermon of S. John in the desert, in which the simplicity and repose of the composition distinctly recall Domenico Ghirlandaio, whilst some of the personages about the saint who preaches from a stump in the centre of the space, have a wildness and angular drapery that betray a sudden and passing change in the spirit of the artist. It was the time in which the engravings of Dürer's Passion, first published in 1511, had found their way to Italy, and received a genuine tribute of admiration. Del Sarto was tempted to imitate them, and surrendered some of his old Florentine simplicity, in order to assume a broken system of line, and an unnatural exhibition of strong action and muscular force.

1511 and for the "Nativity" on the 25th of the same month. Also an item for work in the garden in June 25th, 1512, and a further notice of the same kind in June 1513. The date of 1514 on the Nativity, and the statement of Vasari (IX. 98) that that fresco as well as that of the Magi and the Sposalizio of Francia Bigio was uncovered at one time are conclusive as to when this series at the Servi was finished (see annot. Vas. VIII. 259 to 260 and 301). There are two panels in the collection of Mr. Fuller Maitland which seem copies of Andrea's frescos in the garden. They are by Nanaccio.

The other frescos at the Servi were in the Novitiate, now part of the Academy of Arts. No. 61 of that gallery is a naked Christ on the tomb, life size, very easily handled and transparent: The other piece is an interior in monochrome; in a room used as an infirmary for women (Vas. VIII. 275).

[1] The head is of a warm pleasing tone, of a fine mould for Del Sarto. The hands are crossed on the breast (wood, oil, life size). Another head of Christ (? a replica), on canvass, in the same place, is missing, having been sold (Vas. VIII. 279—80).

[2] See the record in Vasari (annot. VIII. 302).

As he brought these frescos to a close, the news of Leo the Tenth's coming spread through Florence; and unusual efforts were required, considering the shortness of the notice, to get ready the triumphal arches and other decorations with which that event was celebrated. Del Sarto and his friends, Jacopo Sansovino and Rustici, concerted measures with extraordinary decision; and the two first were thus enabled to produce a gigantic model of the front of S. Maria del Fiore, which Leo only wished he could have seen carried out in stone with equal readiness.[1]

Resuming his duties at the Scalzo immediately after, he laid the borders round the "Baptism of Christ", the "Justice", and the "Sermon"; and at midsummer 1517, he gave the final touches to "S. John baptizing in the desert", and the "Capture"; both of them animated scenes, full of exuberant strength, and well balanced groups, but slightly mannered in the drawing.[2]

In the meanwhile, and in order to vary the monotony of labour at monochromes, he did for S. Francesco of Florence the Virgin and child with S. Francis, S. John Evangelist and two angels, now in the Gallery of the Uffizi. In the young and handsome Virgin seated on a very high pedestal, the study of a good model is as evident as that of a coarse one is betrayed in the vulgar realism of the S. Francis. The Evangelist, on the contrary, is full of feeling and of a mild character well deserving praise. Nothing can exceed the harmonious vagueness of the misty tone which bathes and almost obliterates the outlines. For fusion and transparent gaiety of colour, Del Sarto was never more remarkable. But the striking feature here is not so much that the picture is a masterpiece as that we find the painter adapting his means to his subject with astonishing versatility. At the

[1] Vas. VIII. 267. In the spring of 1516 (March 17.) Del Sarto was employed at the funeral of Giuliano de' Medici. Vas. IX. 112.

[2] See the records in annot. Vas. VIII. 302. 3. and Vasari himself ib. 264.

very moment that he surprises us in the Scalzo by strength and energy, he drops into an excessive softness in the handling and tinting of a quiet scene on panel.

In order to show at the same time that he was at home in every mood, he accepted a commission from the monastery of S. Gallo, and thought out the noble altarpiece of the Uffizi: "the Fathers disputing on the Doctrine of the Trinity", in every line of which stern power and boldness are discerned. Yet as usual there is abundance of the atmosphere and vapour which are now his peculiar characteristics. He seems at this moment to have been looking at some of Fra Bartolommeo's latest emanations, such as the solitary S. Vincent, now at the Academy, or some statues of Michael Angelo; for the masks are expressive and resolute, the attitudes are grandiose, the forms well proportioned, weighty and nobly draped.

Michael Angelo is said to have expressed a high opinion of Andrea del Sarto, amongst others to Raphael, to whom he is reported to have observed: "There is a little fellow in Florence (meaning Andrea) who will bring sweat to your brow, if ever he is engaged in great works."[1] That they knew each other, is certain, because it was Buonarotti who took young Vasari to Del Sarto's shop in 1524;[2] and Andrea for a period was a fanatic admirer of his style. We see this not only in the "Dispute on the Trinity", but in a Charity at the Louvre, and a Pietà in the Belvedere at Vienna, both of which were fruits of the year 1518, and one of them produced at a distance from Florence.

Before the close of 1516, Giovambattista Puccini, a dealer, had bought from Andrea del Sarto a dead Christ mourned by three angels, which, with little satisfaction to the author, had been engraved by Agostino Veniziano.[3] This picture having been sent to the French court attracted attention, and created a demand for others. The subsequent despatch of a Madonna to

[1] Bocchi. Bellezze di Firenze, in annot. Vas. VIII. 293.

[2] Vas. I. 3. XII. 49 and 204.

[3] Vas. VIII. 265. 6. IX. 279. The

Paris and its sale for a large profit raised the reputation of Del Sarto still higher, and an agent was instructed by Francis the First, in the spring of 1518, to sound the artist as to his inclination for an engagement in his capital.[1] The prospect was too enticing to be resisted, and Andrea, leaving wife and kith and kin behind, started about June for France, furnished with ample means for his journey, and in company of his assistant Sguazzella.[2] His reception, and the rich presents of money and clothes made to him on arrival, were well calculated to inflame his zeal, and he was employed forthwith on a likeness of the babe dauphin,[3] for which the king gave a purse of three hundred gold pieces.[4]

Amongst the productions of this time none is more important as showing Andrea's leaning towards Buonarotti, than the "Charity" which now hangs in the collection of the Louvre.[5] Though it has lost much beauty of colour, it was evidently done with Andrea's most consummate art, the style being more seriously considered than that of the Madonna of 1517. The maxims of Michael Angelo are applied with a determined purpose, so as to be obvious not only in the conception, the arrangement and action, but in the grandeur of the forms, the way in which motion is suggested, and the drawing of the parts. We are reminded of nothing so much as of the Madonna, with the child at her breast, left unfinished by Michael Angelo in the Medici chapel at S. Lorenzo of Florence. There is no other creation of this period so like this one, as the Pietà at the Belvedere in Vienna, where the dead Christ lying on the foreground, is bewailed by the Vir-

print is dated 1516. See also Reumont's life of Del Sarto, ub. sup. p. 92. The original panel is missing.

[1] Vas. VIII. 268. 270.

[2] He started after May; for, on the 23d of that month, he acknowledges the receipt of 150 florins from Bartolommeo del Fede as payment of the dowry brought him by Lucretia. See annot. Vas. VIII. 303, and Vas. himself, VIII. 270—1.

[3] Born Febr. 28. 1518.

[4] Vas. VIII. 271.

[5] Louvre, No. 437, wood, transferred to canvass, oil, figures large as life, inscribed: "Andreas Sartus Florentinus me pinxit MDXVIII". There is an old copy of this Charity in the Museum of Nantes.

gin and two angels. The effort made by Andrea in this piece to realize despairing lamentation, is accompanied by no refinement. There is nothing ideally select in the shape of the Redeemer or in the face of his mother; but the naturalism of the nude, the correctness of the drawing and modelling, and the intensity given to the expression of grief, are so genuine that whilst we miss the instinctive dignity of the period of Giotto and Angelico, the nobleness of Masaccio and Ghirlandaio, the elegance of Leonardo and Fra Bartolommeo, and the elevation of Raphael, we still find much to admire and to praise, the more as the colour is still brilliant and powerful.[1]

Whilst Del Sarto was thus charming his new patrons with these and other masterpieces,[2] his wife was spending a solitary time at Florence, and wrote letters urging her husband to return. The tenderest fibres of Andrea's heart were moved by her prayers, and he asked for leave, promising a speedy return. Francis acceded to this application, and even trusted Del Sarto with funds for buying works of art in Italy. But his confidence was betrayed by Andrea in the most unpardonable manner.

Having squandered his own and the king's money at Florence in the building of a house, Andrea found himself unable to make the necessary purchases, and dreading his patron's anger, he was forced to remain at home. How he succeeded in escaping punishment for his breach of trust, is a mystery unexplained to the present day; and it is characteristic of the condition of morals in that age, if we admit the truth of Vasari's history which was never impugned, that Andrea suffered little in position or in purse from an offence that might have been productive to him of the most serious consequences.

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[1] Belvedere. Flor. School. Room 4. No. 23. Wood, figures under life size, inscribed: "And.Sar.Flo. fac." a little empty in the shadows and injured by old cleaning and retouching. There are two copies of this Pietà in England. One belongs to Mr. Farrer, the other to Mrs. Butler Johnstone. See postea, the register at the close.

[2] For a list of these see postea.

In 1520, Del Sarto, no longer thinking of his French connection, and evidently secure from all pursuit, resumed his business at Florence, and renewed his old relations with the Brotherhood of the Scalzo. In 1520, he composed the allegories of Faith and Charity in that cloister, and would have continued the series, but that he was called away by more powerful patrons.

Ottaviano de' Medici having been charged by cardinal Giulio, as we have related, to put the country palace of Poggio a Caiano in order, engaged Francia Bigio, Pontormo and Del Sarto to paint frescos there, and Andrea undertook the "Cæsar receiving tribute". The half of that subject which he completed, is imposing by the variety and richness of episodes like those with which we become familiar in the canvasses of Paul Veronese. It is not so much a composition as a lively and picturesque scene in which great difficulties of perspective are overcome in the representation of circular lines of buildings and steps, and in the position of figures in various planes. Cæsar stands at an arched gate to which various personages ascend with their tribute. One carries a cage full of parrots, another leads a string of Indian sheep, a third ascends with a monkey; a dwarf comes with a chameleon in a box. A statue of Abundance is on a pedestal to the right.

A man capable of doing this, must be strongly endowed with the pictorial spirit, specially organized for depicting showy incidents of pomp and wealth; quick in execution and versatile in the invention of groups. It is almost needless to mark in addition that Del Sarto's drawing is resolute and free, his knowledge of the human frame in every aspect solid, his action ready and suitable, and his transitions of light and shade properly defined. The gay variety of his colours looks to much advantage at Poggio a Caiano by the side of the bricky tones with which the feebler Allori finished the "Tribute." Compared with Francia Bigio, Del Sarto is playful, genial,

pleasing, and in every sense superior. Both are far above Pontormo.[1]

The death of Leo the Tenth having interrupted the laying out of this country palace, Andrea returned to the decoration of the Scalzo, where he furnished, at successive intervals, the Dance of the daughter of Herodias, the Martyrdom of John the Baptist, the Presentation of the head, the Allegory of Hope, and the Apparition of the angel to Zachariah, the last of which was uncovered and paid for on the 22nd of August 1523. Perhaps we owe to the same period the two pictures illustrative of the life of Joseph, now at the Pitti. They are assigned to the year 1523 by Mr. von Reumont with a better insight than we can obtain into the history of the Borgherini family, for whose palace in Florence they were done.[2]

Pier' Francesco Borgherini namely was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Ruberto Accaiuoli, and his father Salvi had conceived the idea of preparing for the young pair on their wedding-day a room entirely decorated with panels, and a nuptial bed painted by the best artists. The taste with which his orders were carried out, was so remarkable that Vasari never lets an occasion pass without mentioning the masterpieces which the place contained; and he dwells with complacency on the carved work of Baccio d'Agnolo and the subjects introduced by Del Sarto, Granacci, Pontormo, and Bacchiacca. But the most striking testimony to their value is afforded by the fact that during Pier Francesco's absence at the time of the siege of Florence, Giovambattista della Palla, an agent of the king of France, persuaded the Florentine government to let him have the spoils of the palace situated in the Borgo S. Apostolo,

[1] On the base of the fresco: "Anno dñi MDXXI Andreas Sartius pingebat, et A. D. MDLXXXII. Alexander Allorius sequebatur". Some slight abrasions have been caused by time, especially in the sky which is much discoloured. Vasari had the drawing of the subject by Andrea in his portfolio and describes it as the most finished by him that he had ever seen.

[2] Reumont's Life of Del Sarto, ub. sup. 132. 3. Andrea del Sarto competed here with Granacci, Pontormo and Bacchiacca. See Vas. VI. 52. VIII. 268. IX. 220. XI. 43. 44.

his intention being to strip the walls and send the confiscated pieces to Francis the First. He was met with firm countenance in the precincts themselves by the wife of Pier Francesco, who loudly addressed him with the volubility of her sex: "Vile broker", she said, "paltry two-penny salesman, how dare you come to remove the ornaments of gentlemen's rooms, and deprive this city of its richest treasures, that they may embellish the houses of strangers, our enemies. The bed you have come for was made for my wedding, in honour of which my husband's father Salvi prepared all this magnificent and royal furniture, which I am fond of, and intend to preserve and defend in memory of him with the last drop of my blood." With this and much more the worthy descendant of the Acciaiuoli received the dealer of the king of France, and to such purpose that he retired crestfallen and empty-handed to his own lodgings.[1] Subsequent vicissitudes dispersed the contents of the Borgherini palace, as we perceive, to public galleries. Andrea del Sarto's part consists of two pictures, in which the various incidents of Joseph's dreams, the conspiracy of his brothers, the captivity in Egypt, the interpretation of the vision of the kine to Pharaoh are put together with a copiousness of incident, a breadth and ease of style that cause these episodes to be justly considered as extraordinarily worthy of admiration. Nor is it less remarkable to find in them, in addition to Andrea's usual atmosphere and perspective, a powerful colour with more than common vigour in its relief of light and shade.[2]

In the midst of these occupations Del Sarto could not but occasionally remember the bright days which he had spent in Paris; and he even laboured under the hallucination that he might be restored to favour if Francis the First could but see something new from his hand. He therefore proposed to himself to tempt the French mon-

[1] See Vasari's life of Pontormo. XI. 44. 5. Giov. Batt. della Palla was afterwards imprisoned and lost his life as a traitor.

[2] Pitti, Nos. 87—88. On the latter the monogram.

arch first by a Virgin with the child and saints which an Italian named Zanobi Bracci was to send through Jacques de Beaune to Paris—next by a figure of S. John the Baptist in the desert. Yet, he had scarcely finished them, than he was struck by the futility of his purpose, and the figure at least was forwarded to Ottaviano de' Medici. It was this nobleman who had employed him at Poggio a Caiano, and who now that he had no longer the power of spending the money of his relatives on artists, thought himself bound to lay out his own. He not only kept the "Baptist", which afterwards came into the Pitti, and is entitled to a high place in that collection,[1] but ordered Madonnas and portraits in considerable numbers. Of the Madonnas the fate is not known[2] any more than is that of the portrait of Giulio Cardinal de' Medici; but the Naples Museum still contains the copy, which was done for Ottaviano, of Raphael's Leo the Tenth.

That pontiff had been dead but a short time, and had been followed quickly to the grave by Adrian the Sixth, when Frederick the Second, Duke of Mantua, being on his way (1523) to Rome to pay his homage to Clement the Seventh, passed through Florence, and received hospitality in the Palazzo Medici. Amongst the jewels of art which were treasured there, not the least famous was the portrait of Leo between two cardinals by Raphael. On his arrival at Rome, Frederick asked for and obtained from the pope a present of this panel, and on his way home brought an order to Ottaviano to pack it up and send it to Mantua. Ottaviano, however, was too well aware of the value of the thing so lightly given away, to surrender it; and with the cunning of his race, he determined to keep the original and palm off a copy on the Duke. He employed Del Sarto to make this copy which was duly sent away, and was accepted not only by Frederick, but by Giulio Romano, who was in his employ. Vasari happened to be visiting the palace of Man-

[1] Pitti, No. 265. See Vas. VIII. p. 277.

[2] Vas. VIII. 277.

tua a little later with Giulio Romano; and the latter vaunted to him the beauty of the Raphael, the only one there. Vasari, who about this period had been introduced to Del Sarto, and had friendly relations with Ottaviano, was aware of the deception which had been practised, and said to Giulio: "It is very fine, but not Raphael." "How not", sharply replied the other, "do I not know it, who recognize the strokes of my own work." "You have forgotten", urged Vasari, "this is by Andrea del Sarto, as you can see from a sign that I shall show you." Upon this Giulio looked at a mark to which Vasari pointed,[1] which, had it been kept, would have prevented a long and wearisome dispute. The genuineness of the Leo at the Pitti has been questioned in favour of that in the Museum at Naples; though on the face of it the latter bears all the evidence of being taken from the former. No doubt, had Raphael been asked for a replica, he might have reproduced his own design, and yet have betrayed to us which of the two was the repetition. But in the Naples "Leo" the question presents itself more boldly. We miss in it the perfect keeping, ease, grandeur, modelling, and relief of form; the peculiar flavour of art which distinguish Sanzio from Del Sarto. The Mantuan double, of less simplicity in the outline than Raphael's, has a contour with the twang of Andrea's accent in it; chiaroscuro of comparatively little massiveness, shadows of a less mysterious depth, because imperfectly modelled. The difference lies in the variety of the principles upon which the two painters laboured. The peculiarity of their schooling produces distinct modes of handling. Andrea did not place tones over each other and fuse them together by glaze and half glaze, according to the process which Raphael had learnt from Leonardo and Perugino. His is a more immediate and rapid system, which has frequently the disadvantage of giving an air of emptiness to his works in oil. That system

[1] Vas. VIII. 282.

is applied in the Naples "Leo", where the lights are fused and bright enough to be accepted as a good imitation of Raphael, but where the shadows, owing to their viscous consistency, imperfectly fill the outlines; where the tints of the drapery generally copy those of Sanzio without their spotless unison of harmony.

That Giulio Romano, when doing the honours of Mantua to Vasari, should not have critical leisure to observe these minutiæ, and that Vasari on his part should prefer to convince him by a private sign rather than by a dissertation on styles, is quite natural. The only startling thing is Giulio's assertion "that he had a share in Raphael's Leo the Tenth", a fact which no one could have believed, especially at the time of the incident which has just been related, but which, if admitted, woud show how much better a subordinate can work under the supervision of his superior than when he is alone.

Independently of the internal proofs to which our attention has been devoted, there is testimony of a subordinate kind not to be undervalued in discussing the comparative genuineness of the Neapolitan and Florentine pieces. In favour of the former we usually find a couple of lines quoted which are undoubtedly to be read on the back of the panel. These lines run: "P. Leon X. mã di Rafaelo d'Urbino. Gio. battã bṫoluzzo. A. N. (Agostino Nerone)." In the Gallery of Naples however, another picture is known to have the same inscription, and that is the Madonna della Gatta by Giulio Romano, which no one except Vasari (once by an oversight) ever attributed to Raphael.[1]

The sudden appearance of the plague in Florence and its neighbourhood now drove Del Sarto, amongst others, out of his usual place of abode; and his patron Antonio Brancacci having got him a commission from the nuns of S. Piero at Luco in Mugello, he migrated thither with his wife and a heavy suite of relatives in the spring and

[1] Vasari assigns this very Madonna correctly to Giulio (Vol. X. p. 94) and incorrectly to Raphael (XI. 249).

summer of 1524. The fruits of his stay there were a Pietà, now at the Pitti, a Visitation, and a head of Christ like that on the altar of the Servi.[1] In the Pietà we have Del Sarto's version of the incident so ably depicted by Perugino and by Fra Bartolommeo. The dead Redeemer is raised at the shoulders by the Evangelist, his arm held up by the Virgin. The Magdalen bends over the feet, and wrings her hands whilst, in rear of her, S. Catherine looks on. Behind the two latter, S. Peter, his body thrown forward and his arms open, expresses grief and horror with tragic, if not with noble, action and features. S. Paul near the Evangelist, forms a counterpoise to S. Peter. This is a fine example of Del Sarto's versatility, a composition according to the correct rules, very dramatic and powerful, in which even the merit of originality cannot be denied. It has neither the severe grandeur of the Frate, nor the serene calmness of Perugino. But the Michaelangelesque fibre in it shows strength; and the cleverness with which Andrea presents a scene, in its movements forcible, yet human and familiar, in its expression realistic, yet sufficiently elevated, is greatly to be praised.[2]

On del Sarto's return to Florence in autumn, the Visitation at the Scalzo, a very fine unit in the number of his monochromes, was followed by an equally fine Madonna and saints at the Pitti, the predella of which, containing portraits of his acquaintance Beccuccio Biccherai da Gambassi, is missing.[3] Then came a series of five saints of good type and of elegant and lifelike shapes, intended for the church of the Madonna di S. Agnese, but at

[1] The Visitation and the head of Christ are now missing (see Vas. VIII. 279).

[2] Pitti, No. 58. On the foreground Andrea's monogram (wood, oil, figures life size). The payment for this piece and for the Visitation (80 ducats) is printed in com. Vas. VIII. 305; the date being Oct. 11. 1524. A predella, said to have remained at Luco, has not been seen by the authors. Vasari relates how the whole altarpiece narrowly escaped being carried off by the freebooter Armaciotto de' Ramazzotti (1529—30) who wanted an ornament to his chapel at S. Michele in Bosco of Bologna.

[3] Pitti, No. 307. Wood, oil, figures all but life size. The Virgin and child in the clouds are adored by the kneeling SS. John the Baptist and Magdalen, the standing SS. Sebastian, Roch, Law-

present in the cathedral, of Pisa; figures of such a misty vagueness in their colouring that they remind us instantly of Correggio, though graver and more contained in mien than those of Antonio generally.[1]

In 1525, Andrea was employed with Bugiardini in making cartoons for the balustrade of the tribune or "ringhiera" of the Palace of the Signori at Florence,[2] but his masterpiece in that year was the lunette fresco in the cloisters of the Servi known all over the world as the Madonna del Sacco. Vasari, enraptured, says of it: "that for drawing, grace, and beauty of colour, for liveliness and relief, no artist had ever done the like";[3] and no doubt it is Andrea's best, producing an impression of life which is only proper to works of the highest order. There is no denying that a masculine stamp is given to the youthful and thoughtful yet inspired Virgin, as well as to the form of the child. Yet, this in no wise diminishes their grandiose effect. The centre of vision is appropriately chosen for the high place in which the subject is introduced. The grouping is scientific, the attitudes are noble, the drapery admirably calculated to show off the frames, and the balance of light and shadow is perfect. The excellence which Del Sarto here attained was never surpassed, and though we have two noble spe-

rence and another. This is a fine easily handled work of the master, of well fused tones.

[1] These five saints are all on wood, and life size. S. John with the cross kneeling and pointing upwards (restored by pointing); S. Catherine with a palm, S. Margaret with a little cross, both very grand and in good attitudes; S. Peter much injured by repainting, S. Agnes in lively action. These were all taken into the Pisa Duomo in 1618. Four are at the sides of the high altar; the S. Agnes on a pilaster in the transept.

[2] 1525. Libro' de Stanziamenti de' Signori, Collegi e otto di Balià e custodia dal 1521 al 1527.

1525. October 14.

"Item stantiaverunt . . . . che i Massai e Cassieri di Camera dieno e paghino al camarlingo della camera dell' arme fiorini venti larghi d'oro in oro, che sono per dargli et pagare a maestro Andrea d'Arrigho (? d'Angelo) dipintore per parte del prezzo del cartone che lui fa del disegno delle spallicre della ringhiera del palazzo de' nostri eccelsi signori, per essere quelle che di presente si adoprano consumate e guaste, e disonorevole alla nostra città.

Favoured by G° Milanesi., and see Vas. VIII. 287 and foll°.

[3] Vas. VIII. 284.

THE MADONNA DEL SACCO: a fresco by A. del Sarto, in the SS. Annunziata de' Servi at Florence

cimens in the Birth of S. John (1526) at the Scalzo, and the Last Supper at S. Salvi (1526—7), they are not superior, if indeed they are equal, to the Madonna del Sacco.[1]

The birth of S. John was the latest fresco by Andrea in the cloister where he had competed with Francia Bigio.[2] Adding to the series at intervals only, and finishing the last, eleven years after the first, he gives us leisure to examine in one place the expansion and the changes of his style. We see in the Sermon of S. John something that reminds us of the grave Ghirlandaio; and, simultaneously, traces of the influence of a great foreign master. The action of Dürer upon Andrea's mind remains apparent in the "Baptism of the Proselytes" and in "S. John before Herod" inducing him to indulge in energetic and forcible developments of movement. The "Apparition of the Angel to Zachariah" illustrates the return to a simpler and more natural mood in an Italian, and prepares us for the greater breadth and boldness of the Madonna del Sacco.[3] The two remaining monochromes are good and interesting as compositions.[4] At S. Salvi the Last Supper completes a decoration begun a long time before. It appropriately adorns the refectory and is calculated to be seen at a burst on entering the door. At that distance and from that spot the reality of the thing is striking, the Saviour and the apostles all sitting at a long table in a room, at the middle window of which

[1] The colour of the Madonna del Sacco is a little bleached by time. On a piece of skirting in the right side one reads: "Anno Dom. M. . . . . V. . ." and in a similar place at the opposite corner: "Quē genuit adoravit".

[2] Vas. com. VIII. 306.

[3] This fresco is inscribed: "I. A. D. M. . . XXI. . . . There is a canvass replica of this subject in monochrome, together with another representing the Baptism of the crowd, in possession of the Duca Corsini at the Porta al Prato in Florence. They are boldly done though we cannot say without further study whether we consider them to be by A. del Sarto or not. They were so called when catalogued Nos. 160 and 168 in the Rinuccini gallery.

[4] The whole series is much discoloured and injured by cleaning; the lower parts more especially in bad condition, and the base modern. Some of the tricks played on them are related in a note to Vas. VIII. 253.

two persons converse. On a nearer view the scenic nature of the handling and the mannered outlines betray the artist's trick. The effect of nature is produced by the able complex of distribution grouping and diversified attitude. The types are characteristic of the age and habit of the men represented, whose faces all seem portraits. To this are superadded, colour, in every wave of which there is light, plasticity and air. It is marvellous how the shadows cast by the figures, and the parts in them, turned away from the light, keep their value; how the variegated tints preserve their harmony. The action is every where true, the drapery of grand and simple cast, but sculptural in the flattened aspect of its relief.[1] The Saviour, at the centre of the table puts his hand on that of S. John Evangelist, towards whom his face is bent. In the right he holds the bread in the direction of Judas who sits by him. This is a group in which all Andrea's faults and qualities are combined. A supreme ideal of goodness, depth of noble thought are not to be found in the Redeemer who is a man of no very select form. His movement is essentially that of an ordinary mortal; and in every other instance, where we hope for refinement, we fail to discover it, yet the apostles at the ends of the table are admirably bound in questioning converse; and there is decorum in them all, if high breed be lacking.

In comparing Del Sarto with Leonardo we thus find the essential difference which exists between the two men, and a key to their inner organization. We should say from the contemplation of the Cena at Milan that the painter is high bred. Looking at that of S. Salvi that he is accustomed to lowly company. Both in their parts yielded something that was original and great; but Andrea, knowing his own strength and capacity, chose his ground accordingly, and for his success under these conditions he is entitled to thanks.[2] If we contrast the

[1] In this a reaction from Fra Bartolommeo.

[2] One or two heads, that of the fourth apostle to the right side of

magnificent fresco of S. Salvi with the sketch of it which is now in the Gallery at Oxford, we cannot but be surprised anew at the power of Del Sarto. The panel is a counterpart of the fresco without the people at the window, painted in oil with the utmost ease, extraordinarily full of life, but particularly charming for the transparence and harmony of its colour.

The last years of Del Sarto were taken up exclusively with the completion of altarpieces in all of which we shall trace an unmistakeable grandeur of style together with increasing facility of hand and mannerism in outlines. One of his last public duties was the representation of certains outlaws on the Piazza del Podestà at Florence in 1530.

We shall proceed to register the works of this and earlier periods wich have not found a place in the foregoing text, premising that the painter's death took place on the 22d of January 1531.[1]

Florence. Academy of Arts. Salle des grands Tableaux. No. 59. Four saints, Michael, John the Baptist, Giovanni Gualberto, and Bernardo degli Uberti; originally in Vallombrosa (Vas. 8. 285). No. 62. Two children embracing and holding a scroll. No. 63. Predella, with scenes from the lives of the saints in No. 59. These three numbers are parts of one altarpiece, the principal figures, almost of life size (wood, oil), being grand and bold in movement, the children sprightly and full of movement, though a little mannered in outline, the predella episodes lively and forcible in the fashion of Michael Angelo. (The central Annunciation of the predella is No. 440 at the Louvre.) Inscribed between the legs of the S. Michael: "Ann. Dom. M.D.XXVIII".

Berlin Museum. No. 246. Of the same year is this fine Virgin and child amongst saints, inscribed on the steps of the throne: "Ann. Dom. MDXXVIII" (wood, oil, figures life size); the lunette

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the picture, and that of the stooping spectator at the window are a little injured by abrasion.

[1] He had been enrolled in Feb. 2. 1529 a member of the compagnia di S. Sebastiano; and in the registers of that society we find the notice of his death on the day in question. See Tav. Alfab. Vasari says that Del Sarto visited Rome. He does not say when. At any rate this could have been but a short trip, of no influence on his pictorial career (see Vas. VIII. 292. and IX. 293).

with the Virgin and angel annunciate being in Florence. (Originally done for one Giuliano Scala for some patron at Sarzana, then at Genoa; bought at last from Mr. J. Lafitte in Paris (1836) for the king of Prussia. See Vas. VIII. 285—6.)

Florence. Pitti. No. 163. Annunciation. Lunette of the foregoing, squared in canvass and injured by restoring, originally at the Servi (Vas. VIII. 286). A copy of the latter is: *Louvre.* No. 440. Annunciation.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1254. Originally at S. Giacomo Nicchio (Vas. VIII. 287). Of the same date as the above; canvass, with S. James caressing a child in the dress of a "battuto", a little dim and injured.

Florence. Pitti. No. 62. The Virgin kneels and looks at the infant Christ who smiles at her as he lies on a cloth. The youthful Baptist standing, points to the Saviour; and S. Joseph to the left leans his head on his hand. Fine and pleasing, done for Zanobi Bracci, possibly about 1521 (Vas. VIII. 275, wood, oil). The face of S. Joseph restored. Reumont (Life of Del Sarto, 130—1) speaks of a replica in the Pommersfelden collection, near Bamberg.

Same Gallery. No. 81. The Saviour, astride on the knee of the Virgin who sits on the ground, turns to the young Baptist supported by S. Elizabeth. Splendid, beautifully arranged and pleasing in types as well as in movements. Perfectly handled in Andrea's fused transparent manner. Done circa 1529, for Ottaviano de' Medici (wood, oil, Vas. VIII. 290). See postea, a copy at Dulwich.

Same Gallery. No. 266, Half length Virgin, with the child, of great feeling and graceful action, reminiscent a little in style and conception of Fra Bartolommeo.

Vasari tells in detail how Giovambattista della Palla, having authority from the king of France to order or to buy works of art, "commissioned of Del Sarto 'Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac'. Andrea produced a masterpiece in obedience to this request. You could see in the face of the old man an expression of lively faith and constancy, in obedience to which he was ready to immolate his own son. You saw him turn his head towards a beautiful boy-angel who seemed to tell him to arrest the blow. It is needless to explain the attitude and dress of the father. Isaac, naked, trembled for fear of death; his neck was tinged by the heat, the rest of his body of a fair complexion. The sheep in the thorn seemed to

live, and the clothes of Isaac on the ground were real rather than imitated. Besides, there were naked people watching a donkey at pasture, and a landscape so true, it could not be better. After the death of Andrea and the imprisonment of Gio. della Palla, this picture was purchased by Filippo Strozzi, and given by him to Alfonzo Davalos, Marquis del Vasto who placed it in his Gallery at Ischia . . . . . ."[1] "Paolo da Terrarossa, having seen a sketch of the Abraham, asked for a copy of it, which Andrea did for him in small."[2]

We have thus notice of a large and a small "Sacrifice of Abraham". Intelligence of a third is given in a letter written (Florence, October 8. 1531) by Gio. Battista Mini to Baccio Valori at Rome, in which the former announces the sale of a "quadro de l'Abram" by Andreino del Sarto for 125 ducats to James Stuart Duke of Albany.

The replicas in existence at this time are three in number, none of them worthy of the praise which Vasari heaps on the original ordered by Della Palla:

Dresden. Museum. No. 44, with the monogram. Vasari's description of the composition is well given, and need not be repeated. The execution, however, is not first rate, though it seems by Del Sarto (wood, oil, figures life size). The drawing is free and a little mannered, and the touch very bold, the colour bright, but empty in the shadows. There is much expression in the face of Isaac.

Lyons. Museum. No. 161. Carried away from Holland, and given by the Emperor Napoleon in 1811 to this Museum as a copy from Andrea del Sarto. The execution is less agreeable than at Dresden, Andrea's transparency and gaiety of colour being wanting, especially in the grey shadows; — the nude ill rendered. The authorship might be assigned to Pontormo (see de Ris, Les Musées de Province, II. 377). Wood, oil, figures life size.

Madrid. Museum. No. 837 (catalogue of 1850). Wood, oil, under life size. This may be the Terrarossa copy. It is injured, but bears the stamp of Del Sarto's own hand.

Florence. Pitti. No. 191. Assumption (wood, oil, figures life size). Left unfinished in 1531, and without the last glazes, having been ordered by Bartolommeo Pianciatichi (Vas. VIII. 274). A masterpiece for lightness, vapour and finish, and of a good sfumato.

[1] Vas. VIII. 289. [2] Ib. ib. 291.

Same Gallery. No. 225. Same subject as No. 191, and showing with what versatility Del Sarto was gifted. In this, however, there is a more quiet and orderly distribution, and something more reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. The Virgin is raised up towards heaven most gracefully, and there is an atmosphere almost like Correggio's in the glory (wood, oil, figures life size); according to the annotators of Vasari VIII. 274 originally in the Duomo of Cortona.

Same Gallery. No. 123. Virgin in glory, adored from below by four saints. Ordered of Andrea in 1529, paid for in 1531, though unfinished and completed in 1540 by Vincenzo Bonilli, who wrote the latter date on a cartellino at foot. The upper part is Del Sarto's, the lower, poor and by another hand (Vas. VIII. 288, and annot. 307. Reumont 201—2).

The foregoing having been all more or less traced to the last years of our artist, we proceed to register pieces of which the history is more obscure, classing them according to the places in which they are exhibited.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 188. Bust of a woman, genuine. No. 1147. Alleged likeness of himself, life size, youthful and full of bravura in the execution (canvass). No. 1169. Bust of a youth, called: "the commesso di Vallombrosa" (Vas. VIII. 287), but apparently a person of higher station. Completely repainted (wood, oil, life size). No. 1230. Bust of a female with a basket of spindles, paltry in style, reddish, and misty in colour, like a Bacchiacca.

Florence. Pitti. No. 97. Annunciation, originally in S. Godenzo (Vas. VIII. 260). Wood, oil, life size. S. Michael and a canonized friar form part of the scene. This injured panel is much repainted so that Andrea's hand is hardly discoverable. No. 66. Bust of a male, alleged portrait of Del Sarto (?). No. 184. Do. Do., wood, oil, fine, but robbed of its bloom. No. 118. A male and female (half lengths, wood, oil), said to be Andrea and his wife (?), not certainly by the master.

Florence. Prince Corsini. No. 11. Apollo and Daphne (wood, oil). Very careful, touched with gold, and fanciful in costumes. We are reminded of Piero di Cosimo, by the general aspect, and of Del Sarto by the execution. The name of the latter is appropriate in so far as we have here, possibly, an effort of his younger days. No. 19. Virgin, child, young Baptist and S. Joseph (wood, oil), raw, positive in tone, and damaged by restoring, by a pupil rather than by Andrea in person. Vasari mentions a panel with the same figures as having been done for Gio. Borgherini (VIII. 290). No. 8.

Virgin, child, and four angels (wood, oil), feeble in character and dark in shadow, like a Puligo. No. 22. Angel and Tobit (on copper), a copy, of which there is a counterpart in the Pitti (No. 292). Unnumbered. Virgin seated, with the child, behind them the young S. John. This is a modern imitation (wood, oil, life size) of a copy from Del Sarto's fresco near the Porta a Pinti (Vas.), now destroyed. The copy is in the third corridor at the Uffizi, without a mark (p. 24 of catalogue; see Vas. VIII. 273—4). The same composition, not by Del Sarto, to whom it is assigned, is in the Collection of the Duke of Sutherland in London. Another, like that in Stafford house, minus the young Baptist, belongs to Sir William Miles, Bart, of Leigh Court.

Florence. Galleria Ginori. Half length of S. Sebastian holding a bundle of arrows, a little exaggerated in drawing and forms, and not quite certainly by Andrea, having more impasto than is usual to him (?see Vas. VIII. 292), wood, oil.

Florence. Galleria Pianciatichi. No. 109. Bust of Baccio Valori (?), feeble and probably not original.

Rome. Galleria Barberini. The Virgin leaning against a tree, holds the child who seems to have just turned away from the breast. Her face is the usual one of Del Sarto; the child large and S. Joseph, to the left, of stern mien. Done by Andrea or under his supervision, about the time of the S. Salvi Supper, retouched, especially in the heads of the Virgin and child. There is a study of the head of S. Joseph in the Munich Pinakothek (see postea), wood, oil, life size. Two copies of the Barberini Madonna by other hands exist in the Madrid Museum, No. 788, and in the Collection of the Marquis of Westminster in London.

Rome. Palazzo Spada. Visitation, portion of a predella, with six figures in lively movement, stamped with the impress of Andrea's manner, and certainly done in his atelier.

Rome. Galleria Borghese. There are no less than seven pieces claiming to be by Del Sarto, in this gallery, all of them by his pupils or imitators.

Rome. Palazzo Corsini. Virgin and child, dated 1509, reminding of Bugiardini (see antea).

Naples. Museum. Portrait of Bramante (?), with one hand on a sheet of paper, the other grasping a pair of compasses. He shows a plan to a Duke of Urbino (?); — named Andrea del Sarto, but a mixture of Pontormo and Bronzino, and of hard outlines and cold tone.

Modena. Gallery. Virgin, child, and S. Elizabeth, with the boy S. John, two angels attending, one of them with a flute. This Holy

Family is not like that of the Pitti done for Ottaviano de' Medici (No. 81), nor is it the same as that of the National Gallery, No. 17. It is similar to one at the Belvedere in Vienna (No. 3. Ital. school room 4), under Del Sarto's name, but really by Puligo. The repetition at Modena is not even by Puligo. Of eight other panels in this gallery attributed to Del Sarto, it is needless to say more than that the nomenclature is false.

Turin. Museum. No. 207. The Virgin, seated, holds the infant erect on her lap. He turns towards the young Baptist (wood, half life size), feeble in character as in colour, and of a glossy surface, yet laid in with a certain ease; — a school copy repeating a part of a Holy Family at the Louvre (the S. Elizabeth excepted). A more modern repetition of this number, at Turin, is in the Museum at Leipzig (No. 209), another at Windsor Castle.

Rovigo. Galleria Communale. No. 30. Virgin and child, and infant Baptist, imitation of Andrea by a later painter.

Vienna. Belvedere. Ital. School. Room 4. No. 4. Archangel and Tobit attended by S. Lawrence, and to the right a kneeling Donor. Christ with his cross in the sky (arched, wood, oil, figures under life size). The colour is rich, pleasant, and sfumato. The Leonardesque smile is on every face. No. 3. The Virgin kneeling holds the child, S. Elizabeth to the right, with the young Baptist pointing to the sky. To the left two angels, one of whom plays a flute. This, which recalls Puligo, is taken from a Holy Family (No. 438) at the Louvre, in the same manner as one at the Munich Pinakothek (see No. 548). The principal group is transferred to a panel at Windsor castle, and to another at Lord Yarborough's, neither of which is original (see postea). No. 19. Portrait of a female inscribed: "an. ætat. LXXII (wood, oil, life size). She is seated with a book in her hand, fine, but restored, of a low tone and apparently a late Pontormo. No. 28. Catalogued No. 30 (by mistake). Virgin and child in a landscape, with S. Joseph, leaning on a sack (wood, oil, half life size), is perhaps by Pontormo, its colour being of a reddish, even, tinge, the figures short and fat. No. 30. Catalogued by mistake as No. 28. The Virgin kneeling holds the infant Christ who plays with the boy S. John. Distance a landscape with ruins, a well, and little figures (wood, oil, figures life size). This is either by Pontormo or by Rosso, imitating not so much Del Sarto as Francia Bigio.

Vienna. Lichtenstein Gallery, Half length of S. Sebastian, wood, oil, life size, weak, by an imitator of Del Sarto. Head of the Baptist on a plate, wood, oil, life size, of the close of the sixteenth century.

Vienna. Harrach Gallery. No. 178. Virgin, child, Baptist, and S. Joseph, wood, oil, of the decline of the Florentine school. The head of the Virgin repainted. We forbear to weary the reader with other pieces of the same kind.

Berlin Museum. Nos. 236—41. Incidents from the legend of S. Anthony of Padua (wood, oil, small), rather Umbrian than Florentine in stamp, and reminding of the brothers Zaganelli (Cotignola), particularly in respect of colour.

Munich. Pinakothek. No. 576. Bust of S. Joseph, life size, on paper (oil), same as at the Galleria Barberini, equally bold and characteristic, but extensively retouched. No. 548, wood, oil, copy, by a stranger to his school, of Andrea's Holy Family at the Louvre (No. 438), a very feeble production inferior to that at the Belvedere (No. 3. Fourth room. Ital. School). No. 544. The Virgin sitting on the ground, with the infant Christ and young Baptist. Behind the latter two angels, a piece of a comparatively recent date, very unlike Andrea. Cabinets. Nos. 582. 583. 589. 594, copies in monochrome from the Scalzo frescos, without the genuine stamp of the master.

Schleissheim. No. 1123. Named A. del Sarto, but not by him. Subject the Virgin, child, and young Baptist.

Dresden. Museum. No. 43. Marriage of S. Catherine, under a conical dais, the curtains of which are held up by angels. This is an example of Andrea imitating Fra Bartolommeo, very rich and sfumato in colour; the figures short and paltry, wood, oil. The monogram is on the border. No. 45. The dead Christ on the lap of the Virgin, by an artist of the close of the sixteenth century. No. 46. Holy Family, falsely inscribed "Andreas Sartus", by a Venetian of whom we shall have more to say at a later period. Much restored.

Brunswick. Gallery. No. 423. Virgin, child, and young S. John. Half life size, canvass, oil, rough copy, much repainted. The same composition, not catalogued, poor, but better than this of Brunswick, is on a wall in the staircase leading to the secretary's office in the Hermitage of S. Petersburg.

Stuttgart. Museum. No. 327. Small Holy Family. Imitation. No. 299. So-called portrait of Galeazzo Campi, not by a Florentine, but by a Lombard, one should think.

Madrid. Museum. No. 772. The Virgin raises her veil. The child is erect on her lap. An archangel with a book crouches at the step of the Madonna's seat to the right. S. Joseph sitting on the ground to the left, a fine pyramidal composition in a landscape, in the distance of which S. Elizabeth leads the young Bap-

tist (wood, oil). The monogram is at S. Joseph's feet. Though no longer transparent in shadows nor soft in outline, because of bad condition, this is still grand and plastic in the masses, with something in the drawing and colour that tells Pontormo was still in Del Sarto's atelier. The subject in this form seems to have been prized. There is an injured school copy of it, done at one painting, and hard of colour, but with the monogram (wood, oil), in Dudley House. A second, likewise with the monogram, not so old in appearance as that of Dudley House, but of a more milky transparence, and by a clever imitator of Del Sarto, is in the collection of Mr. Holford in London, a third, on canvass, of a later time, without signature, at Ince, near Liverpool (see postea). No. 871. Virgin and child, all but life size (wood, oil), quite in Andrea's character, but more exaggerated in forms and not quite up to his level in power. A feeble copy of this is in the Dulwich Gallery (postea). No. 788. Virgin, child, and S. Joseph (wood, oil, under life size), reduced from that of the Barberini Gallery in Rome (antea p. 579), at one painting perhaps by Salviati. There is, we have said, a repetition of the subject at Madrid in the collection of the Marquis of Westminster (postea). No. 911 (wood, oil). Virgin, child, two cherubs to the left, and to the right, in distance S. Francis in extasy at an angel playing a fiddle. This seems taken by Puligo from an original now belonging to the Marquis of Hertford, in London, of which there is also an imitation at Longford castle (postea). No. 681. Repetition of No. 911, also of the school.

Paris. Louvre: No. 439 (round, wood, oil). Holy Family, with the monogram, and inscribed: "Andrea del Sarto Florentino faciebat." The Virgin kneels in profile, behind her S. Joseph. She holds the infant Christ whilst S. Elizabeth, in front of her, has S. John in her arms. This is so completely repainted that one cannot judge of its original condition. The composition, however, is reminiscent of Fra Bartolommeo. See for replicas, not original, one in Count Sergei Stroganoff's collection at S. Petersburg, and another belonging to the Earl of Portarlington (postea, p. 587). No. 438. Holy Family (wood, oil, life size). The kneeling Virgin supporting the infant Christ who looks at S. Elizabeth, keeping back the boy Baptist. The latter points towards heaven. Two angels are behind the Virgin. Though, here, the fullest power of Andrea del Sarto is not exhibited, the panel seems to be the original of those at Vienna (*No. 3. Room. 4., Ital. sch.*, antea), at the Grosvenor Gallery (Marquis of Westminster, postea), and at Ince (postea). No. 440. *Annunciation*, supposed to be a part of the predella, No. 63, at the Florence Academy of Arts, and a copy from Andrea's *Annunciation* at the Pitti, No. 163.

Montpellier. Musée Fabre. No. 6. Virgin and child, and S. John

in the distance, by a very tame imitator of Del Sarto. No. 7. Sacrifice of Isaac, not in Andrea's manner.

Caen. Musée. No. 3. S. Sebastian. No. 4. S. Sebastian. These are not only not genuine, but it is doubtful whether they are of the Florentine school.

Nancy. Musée. No. 1. Arched, wood, oil. The angel and Tobit recalling Andrea and Fra Bartolommeo, a careful thing, perhaps by Sogliani.

Brussels. Museum. No. 698. Jupiter and Leda, a poor school-piece (? Bacchiacca).

S. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 24. Virgin and child, S. Catherine to the right, S. Elizabeth with the young S. John to the left (wood, oil, figures under life size), originally at the Malmaison, and inscribed: "Andrea del Sarto Florentino faciebat". This is a replica of a Holy Family at Windsor castle. Its bloom has been removed by cleaning, and the restoration leaves doubts whether we have to deal here with Andrea, or one of his scholars. No. 25. Wood, oil, but transferred to canvass. Bust of S. Barbara, life size, retouched (? Bacchiacca).

S. Petersburg. Count Sergei Stroganoff. Round of the Holy Family. Copy of No. 439, at the Louvre; but older in date than a second copy (No. 26) at the Hermitage.

S. Petersburg. Collection of Princess Kutschubey. Judith with the head of Holophernes (wood, with a border added all round, oil), an imitation of Del Sarto by Puligo. Also in this collection, a Holy Family. Virgin and child between two angels, and the boy Baptist with the cross to the left of the Virgin. This is much in the style of the Judith, and reminds of Puligo when he imitated Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, but it is much repainted, the angel to the left completely so.

Copenhagen: Gallery of Christiansborg. No. 3. Canvass. Portrait of a man in a black cap looking at the spectator over his left shoulder, much injured and so completely renewed as to permit of no certainty as to whether it is by Del Sarto or his pupils.

London. National Gallery. No. 690. Life size portrait of a man, looking over his left shoulder, a tablet in his hand; the monogram on the cool dark ground to the left. This is a very fine work touched with excessive ease and breadth. The warm lights are pleasantly tinged with rosy shades; the mass of chiaroscuro well defined. The right hand is barely sketched. No. 17. Holy Family without the vigour of Andrea's own hand, and probably by one of his disciples, wood, oil, without brilliancy, and dimmed by old varnishes.

London. Marquis of Hertford. Virgin and child, three cherubs to the left, and S. Francis listening in extasy to the music of an angel in the distance, with the monogram on the upper left corner; beneath, an inscription as follows: "Andrea Del Sarto Florentino faciebat" (wood, oil, life size). This is one of A. del Sarto's good productions, slightly injured by cleaning and retouching, ex. gr. in the left wrist of the Virgin, and the shadows of her profile. See for copies. Madrid. No. 911 (antea). Longford castle (postea).

London. Marquis of Westminster. No. 173. Virgin, child, and S. Joseph, not genuine, but feebly done after that of the Galleria Barberini in Rome; like No. 788 at Madrid (antea). Portrait of the countess Mattei, not by Del Sarto, but reminiscent of Allori, or still better of Carlo Dolce (wood, oil). No. 88. S. John in the desert. No. 90. A child with an orb (both wood, oil) are very different from works of our master. No. 81. Holy Family, a late repetition of No. 438, at the Louvre (antea). See also Ince (postea).

London. Stafford House. No. 46. Wood, oil, life size. Virgin, child, and Baptist, taken from an original of Del Sarto, by Salviati, Nanaccio, or some other disciple of that class, masterly enough in handling, but of ruddy tone.

London. Baring Collection. The Virgin, seated with the child on her lap, patting his chin. Below A. Del Sarto's powers, pleasing and probably by Puligo (wood, oil, half life size), injured and restored. See for a replica, Alnwick (postea), and Hampton Court. No. 139. Portrait of a man (half length; wood, oil, life size). ? Puligo or Pontormo.

London. Mr. Farrer. Canvass, life size. Pietà, after that of Vienna (Belvedere. Ital. Sch. Room 4. No. 23), by a follower of Del Sarto.

London. Mrs. Butler Johnstone. Pietà. Canvass, same as that of Mr. Farrer, careful and pleasing, but not done in the master's style or according to his habits.

Panshanger. Seat of Earl Cowper. Life size portrait of a man in a cap, writing a letter at a table, supposed, erroneously we think, to be Del Sarto himself. The letter is legible and runs so: "... Dicenbre. Mastro Domenico assai mi chãmo sod (disfat) to verso di voi, a vendo mostro propinquo ingenio per dimostrarmi qual proprio a... sono tanto molto obligato 1523 m. Andr." The person mentioned in these lines is perhaps Domenico Conti, the friend and pupil to whom Andrea bequeathed all his drawings (Vas. VIII. 295), whose likeness may be here depicted. The features are those of a man of 30, too young for Andrea in 1523 (he was then aged thirty six), and besides, unlike his face as given in Vasari, and observed elsewhere. The painting is clearly Del Sarto's, and finely touched.

Portrait of a female at a table with a volume of Petrarch in her hand. On a building to the right are the words: "Meliora latent", and on the edge of the table: "In deo, tu presens nostro succurre labori". This is called the "Laura". It is a fine bright piece done with great mastery in Del Sarto's later years. The hands are long and of good breed, the neck delicate, the forehead fair, the eyes grey. The rosy half tints are well fused into delicate shadows. The hair chestnut (wood, oil, life size).

Portrait of a man in rustic dress, with his right hand in the bosom of his vest, smiling, a very fine work in perfect preservation, genuine and masterly, very bold in the handling, full of gaiety and transparence in tone.

Bust of a man (round, wood, oil, life size), holding a sheet of paper in his right hand, pleasing, assigned to Del Sarto, but probably by Puligo.

Piece of a predella. Scene from the life of Joseph. He sits as a judge whilst Benjamin is brought before him. The brethren kneel or stand in front imploring. Nothing can be more animated than this composition, more energetic and lively than the attitudes, more perfect and airy than the colour. It is the quick and able production of a pencil in the full consciousness of its strength.

Two other stories from the life of S. Joseph are here: 1. The baker taken out to execution, and the butler with Joseph. 2. The sale of Joseph to Potiphar. Of these panels the colour is reddish and low. The drawing is mannered, the proportions are faulty, and the attitudes affected. All this points to Pontormo.

Tunbridge Wells (near). Hon. P. Ashburnham. Charity, with two children at her breast, and one asleep at her feet (canvass, life size). This subject was done by Andrea for G. B. della Palla (Vas. VIII. 290). Here is a shield with two red lions on a yellow field, and above it a crown of five points (?more modern than the picture). The execution is much below that of Andrea, the drawing is incorrect, the colour weak and washy. It is likely that a pupil worked this up from Del Sarto's original, possible that it had been left unfinished at his death, and was completed by another.

Hamilton Palace, near Glasgow. State Drawing Room. Half length, life size (wood, oil), of a Magdalen, not by Del Sarto, but more truly a slovenly thing by Bacchiacca.

Dalkeith Palace. Seat of the Duke of Buccleuch. Dispute of the Trinity. SS. Catherine, Francis, and Dominick, Lawrence, Augustin and Sebastian (canvass, life size), inscribed: "And. Sar. Flo. Fac.", a diligent copy, perhaps by Allori, of Andrea's picture at the Pitti, and of his signature (No. 172).

Longford Castle. Seat of Lord Folkestone. Holy Family, almost a

copy (?by Puligo) of that of the Marquis of Hertford (antea p. 584), very feeble (wood, life size).

Alnwick. Seat of the Duke of Northumberland. Virgin and child, properly called Pontormo; a replica of that in the Baring Gallery.

Windsor Castle. Virgin, child, and infant Baptist, wood; oil, life size (see antea Turin, and (postea) Lord Yarborough. This seems an old imitation, (?) by Puligo. Portrait of a female, three quarters to the right, of olive tone, opaque, and dark in shadows, freely done by Nanaccio or Salviati. Virgin, child, S. Elizabeth, and young Baptist, and on the right S. Catherine, inscribed on the wheel: "Andrea Del Sarto Florentino faciebat". This is a composition similar to that of the National Gallery (No. 17), with the addition of the S. Catherine, and a replica of No. 24, at the Hermitage of S. Petersburg; a careful, but tame imitation of Andrea, by a comparatively modern painter.

London. Lord Yarborough. Virgin, child, and young Baptist (wood, oil, all but life size), copy of that in Windsor castle, to which it is inferior.

Dulwich Gallery. No. 327. Virgin and child, S. Joseph, S. Elizabeth, and the boy Baptist (wood, oil, life size). This looks like a repetition by Salviati of No. 81, at the Pitti, S. Joseph being added. The latter figure, at Dulwich, is of a different character from the rest of the picture, in movement, drawing, and features. The colour is oily and without brightness. No. 326. Virgin, child, and Baptist (wood, oil, life size), a copy of No. 44, at Madrid, with the Baptist added, much lower in the scale of art than the Holy Family, No. 327.

London. R. S. Holford, Esq. Virgin, child, S. Joseph and an angel (wood, oil, life size), with the monogram, a school copy of No. 772, at Madrid. See also Dudley House.

Leigh Court. Sir W. Miles, Bart. Virgin and child, of heavy shape, and dull yellowish colour, but freely handled, similar to one at Stafford House in which a S. John accompanies the other figures, and by the same hand, i. e. Salviati or Sguazella.

London. Hon. C. C. Cavendish. S. John, exhibited at the British Institution in 1856. Of the school.

London. Hon. W. Warren Vernon. No. 110, at Manchester. Holy Family, with S. Elizabeth, and the small Baptist, copy from Andrea by a pupil.

London. Sir Humphrey de Trafford. No. 111, at Manchester. Holy Family. School piece.

Hampton Court. No. 139. Virgin and child, like those of the Baring and Alnwick collections, and an old copy of the former.

Dublin. National Gallery. The Virgin, with the dead body of Christ on her lap, between S. Peter and a female saint. Predella in three parts, not to be assigned with certainty to A. Del Sarto, being mannered in drawing and form, and too variegated in colour. No. 10. Adoration of the Magi (small, wood, oil), by some of the followers of Andrea.

Dublin. Earl of Portarlington. No. 8, at the International Exhibition. Holy Family. Round (since squared). Wood, oil. Copy of No. 439, at the Louvre, by a modern.

END OF VOL. III.

INDEX.

A.

Agostino Veniziano. Mentioned. 562.
Alberti (L. B.). Mentioned. 552.
Alesso Baldovinetti. 187. 204.
Alfani (Dom°). His works at Bettona. 366. Castel Rigone. 370. Città della Pieve. 367. Diruta. 366. England. 368. Florence. 370. Paris. 370. Perugia. 366—9. Prepo. 370. Mentioned. 216. 301. 346. 362. 366. 371.
Alfani (Orazio). His works at Perugia. 368. Mentioned. 365.
Allegretto Nuzi. Mentioned. 87. 96. 101. 105.
Alnwick-Castle. A. del Sarto. 545. 584. 586. Francia Bigio. 545. Perugino. 220. 242. Pontormo? 586.
Allori (A). His works at Dalkeith? 585. London? 584. Poggio a Caiano. 565.
Altenburg. Lindenau (or Pohl) collection. Credi. 413. Dom° Bartoli. 57. Perugino. 255. Pinturicchio. 298. Sano di Pietro. 79. Signorelli (L.) 30.
Alunno (Niccolò). 125. His works at: Aquila. 130. 132. Arcevia. 132. Assisi. 127. 128. 133—4. Berlin. 134. Bologna. 133. Carlsruhe. 134. Cologne. 127. Diruta. 126—7. Foligno. 130—3. 135. Gualdo. 130. La Bastia. 130. 133. London. 134. Louvre. 131—3. Milan. 128. Montelpare. 129. Nocera. 130. 132. Oxford. 134. Perugia. 128—9. Rome 129. S. Petersburg. 134. S. Severino. 129. Serra Patrona. 132. — Mentioned. 23. 79. 88. 92. 113. 114. 115. 119. 121. 123. 146. 153. 269. 273. 276. 333. 361. 363.

Amelia, church of; Spagna? 324.
Amelia. Minori Reformati. Pinturicchio? 297. Spagna? 297. Tiberio? 297.
Ancona. S. Francesco delle Scale. Lorenzo da S. Severino. 113.
Andrea Alovigi. See Ingegno.
Andrea da Fiesole. 187.
Andrea da Salerno. 380.
Andrea del Castagno, mentioned 29. 57. 173—4.
Andrea del Sarto. 542. His works at:
— Alnwick. 545—6. 584. 586. 587.
— Berlin. 558. 575. 581.
— Bristol? 476.
— Brunswick. 581.
— Brussels. 583.
— Caen. 583.
— Copenhagen. 583.
— Cortona. 578.
— Dalkeith Palace. 585.
— Dresden. 577. 581.
— Dublin. 587.
— Dulwich. 582. 586.
— Florence. 503. 528. 544—9. 550. —9, 560—3. 565—7. 571—9. 582. 585—6.
— Genoa. 576.
— Hamilton Palace. 585.
— Hampton Court. 584. 587.
— Ince 584.
— Ireland. 582.
— Ischia. 577.
— Leigh Court. 579. 586.
— Leipzig. 580.
— Liverpool. 582.
— London. 476. 560. 564. 579. 580. 582—3. 584. 586.
— Longford Castle. 582. 584. 585.
— Luco. 570—1.

Andrea del Sarto. Lyons. 577.
— Madrid. 558. 577. 579. 581—2. 584. 586.
— Malmaison. 583.
— Mantua. 568—9. 570.
— Modena. 579. 580.
— Montpellier. 582.
— Munich. 579. 580. 581.
— Nancy. 583.
— Nantes. 563.
— Naples. 569—70. 579.
— Panshanger. 584—5.
— Paris. 562—3. 576. 580—2. 584. 587.
— Pisa. 513. 572.
— Poggio a Caiano. 545. 565—6.
— Pommersfelden. 576.
— Rome. 575. 579. 581. 582. 584.
— Rovigo. 580.
— S. Petersburg. 581—2. 586.
— Sarzana. 575.
— Schleissheim. 581.
— Stuttgart. 581.
— Tunbridge Wells. 585.
— Turin. 580. 586.
— Vienna. 562. 564. 580. 581. 582. 584.
— Windsor Castle. 580. 583. 586.
— Mentioned. 3. 45. 46. 174. 230. 335. 368. 373. 381. 390. 423. 425. 426. 438. 443. 458. 465. 490. 492. 501—2. 505—6. 512. 527. 539.
Andrea del Verrocchio. Mentioned. 172—3. 197. 201. 403—6. 409. 413. 415. 434. 441. 485.
Andrea della Robbia. 186. 549.
Andrea di Cosimo. His works at Florence. 503. 545—6.
Andrea di Credi. 404.
Andrea di Monte S. Savino. 186.
Andrea di Niccolò of Sienna. 376.
Andrea Fusina. Sienna. 279.
Andrea of Milan. Mentioned. 406.
Andrea Orcagna. Mentioned. 18. 199.
Andrea Pisano. Mentioned. 18.
Andrea Vanni. Mentioned. 75.
Anghiari. S. M. del Fosso Sogliani. 515.
Angioletto da Gubbio. Mentioned. 111.
Antonello da Mess. Mentioned. 174. 195. 201. 224.
Antoniasso of Rome. 167. His works at Capua. 167—8. at Castelnuovo near Rome. 168. at Rome. 168. Mentioned. 360.
Antonio Bariti. Sienna. 280.
Antonio da Fabriano. 108.
Antonio da S. Gallo. 528.
Antonio del Ceraiuolo. 412.
Antonio di Mercatello. 209.
Antonio Federighi. Mentioned. 59. 63. 391.
Antonio Ormanni. Sienna. 280.
Antonio Petri di Briosso. Mentioned. 59.
Antonio Pollaiuolo. Mentioned. 392.
Antonio Vivarini, see Vivarini.
Antonius of Rome. 167. His work at Rieti. 167.
Aquila. S. Chiara. Alunno. 130. 132.
Arcevia. S. Medardo. Signorelli. 23. 30.
Arcevia. Spedale. Alunno. 132.
Arezzo. Badia de' Monaci Neri. Fra Bartolommeo. 478.
— Badia S. Fiore. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42. Pecori 49.
— Carmine. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42.
— Casa Albergotto. Signorelli. 30.
— Compagnia della Nunziata. Soggi. 46.
— Compagnia della S. Trinità. Pecori. 44. Signorelli (L.) 31.
— Comune. Don Bartº della Gatta. 37. 38. 42.
— (Confraternità d'). Pecori. Soggi. 44.
— Duomo. Pecori. 48. Soggi. 48.
— Duomo Vecchio. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42.
— Madonna delle Lagrime. Soggi. 46.
— Murate. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42. Soggi. 46.
— Pieve. Don Bartº della Gatta. 38. Pecori. 43. 48. 49.
— S. Agostino. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42. Pecori. 44. 49. Perugino. 171. Signorelli. 31. Soggi. 49.
— SS. Annunziata. Soggi. 47.
— S. Antonio. Pecori. 43.
— S. Benedetto. Soggi. 46.
— S. Bernardo. Don Bartº della Gatta. 38. 42.
— S. Catarina. Perugino. 171. Signorelli. 31.
— S. Domenico. Pecori. 48. Soggi. 48.
— S. Donato. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42.
— S. Francesco. Pecori. Signorelli. 32. Soggi. 44.

Arezzo. S. Girolamo. Signorelli. 27.
— S. Giustino. Pecori. 49.
— S. Margarita. Pecori. 49. Signorelli. 31.
— S. M. della Pieve. Pecori. 43.
— S. M. Maddalena. Pecori. 49.
— S. Michele. Pecori. 48. Soggi. 48.
— S. Orsina. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42.
— S. Piero. Don Bartº della Gatta. 38. 43. Pecori. 49.
— S. Spirito. Signorelli. 27.
— Vescovado. Don Bartº della Gatta. 37. 42. Guglielmo da Marcillat. 43. Pecori. 43.
Aristotile da S. Gallo. 528—9. 552.
Arone. S. Maria. Bernardino Campilius. 333.
— Fra Filippo. 319.
— Spagna 319.
— Vincenzo Tamagni. 319.
Asciano. Duomo. Giovanni di Paolo. 54. 81. Matteo di Giovanni. 83. Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta). 74. 75. 76.
— S. Agostino. Domº Bartoli. 53. 54. 55. Pietro di Giovanni. 77.
— S. Sebastian (Borgo di Montalboli). Benvenuto. 72. 373. Fungai. 373.
Ascoli. Casa Odoardi. Signorelli. 26.
Assisi. Arch of S. Antonio. Ingegno? 343.
— Church alla Rocchiciuola. Spagna. 324.
— Compagnia di S. Crispino. Alunno. 127.
— Convent della Mantelluccie. Ingegno. 163.
— Duomo, Alunno. 128.
— (Near) S. Domenico. Tiberio. 343.
— S. Andrea. Ingegno. 163? 342.
— S. Antonio (arch of) Ingegno. 163.
— SS. Antonio e Jacopo. Matteo da Gualdo. 119. Ottº Nelli. 92. Pietro Antonio. 124. Pinturicchio? 256.
— S. Catarina. See SS. Antonio e Jacopo.
— S. Crispino. Alunno. 127.
— S. Damiano. Eusebio. 340.
— S. Francesco. Alunno. 127. 128. Buffalmacco. 161. Dono Doni. 163. Ingegno. 161. Simone Martini. 343. Spagna. 317. 18. Tiberio. 344.
Assisi. S. Giovanni (gate of) Ingegno. 163.
— S. Gregorio. Alunno. 134.
— S. Lorenzo al Monte (ex church). Alunno. 133.
— S. M. degli Angeli. Alunno. 127. Eusebio. 341. Ingegno. 162. Perugino. 234. Spagna. 316. 317. 318. Tiberio. 341. 343.
— Torre d' Andrea. Pinturicchio. 297.
Autun. Cathedral. Fra Bartolommeo. 452.

B.

Bacchiacca. His works? at Brussels. 583. Florence. 578. Hamilton Palace near Glasgow. 585. S. Petersburg. 583. — Mentioned. 517. 566.
Baccio Bandinelli. Mentioned. 400. 528. 544. 554.
Baccio d' Agnolo. Mentioned. 222. 435. 528. 566.
Baccio di Montelupo. Mentioned. 446. 528.
Baccio Pontelli. Rome. 257.
Baldassare Peruzzi. See Peruzzi.
Baldovinetti (A.). See Alesso.
Bari. S. Agostino. Gentile da Fabriano. 107.
Barna. Mentioned. 65. 71.
Bartolo di Fredi. Mentioned. 75.
Bartolommeo Caporali. See Caporali.
Bartolommeo di David. His works at Sienna. 377.
Bartolommeo di Tommaso of Foligno. 115. 119. 121. His works at Foligno. 121. 122—3. 126—7.
Basaiti (Marco). His work at Rome. 249.
Bastiano da S. Gallo. Mentioned. 130.
Battista da Baldassare. 139.
Bazzi (Giovanni Antonio). Mentioned. 11. 14. 15. 24. 27. 73. 233—4. 301. 373. 379. 381—2. 384—5. 387. 391—2. 395—6. 491.
Beccafumi. Mentioned. 330. 377. 381—2. 392. 401. 402.
Belcaro. Near Sienna. Peruzzi. 400.
Bellini (the). Mentioned. 201. 224.
Bellini (Jacopo). 99. 100.
Bellraffio. Mentioned. 406.
Benci Cioni. Mentioned. 185.
Benedetto Bonfigli. See Bonfigli.

Benedetto Cianfanini. 412.
Benedetto da Maiano. Mentioned. 186. 428.
Benozzo Gozzoli. Mentioned. 55. 107. 115—16. 119—20. 122—3. 123—5. 129. 130. 134. 137. 138. 148. 153. 166. 167. 204. 294. 359. 363. 447.
Benvenuto di Giovanni. His works at Asciano. 72. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 72. Buonconvento. 71. Cologne. 73. Sienna. 70—3. Volterra. 70. — Mentioned. 82. 373.
Berlin Museum. Andrea del Sarto. 558. 575. 581. Alunno. 134. 166. Bertucci (G. B.). 298. 354. Botticelli. 537. Bugiardini. 494—5. 499. Cotignola? 581. Credi. 413. Dom. Bartoli. 57. Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. 158. 254. Fra Bartolommeo. 470. 474—5. Francia Bigio. 509. 512. Gentile da Fabriano. 99. 106—7. Ghirlandaio (B.) 519. 536. 538. Ghirlandaio (David). 519. 536—8. Ghirlandaio (Dom.) 519. 530. 536. Ghirlandaio. (R.) 525. Granacci. 488. 536. 538. Lodovico Angeli. 166. Mariotto Albertinelli. 475. 488—9. 538. Matteo di Giovanni. 86. Perugino? 254. Peruzzi. 401. Piero di Cosimo. 425. Pinturicchio. 297—8. 354. Raffaellino del Garbo. 417. Raphael. 252. 255. 304. 341. Sano di Pietro. 79. Sebastian del Piombo. 509. Signorelli (L.). 15. Sogliani. 513. Spagna. 252. 304—6. 309. Stefano di Gio (Sassetta). 76. Suor Plautilla Nelli? 483. Tiberio d'Assisi? 254. Vivarini (A.) 99.
Bernardino Campilius. 324. His works at Arone. 333. at Bettona. 332. at Foligno. 333. at Spoleto. 333.
Bernardino del Signoraccio. His works at Pistoia. 478.
Bernardino Fungai. See Fungai.
Bernardino of Perugia. 256. His works at La Bastia, in London, Paris, Perugia. S. Severino. 299.
Bernardino Nanni. His works at Gubbio. 94.
Bernardino Pinturicchio. See Pinturicchio.
Bernardo Ghaluzzo. 186.
Bernardo Rossellino. Mentioned. 59.
Berruguete. Mentioned. 544.
Berto di Giovanni. 339. His works at Montelucc. 347. Perugia. 347. Naples. 348. Stockholm. 347. 365.
Bertoldo. Mentioned. 429.
Bertucci (G. B. of Faenza, the older). His works at Berlin. 354. Faenza. 352. 353—4. Forlì, in London. 354—5. Rome. 353—4.
Bettona. Collegiata. Spagna. 323.
— S. Antonio. Jac. Siculo. 332.
— S. Francesco. Alfani (D.) 366. Perugino. 235—6. 240.
— S. Simone. Pinturicchio? 297. Spagna. 297. 324. Tiberio. 324. 344.
Bibbiano. S. M. del Sasso. Fra Paolino. 482.
Boaters. Hampton Court. 251.
Boccaccino. Work at Venice. 250.
Boccati. See Giovanni.
Bologna. Ercolani col. Bertucci. 354. Spagna. 354.
— Gal. Zambeccari. Bugiardini. 496.
— Padri Filippini. Bugiardini. 496.
— Palazzo Albergati. Peruzzi. 397.
— Palazzo Bentivoglio. Peruzzi. 398.
— Pinacoteca. Alunno. 133. Bugiardini. 492. 495. 499. Perugino. 249—50. Pontormo. 492. Visino. 492.
— S. Martino Maggiore. Costa (Lor°). 250. Perugino? 250.
— S. Michele in Bosco. Onofrio da Fabriano. 109.
— S. Petronio G. della Quercia. 58—9. Peruzzi. 397. 398.
Bonfigli (Benedetto). 138. His works at Corciano. 145. Diruta. 147. Perugia. 138—9. 140. 141—4. 145—7. 149. 166. Rome. 149. — Mentioned. 1. 50. 71. 150—2. 171. 176. 257. 266. 270. 276. 360.
Bono Ferrarese. Mentioned. 117.
Bordeaux. Museum. Perugino. 253.
Borgo S. Sepolcro. Compagnia di S. Antonio Abate. Signorelli. 28. Don Bart° della Gatta. 43. Francesco di Città di Castello. 379. Gerino da Pistoia. 379. Matteo di Gio. 83. Pacchia. 379. Pacchiarotti. 379. Perugino. 246. Piero della Francesca. 4. 379.

Signorelli 4. Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta). 76.
Borgo S. Sepolcro. Compagnia di S. Antonio abate. Signorelli. 28.
— Duomo. Perugino. 206.
— Fontesecca. Gerino da Pistoia. 350.
— Pieve. Gerino da Pistoia. 350.
— S. Agostino. Gerino da Pistoia. 349.
— S. Giovanni Evangelista. Domenico Bartoli. 55—6.
— S. M. de' Servi. Benvenuto. 72. P. della Francesca. 72.
— Via di Mezzo, tabernacle. Domenico Bartoli. 56.
Botticelli. Mentioned. 413.
Bowood. Perugino. 252.
Bramante (of Urbino). Mentioned. 24. 182. 360. 459.
Bramante (old). Rome. 387—8.
Brescia. Galleria Tosi. Fra Bartolommeo. 474. 516. Sogliani? 474. 516. Gentile da Fabriano. 98.
Brescianini (of Sienna) see Puccinelli.
Bristol. Sir W. Miles of Leigh Court. See Leigh Court.
Bronzino. Mentioned. 474. 531—2. 579.
Brunelleschi. Mentioned. 51. 101. 395.
Brunswick. Gallery. A. del Sarto? 581.
Brussels. Museum. A. del Sarto? 583. Bacchiacca? 583. Mariano da Pescia? 534. Mariotto? 516. Perugino? 255. Sogliani. 516. 534.
Buffalmacco. Mentioned. 161.
Bugiardini (Giuliano). His works at Berlin. 494—5. 499. Bologna. 492. 494—6. 499. in England? 476. Florence. 471—2. 493—5. 497—8. Leipzig. 494—5. London. 499. Lucca. 496. Mantua. 498. Paris? 497. Rome. 471. 494. 499. 579. S. Petersburg. 383. 496. Turin. 493. Vienna. 498. — Mentioned. 487. 500—1. 531. 539.
Buonconvento. SS. Piero e Paulo. Benvenuto. 71. Sano di Pietro. 79.
— (Church of) Fungai. 376.
Burgos. Cathedral. Credi? 407.

C.

Caen. Museum. Andrea del Sarto. 583. Perugino. 217—18. 252. 325.
Cagli. Niccolò Deliberatore? 133.
Cambridge. Archdeacon Hore. Manni. 335. Raphael? 335.
— Fitzwilliam Museum. Manni. 335. Mariotto Albertinelli. 487. Raphael? 335.
Camerino. S. Francesco. Boccati. 114.
Campana. Gallery. See Louvre.
Campana (Marchese). A. del Sarto. 559.
Campansi (near Sienna). Pinturicchio. 292.
Campiglia d'Orcia (near Sienna). Pacchiarotti. 378.
Campilius. See Bernardino.
Campriano (near Arezzo). Don Bart° della Gatta. 38. Pecori. 49.
Cantiano. Perugino. 247.
Capanna, of Sienna. Mentioned. 48.
Caporali (Bart°). His works at Castiglione del Lago. 359. Naples? 359. Perugia? 156. 359. Ravenna. 160? 359. — Mentioned. 161. 169. 216. 334. 363—4.
Caporali (Giambattista). His works at Città di Castello? 361. at Cortona. 362. at Monteluce. 362. near Panicale? 361. at Perugia. 362. at Rome? 360—1. at Villa Passerini near Cortona. 361. — Mentioned. 24. 32. 33. 233. 301? 366.
Capua. Duomo. Antoniasso. 167—8.
Caracci. Mentioned. 27.
Carlo Dolce? 584.
Carlsruhe. Museum. Alunno. 134. Credi. 409. Fiorenzo. 160. Fra Bartolommeo? 490. Ingegno. 165. Mariotto Albertinelli. 490.
Carolus Benci. Mentioned. 186.
Caroto. Mentioned. 333.
Carpi. Duomo. Peruzzi. 393.
— S. Niccolò. Peruzzi. 393.
Casentino. (Covoni family chapel). A. del Sarto. 553.
Caso. S. Cristina. Spagna? 327.
— S. M. delle Grazie. Spagna. 326—7.
Casole. (near Sienna). Pacchiarotti. 377.
Castel Rigone. (near Perugia). Alfani (D.) 370.
Castello (Villa near Florence). Signorelli. 6.
Castiglione del Lago. Caporali (B.)

359. 361. Caporali (G. B.). 360. Perugino. 247.
Castiglione Fiorentino. Cappella del Sacramento. Signorelli. 28.
— Collegiata. Credi. 412. Giov^i di Paolo. 80.
— S. Francesco. Don Bart^o della Gatta. 41.
— S. Giuliano. Don Bart^o della Gatta. 40—1.
Castle Howard. Alfani (D.) 368. Costa (L.)? 489—90. Fra Bartolommeo. 489—90. Francia (F.). 489—90. Mariotto Albertinelli. 489—90. Perino del Vaga? 368. Raphael? 489—90.
Cazzuola Club. 551.
Ceccharelli. Mentioned. 71.
Cerqueto. Perugino. 175.
Cesariano. Mentioned. 360.
Cesi. (near Perugia). Church of: Papacello. 32. 362.
Chiodarolo. Hampton Court. 251.
Chiusi. Duomo. Fungai. 376.
Chiusuri. Monte Oliveto. Bazzi. 14—15. Riccio. 15. Signorelli (L.). 14. 15.
Cino di Bartolo. 58—9.
Città della Pieve. Compagnia della Stella. Perugino. 237, 240.
— Disciplinati. Perugino. 226—7. 231.
— Duomo, Alfani (D.). 366.
— S. Agostino. Perugino. 237.
— S. Antonio. Perugino. 236.
— S. Francesco. Alfani (D). 366.
— S. Gervasio. Perugino. 236.
Città di Castello. Caporali (G. B.). 361. Johannes Baptista. 361.
— Duomo. Francesco di Città di Castello. 349. Pinturicchio. 296.
— S. Agostino. Signorelli. 30.
— S. Cecilia. Granacci. 535—6. Piero della Francesca? 535—6. Signorelli. 28.
— S. Domenico. Francesco di Città di Castello. 348—9. Signorelli (L.). 14.
— S. Fiordo. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— S. Francesco. Signorelli (L.). 14. 29. 32.
— S. Girolamo al Seminario. Joh. Baptista. 33.
— S. Giov. Decollato. Pinturicchio. 33? 296. Signorelli (F.). 33. Signorelli's school? 296.
— Signor Mancini. Francesco di Città di Castello. 349. Raphael di Città di Castello. 29. Signorelli (L.) 5. 13. 25—6. 29. 349.
Città di Castello. Spedale. Gentile da Fabriano? 105.
— Tutti Santi. Francesco di Città di Castello. 349.
Clemente del Tasso. 186.
Cocchi. See Pompeo.
Cola dell' Amatrice. Mentioned. 332—3. 357.
Colle di Valdelsa. Ghirlandaio (R.). 530.
Cologne. Ramboux. Alunno. 127. Benvenuto. 73—4. Dom^o Bartoli. 57. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Giovanni di Paolo. 80. Guidoccio. 86. Lorenzo di Pietro. 65. Nerroccio. 69. Sano di Pietro. 79. Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta). 75.
Corsham Court. Gentile da Fabriano. 107.
Copenhagen. Gallery of Christiansborg. A. del Sarto? 583.
Corciano. Church of; Bonfigli. 145. Manni. 339. Perugino. 246. 339.
— S. Francesco. Bonfigli. Fiorenzo. 166.
Correggio. Mentioned. 27. 390. 475. 559. 572.
Cornelius. Mentioned. 341.
Cortona. Chiesa del Gesù. Signorelli (F.). 33. Signorelli (L.). 28.
— Compagnia di Gesù. Signorelli (L.). 25. 26.
— Compagnia S. Niccolò. Signorelli (L.). 27.
— Duomo. A. del Sarto. 578. Signorelli (F.). 33. Signorelli (L.). 26. 28.
— Palazzo del Comune. Signorelli (F.). 33.
— S. Domenico. Don Bart^o della Gatta. 42. Signorelli (L.). 25—6. Stefano di Giov. (Sassetta). 74—5.
— Sta. Margherita. Signorelli (L.). 22.
— Sta. M. del Calcinaio. Caporali (G. B.). 362. Francesco di Giorgio. 10. 68. Papacello. 32. 362. Signorelli (A.). 33. Signorelli (L.). 10.
— S. Trinità. Don Bart^o della Gatta. 33. 42. Signorelli (F.). 33. 42. Signorelli (L.). 29.
— Signor Agostino Castellani. Signorelli (L.). 28.

Cortona. Signor Carlo Tommasi. Signorelli (L.). 28.
— Signor Luca Tommasi. Signorelli (L.). 28.
— Signor Passerini. Fra Bartolommeo. 473. 475.
— Vescovado. Signorelli (L.). 32.
— Villa Passerini. Caporali (G. B.). 32. 361—2. Papacello. 32.
Cosimo Rosselli. Mentioned. 9. 186. 204. 421. 427—31. 434. 442. 444. 485. 521—3. 537.
Cotignola. Mentioned. 354. and see Zaganelli.
Cozzarelli. Mentioned. 51. and see Guidoccio.
Cremona. S. Agostino. Perugino. 194.
Crivelli (Carlo). Mentioned. 71. 107. 108. 113. 114. 130—1. 266. 300. 301. 357.
Cronaca. Mentioned. 435.
Cutigliano. Fra Paolino. 482.

D.

Daniel da Volterra. Rome Farnesina. 389. — Mentioned. 27.
Dalkeith Palace (Duke of Buccleuch). Allori? 585. A. del Sarto? 585.
Del Pacchia. See Pacchia.
Del Sarto. See Andrea.
Della Gatta. See Don Bartolommeo.
Della Quercia. Priamo. His works at Sienna, and Volterra. 58—9. See Giacomo.
Desiderio da Settignano. Mentioned. 457.
Diosebio of Assisi. 344.
Diruta. S. Anna. Spagna. 324.
— S. Antonio Abate. Alfani (D.). 366. Alunno. 127. 148. Bonfigli. 147.
— S. Francesco. Alunno. 126—7. Fiorenzo. 156. 157.
— S. Jacopo del Borgo. See S. Anna.
Domenico Alfani. See (Alfani).
Domenico Conti. Mentioned. 584.
Domenico Bartoli. 50. His works at Altenburg. 57. at Asciano. 53. Berlin. 57. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 55—6. Cologne. 57. Edinburgh, ib. Florence. 57. Frankfort. 57. Perugia. 54—5. Sienna. 52—3. 56—8. — Mentioned. 59. 60. 63. 74. 76. 81. 108. 115. 121. 140. 145.
Domenico di Cecco Baldi. His works at Gubbio. 94.
Domenico Pecori. See Pecori.
Domenico Veneziano. Mentioned. 138—9. 144.
Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. His miniatures. 36. 37. His works at Arezzo. 37. 38. 41. 43—3. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 43. Castiglione Fiorentino. 40—1. Cortona. 42. Monte S. Savino. 42. Rome. 39. 387. — Mentioned. 33. 45. 47.
Donatello. Mentioned. 51. 101. 221. 442.
Dono Doni. His work at Assisi. 163. Mentioned. 362.
Dresden. Museum. A. del Sarto. 577. 581. Credi? 413. Francia Bigio. 502. 512. Melanzio? 254. Perugino? 254. Pinturicchio. 297. Raffaellino del Garbo. 418. Raphael. 458. Sano di Pietro. 79. Signorelli (L.). 6. 7.
Dublin. National Gallery. A. del Sarto? 586. Peruzzi? 401.
Duccio. Mentioned. 61.
Dulwich. Gallery. A. del Sarto. 576. 582. ?586. Perugino? 252. Raphael. 252. Salviati? 586.
Dürer (A.). Mentioned. 512. 560. 573.

E.

Edinburgh. National Gallery. A. del Castagno? 57. Dom. Bartoli. 57.
Eggi. Madonna delle Grazie. Orlando? 326. Pinturicchio? 326. Spagna. 326.
— S. Giovanni. Spagna. 320—1.
England. Lord Wenlock. Fra Bartolommeo? 476.
Ercole Grandi. Mentioned. 16.
Ercole Seccadinari. Mentioned. 398.
Eusebio di S. Giorgio. 339. His works at Assisi. 340—1. Matellica. 341. Orvieto. 340—1. Perugia. 340—1. Sienna. 339—40. Mentioned. 165. 241—3. 350. 357.

F.

Fabriano. Casa Bufera. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.
— Fornari collection. Antonio da Fabriano. 108.
— Casa Morichi. Antonio da Fabriano. 108. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.

Fabriano. S. Domenico. Antonio da Fabriano. 109.
— S. Niccolò. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.
— Signor Rosci. Gentile da Fabriano. 97—8.
Faenza. Municipal Gallery. Bertucci. 353—4. Early art of Faenza. 352—3. Foschi. 517.
— Manzolini. Bertucci. 354. Pinturicchio. 354.
— Michelline. Bertucci? 353.
— Servi. Early art. gen. Bertucci. 353.
Fano. S. M. Nuova. Perugino. 207. 244.
Ferentillo. Church of: Jac. Siculo. 332.
— S. Pietro. Raphael: 304. Spagna. 304—6. 309. 326.
— S. Stefano. Spagna? 326. Tamagni. 326.
Fermo. Cav. Vinci. Girolamo di Gio. Boccati. 117.
— Sign. Dominici. Francesco di Gentile. 107.
Ferrara. Schifanoia, painting. 144. 150. 152.
Fiesole. S. Domenico. Credi. 411. Fra Paolino: 480. Perugino. 184. 191. Santo di Tito. 516. Sogliani. 516.
— S. Francesco. Piero di Cosimo. 425.
Figline (near) S. Pietro al Terreno. Fra Bartolommeo? 422. 431. Ghirlandaio (R.)? 422. Granacci? 422. 537. Piero di Cosimo. 422. 431.
Filippino Lippi. Mentioned. 29. 40. 160. 167. 175. 186. 187. 204. 222. 229. 247. 413. 415—16. 417. 419. 424. 429. 434. 444. 492. 534. 537.
Fiorenzo di Lorenzo. His works at Assisi? 163. Berlin. 158. Carlsruhe. 160. Diruta. 156. Liverpool. 160. Madrid. 161. Perugia. 147—8. 150—5. 157—8. 160. Ravenna. 160. — Mentioned. 1. 130. 147. 171. 176. 216. 265—6. 272—3. 276. 334. 339. 342. 359.
Florence. Academy of Arts. A. del Sarto. 560. 575. 582. Credi. 407. 410. 412. 513. Foschi (S.). 516. Fra Bartolommeo. 433. 442—5. 453. 479. 481. 486. 562. Fra Paolino. 453. 472. 479. 481—2. Ghirlandaio (R.). 532. Granacci. 537. 539—40. Mariotto Albertinelli. 487—8. Michele di Ridolfo. 481. 532. Pacchiarotti. 378. Perugino. 193—4. 200. 206. 215. 218. 224. 308. 445. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419. Signorelli. 29. Sogliani? 472. Suor Plautilla Nelli. 483.
Florence. Angeli. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 520. Ghirlandaio (R.). 531.
— Badia. Fra Bartolommeo. 409. 445. Perugino. 255.
— Borgo S. Friano. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Burial of Giuliano de' Medici. Andrea del Sarto. 561.
— Burial of Lorenzo de' Medici (1519). Ghirlandaio (R.). 529.
— Calza. See S. Giovannino.
— Canto alla Cuculia. Ghirlandaio (R.). 531. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— Carmine. Domenico Bartoli. 57.
— Casa Capponi. A. del Sarto. 155. 159. Fra Bartolommeo. 477. Perugino. 255.
— Casa Ciacchi. Francia Bigio. 512.
— Casa Gondi. Perugino. 255.
— Casa Ottaviani. Credi. 414.
— Casa Passerini. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Casa Ricasoli (A.). Credi. 414.
— Casa Rucellai. Granacci. 538—9.
— Casa Salviati. Perugino. 255.
— Casa Tolomei. Credi. 414.
— Casa Vespucci (Gio.). Piero di Cosimo. 425.
— (near). Castel Franco di Sotto. Spagna. 328.
— Certosa. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Mariotto Albertinelli. 486.
— Christening of Francesco de' Medici (1541). Ghirlandaio (R.). 531.
— Compagnia de' Battilani. Ghirlandaio (R.). 530.
— Compagnia de' Neri. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Compagnia di S. Sebastiano. Credi. 414.
— Compagnia di S. Zanobi. Ghirlandaio (R.). 526—7. Mariotto Albertinelli. 487—8. 527.
— Conservatorio di Ripoli. Ghirlandaio (R.). 523. 532.
— Duca Corsini. A. del Sarto? 573. Bugiardini. 493. Mariano da

Pescia? 516. Mariotto Albertinelli. 49. Sogliani. 516.
Florence. Entry of Charles the V^th^ (1536). Ghirlandaio (R.). 531. Michele di Ridolfo 531.
— Galleria Ginori. A. del Sarto? 579. Signorelli. 7.
— Galleria Pianciatichi. A. del Sarto? 579. Bugiardini? 473. Fra Bartolommeo 473. 534. Mariano da Pescia? 473. 534. Piero di Cosimo. 424.
— Galleria Lombardi. Piero di Cosimo. 424. Pinturicchio. 296. Stefano di Gio. (Sassetta). 76. Signorelli. 30.
— Galleria Torrigiani. Ghirlandaio (R.). 532. Mariano da Pescia. 534. Michele di Ridolfo. 532. Pinturicchio. 296. Signorelli (L.). 30. Tiberio? 296.
— Gates. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Gesuati. Granacci. 541. Perugino. 192.
— Giogoli. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Govoni (brothers). Granacci. 541.
— Guardaroba. Piero di Cosimo. 425.
— Innocenti. Piero di Cosimo. 423.
— Jousts and triumphs. Granacci. 535.
— Liceo Militare. Francia Bigio. 509—10. Sogliani? 510.
— Lost pieces by A. del Sarto. 562—3. 568. Bugiardini. 497. Fra Bartolommeo. 477—8. Granacci. 541. Mariotto Albertinelli. 485.
— Magliabecchiana. Don Bart° della Gatta. 37.
— Marchese Campana, A. del Sarto. 559.
— Marquis Corsi. Signorelli 5. 6. 16.
— Metzger Collection. Ingegno. 165.
— Monache della Crocetta. Sogliani. 516.
— Montoliveto. Ghirlandaio (R.). 522. Granacci? 522. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419.
— M^r^ Jarves. Gentile da Fabriano. 103.
— Murate. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— Ognissanti. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— Oratorio del Bigallo. Ghirlandaio (R.). 525.
— Orsanmichele. A. del Sarto. 553.

Credi. 407. 411. 513. Sogliani. 513.
Florence. Palazzo Albizzi. Perugino. 249.
— Palazzo Antinori a S. Gaetano. Fra Paolino. 479. 482. Ghirlandaio (R.). 521—2. 532. Mariotto Albertinelli. 482.
— Palazzo Borgherini. A. del Sarto. 566—7. Bacchiacca. 566. Baccio d'Agnolo. 566. Granacci. 566. Pontormo. 566.
— Palazzo Corsini (Lung' Arno). A. del Sarto. 578—9. Fra Bartolommeo. 472. 474. 479. 482. Fra Paolino. 474. 479. 482. Francia (F.). 472. Ghirlandaio (school of R.). 491. Mariotto Albertinelli? 491. Puligo? 579. Signorelli. 7. Suor Plautilla Nelli. 483.
— Palazzo Publico. A. del Sarto. 572. Bugiardini. 497. 572. Filippino Lippi. 451. Fra Bartolommeo. 451. 455—6. 477. Ghirlandaio. (Dom.). 211. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 526. Verrocchio. 404.
— Palazzo Medici. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 528. Mariotto Albertinelli. 490. Raphael 308. Spagna. 308.
— Palazzo Riccardi. See Palazzo Medici.
— Ex Palazzo Taddeo. Sogliani. 516.
— (near) Pian' di Mugnone. Fra Bartolommeo. 433.
— Piazza. Michael Angelo's David. 222. 407. 421. 539.
— Pitti. A. del Sarto. 553. 566—71. 576. 578—80. 585—6. Bugiardini. 471. Credi. 412. Fra Bartolommeo. 454—5. 457. 459. 461. 466. 468. 470—2. Francia Bigio. 502—3. 506. Ghirlandaio (R.). 525. 532. Granacci. 540. Leonardo da Vinci. 494. Mariotto Albertinelli. 486. 490. Michele di Ridolfo. 412. 532. Perugino. 122—3. 196—9. 247. 253. Peruzzi? 401. Piero di Cosimo? 412. Pinturicchio? 296. Pontormo. 554. Puligo? 540. Raphael. 469. 568—70. Signorelli. 6—7. Spagna. 325. Soggi. 48. Sogliani? 412.
— Ponte a Rubaconte. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— Porta a Pinti. A. del Sarto. 579.
— Ex Rinuccini Gallery. A. del Sarto. 573.

Florence. S. Ambrogio. Cosimo Rosselli. 429. Piero di Cosimo. 421. Raffaellino del Garbo. 418.
— SS. Annunziata de' Servi. A. del Sarto. 503. 544—9. 552—3. 560. 572—3. 576. Andrea di Cosimo. 503. 545—6. Baldovinetti. 546—8. Cosimo Rosselli. 546. Credi. 412. Filippino. 229. 230. 234. Fra Bartolommeo. 466. Francia Bigio. 382. 502—4. 545—6. 560. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 520. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Leonardo da Vinci 229. Manni. 339. Perugino. 207. 229. 255. 339. Piero di Cosimo. 423. 424. Pontormo. 560.
— S. Apollonia. Granacci. 537.
— S. Bonifazio (Spedale) Soggi. 48.
— S. Caterina. Fra Bartolommeo. 453. Fra Paolino. 453.
— S. Chiara. Credi. 407. 410. Perugino. See Pitti.
— SS. Concezione. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— S. Croce. Andrea di Cosimo. 255. Bugiardini. 499. Ghirlandaio (D. and B.). 499. Perugino. 255.
— S. Domenico. Credi. 410. Verrocchio. 404.
— S. Egidio. Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. 37.
— S. Felice in Piazza. Ghirlandaio (R.). 532. Michele di Ridolfo. 532.
— S. Felicita. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 533.
— S. Francesco. A. del Sarto. 561.
— S. Frediano. Credi. 414. Jacopo del Sellaio. 496. Piero di Cosimo. 424.
— S. Gallo. A. del Sarto. 553. 562. Bugiardini? 472. Fra Bartolommeo. 472. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 521—2. Granacci. 541.
— S. Giacomo Nicchio. A. del Sarto. 576.
— S. Giobbe. Francia Bigio. 503.
— S. Giorgio. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416.
— S. Gio. Batt. della Calza. Francia Bigio. 509. Ghirlandaio (Dom.). 522. Perugino. 193. 199. 247. Soggi. 517. Sogliani. 513. 517. Signorelli? 247.
— S. Girolamo. Ghirlandaio (R.). 526. 530—1.
— S. Girolamo delle Poverine. Perugino. 199.

Florence. S. Giuliano. Mariotto Albertinelli. 488.
— S. Giusto. See S. Giovanni Battista.
— S. Godenzo. A. del Sarto. 578.
— S. Jacopo di Ripoli. See Conservatorio.
— S. Jacopo Sop'r Arno. Sogliani. 514.
— S. Jacopo Fra Fossi. A. del Sarto. 553. Perugino. 255.
— S. Lorenzo. Michael Angelo. 497. 563. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416. Sogliani. 513.
S. Lucia de' Bardi. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416.
— S. Marco. Fra Bartolommeo. 430. 441. 445. 449—50. 452. 454. 458—9. 460—1. 463. 468. 487. 517. 532. Fra Giovanni. 440. Ghirlandaio (D.). 247. Ghirlandaio (R.). 532. Michele di Ridolfo 430—1. 532. Perugino. 255. Piero di Cosimo. 425. Sogliani. 513. 515.
— S. M. de' Candeli. See Licco Militare.
— S. M. del Fiore. Benci Cioni. 185. Credi. 407. 411. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Ghirlandaio. (Dav.). 520. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 528. Giotto. 185. Perugino. 204. Signorelli. 10.
— S. M. Maddalena de' Pazzi (Cestello). Credi. 407. 410. Fra Bartolommeo. 473. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Mainardi. 473. Perugino. 199. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416.
— S. M. Novella. Bugiardini. 498. Ghirlandaio (B.). 519. 523. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 519. Ghirlandaio (Dom.). 197. 218. 519. Ghirlandaio (R.). 519. 529. Granacci. 519. 536.
— S. M. Nuova. Fra Bartolommeo. 434. 436—9. Mariotto Albertinelli. 438. 484. 486. Raffaellino del Garbo. 415. Raphael de' Caponibus. 415.
— S. Martino. Mariotto Albertinelli. 485—6.
— S. Martino alla Palma. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.
— S. Martino de' Buonomini. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416.
— S. Martino delle Monache. Ghirlandaio (R.). 532. Michele di Ridolfo. 532. Perugino. 255.
— S. Matteo. Credi. 414.

FLORENCE.

Florence. S. Niccolò di là d'Arno. Gentile da Fabriano. 102.
— S. Onofrio. Eusebio? 247—8—9. Gerino da Pistoia? 247—8—9. 335. 351. Manni? 247—8—9. 335. Perugino? 247—8—9. 351. Raphael? 247—8—9. 351.
— S. Pancrazio. Francia Bigio. 501. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— S. Piero Maggiore. Credi. 414. Francia Bigio. 500—1. Granacci. 538. Perugino. 249. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— S. Raffaello. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— S. Salvi. A. del Sarto. 516. 531. 553. 556. 573—4. Raffaellino del Garbo. 418.
— S. Spirito. Francia Bigio. 502. Ghirlandaio (B.). 519. Ghirlandaio (D.). 421. Ghirlandaio (R.). 522. 532. Michele di Ridolfo. 522. 532. Pier Francesco di Sandro. 426. Piero di Cosimo. 421. 425—6. Pollaiuolo (A.). 422. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416—7. 420. Sansovino (J.). 502.
— S. Trinita. Baldovinetti. 204. Domº Bartoli. 57. Dom. Ghirlandaio 19. Mariotto Albertinelli. 486.
— Scalzo. A. del Sarto. 510. 544—5. 560—1. 565—6. 571. 573. 581. Credi. 410. Francia Bigio. 502. 510—11. 544—5.
— Signor Baldelli? Fra Bartolommeo? 477.
— Signor Banti. Fra Ambrogio della Robbia. 432.
— Signor G. B. Deti. Perugino. 255.
— Signor Ricasoli. Fra Bartolommeo? 477.
— Signor E. Rubieri. Fra Bartolommeo. 432—3.
— Signor Volpini? Fra Bartolommeo? 477.
— Solemn entry of Leo the Xth. Andrea del Sarto. 528. 561. Antonio da S. Gallo. 528. Aristotile da S. Gallo. 528. Baccio d'Agnolo. 528. Baccio Bandinelli 528. Baccio di Montelupo. 528. Ghirlandaio (R.) 528—9. Giuliano del Tasso. 528. Granacci. 528—9. Jacopo di Sandro. 528. Jacopo Sansovino. 528. 561. Rosso. 528. Rustici. 561.

FOLIGNO.

Florence. Vallombrosa. A. del Sarto. 575. Perugino. 215.
— (near). Villa of Marignolle. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
— Wedding of Cosimo de' Medici (1539). Ghirlandaio (R.). 531.
— Wedding of Lorenzo de' Medici (1518). Andrea di Cosimo? 529. Aristotile da S. Gallo. 529. Francia Bigio. 529. Ghirlandaio (R.). 529.
— Uffizi. Alfani (D.). 370. Alfani (O.). 370. A. del Sarto. 558—9. 561—2. 578. 579. Bacchiacca? 578. Bugiardini. 493—5. Credi. 407. 410. 412. 413. Donatello. 442. Fra Bartolommeo. 434. 442. 449. 455—6. 464. 466. 472. 486. Francesco di Giorgio. 67. Francia Bigio. 501. 502. 512. Gerino da Pistoia. 351—2. Ghirlandaio (Dom.). 422. Ghirlandaio (R.). 527. Giovanni delle Corniole. 433. Granacci. 539—40. Leonardo? 449. 493—4. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 63. 65. Mariano da Pescia? 533. Mariotto Albertinelli. 485. 491. Michael Angelo. 538. Perugino. 182. 191. 194—5. Piero di Cosimo. 423. 424—5. Pinturicchio. 287. Puccinelli (A.). 401. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419. Raphael. 287. 448. 501. Signorelli (L.). 6. 29. 30. Sogliani. 516.
Foiano. Pieve. Signorelli. 26. 27.
Foligno. Alla Madonna Fiamminga. School of Alunno. 135.
— Conv. of S. Anna. Pietro Antonio. 123. Tiberio. 344.
— Monastery del Popolo. Pietro Antonio. 123.
— Municipio. Bartº di Tommaso. 122.
— Nunziatella. Campilius. 333. Cola dell' Amatrice. 333. Mantegna? 333. Perugino. 232. 246. 251.
— Palazzo Trinci or del Governo. Ottaviano Nelli. 90—91.
— S. Bartolommeo. Alunno. 133.
— S. Caterina. Bartº di Tommaso. 122.
— S. Domenico. Pietro Antonio. 125.
— S. Francesco. Pietro Antonio. 124. 125.
— S. Gio. Decollato. Alunno. 135.
— S. Lucia. Pietro Antonio. 124.

Foligno. S. M. in Campis. Alunno: 123. 125. 135. 148. Matteo da Gualdo. 119. 123. Pietro Antonio da Foligno. 123.

- S. M. infra Portas. Alunno? 135.

— S. Niccolò. Alunno. 130. 132.

— S. Salvadore. Bartolommeo di Tommaso. 121.

— Signor Gregori. Fra Bartolommeo. 477.

Fontegiusta. Church of: Girolamo di Benvenuto. 381.

Fontignano. Church of: Perugino. 243.

Forlì. Galleria Comunale. Bertucci. 353. Credi. 413.

— S. Girolamo. Palmezzano. 124.

Foschi, Sigismondo. His works at Florence. 516. Milan. 517. Faenza. 517.

Fra Agostino di Paolo. 432. 457. His works at Sienna? 473.

Fra Ambrogio della Robbia. 432. His portrait of Savonarola. ib. ib. His work at Sienna. 432.

Fra Andrea. Sienna. 480.

Fra Bartolommeo della Porta. 427 and folls. His works at Arezzo. 478. Autun. 452. Berlin. 470. 474. Besançon. 477. Brescia? 474. Bristol? 476. Castel Franco (Florence)? 431. Cortona. 473. Florence. 430. 432—8. 442—5. 449—61. 464. 466. 468. 470—7. Foligno. 477. Geneva. 454. 477. Glasgow? 476. London. 475—6. Lucca. 431. 434. 448—9. 457. 461—4. Milan. 477. Modena? 474. Montpellier? 469. Munich. 475. Naples. 470. Panshanger. 449—50. 466—8. Paris. 451—3. 461. 464. 477. Pavia. 451. Perugia? 477. Pian' di Mugnone 433. 457—8, 461. 465. 471—2. Pisa. 453. Pistoia. 464—5. Prato. 470. Ravenna. 442. Rome. 459—60. 468—9. 474. S. Petersburg. 461. 463. S. Pietro al Terreno. 422. Saltocchio (near Lucca). 473. Sienna. 473. Toulouse? 461. Turin? 474. Venice? 474. Viterbo. 478. — Mentioned. 3. 27. 170. 190. 194. 199. 224. 225. 226. 371, 381. 383. 384. 423. 484. 485. 486. 490. 492. 493. 495. 498. 501. 502. 507. 512. 514. 516. 517. 522. 523. 524. 525. 527. 545. 546. 547. 550. 553. 554. 556. 557. 562. 564. 571. 576. 578. 581. 582. 583.

Fra Benedetto. 432.

Fra Eustachio. 432.

Fra Filippo. Mentioned. 8. 139. 146. 319. 321. 417. 436.

Fra Filippo Lapaccini. 432.

Fra Giovanni (Angelico). Mentioned. 17. 18. 96. 97. 107. 125. 129. 139. 148. 153. 174. 199. 437. 440. 445. 447. 456.

Fra Paolino. 478. His works at Fiesole. 480. Florence. 472. 474. 479. 481—2. London. 476. Pian' di Mugnone. 479. Pistoia. 480—2. Rome. 474. 478—9. 482. S. Gimignano. 480—1. Sienna. 473. 478—9. 480. Venice. 474. Vienna. 478—9. 480. Viterbo. 480. — Mentioned. 352. 454. 457. 471.

France. Lost pieces by A. del Sarto. 563.

— Lost pieces. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533.

Francia (F.). Mentioned. 193. 443. 472.

Francia (G.). Work at Rome? 474.

Francia Bigio. His work at Berlin. 509. 512. Dresden. 502. 512. Florence. 382. 500—12. London. 506—8. Paris. 504—7. Poggio a Caiano. 511. S. Petersburg. 512. Turin. 474. 500—1. 505. Windsor. 508—9. — Mentioned. 230. 335. 381. 487. 492—3. 513. 544—6. 551. 573. 580.

Francesco herald of the Florentines. 186.

Francesco da Città di Castello (Thifer.). His works at Città di Castello. 348—9.

Francesco di Città della Pieve. His work at Pacciano. 171.

Francesco da Fiesole. 186.

Francesco di Gentile. His works at Fermo, London, and Rome. 107—108.

Francesco di Giorgio. His life. 66. His works at Cologne, Cortona, Florence, Liverpool, London, Milan, Munich, Pavia, and Sienna. 66—8. — Mentioned. 10. 16. 51. 57. 66. 69. 79. 81. 186.

Francesco Verlas. See Verlas.

Frankfort. Stædel. Dom° Bartoli. 57. Perugino. 255. Raphael. 255.

Fungai (Bernardino). 373—4. His works at Buonconvento. 376. Chiusi. 376. London. 376. S. Petersburg. 134. 376. Sienna. 374—6. — Mentioned. 57. 67. 73. 86.

G.

Gaddo Gaddi. Mentioned. 83.
Gasparre d'Agostino. 62.
Gavelli, Church of: Spagna. 319—20. — S. Girolamo. Spagna. 326.
Gaudenzio Ferrari. 317. 395.
Geneva, S. Madeleine. Fra Bartolommeo. 454. 477. Mariotto Albertinelli. 454.
Genga. See Girolamo.
Genoa. Al Terragio. Dottore Costa. Luce? Signorelli. 35.
Gentile da Fabriano. His works at Bari. 107. Berlin. 99. 106. Brescia. 98. Città di Castello. 105. Corsham Court. 107. Fabriano. 97. 106. Florence. 100—3. Liverpool. 107. London. 107. Louvre. 100. Milan. 97. Munich. 107. Orvieto. 97. Paris. 107. Perugia. 105. Pisa. 106. Pistoia. 102. Rome. 104. 106. S. Severino. 105. Serra Patrona. 106. Sienna. 101. 102. Venice. 98. 99. 100. — Mentioned. 35. 55. 62. 81. 87. 89. 93. 109. 111.
Gerino da Pistoia. His works at Borgo S. Sepolcro. 349—50. 379. Florence. 351. Pistoia. 350—51. Poggibonsi. 357. S. Petersburg? 357. — Mentioned. 278. 335. 357.
Gherardo. Mentioned. 229. 407. 409.
Ghiberti. Mentioned. 51. 395.
Ghirlandaio (B.). 518. His work at Berlin. 519. Florence. 519. 523. Louvre. 519.
Ghirlandaio (D.). His work at Berlin. 519. Florence. 421. 436. 519—20. London. 405. Orvieto. 520. Paris. 520. Sienna. 520. — Mentioned. 411. 434. 494. 526. 531. 534.
Ghirlandaio (Dom.). 518. His works at Florence. 218. 519. 522. — Mentioned. 3. 9. 51. 81—2. 86. 174. 179. 181—2. 186. 194. 197. 247. 310. 321. 430. 520. 527. 534—5. 536—7. 548. 552.
Ghirlandaio (R.). 518. His works at Berlin. 525. 530. Colle di Val d' Elsa. 530. Florence. 521. 522. 525—9. 530—3. Hampton Court. 533. Panshanger? 252. Paris. 522 3. 525. Pistoia. 528. Prato. 526. 533. Rome. 533. S. Petersburg. 523—4. S. Pietro al Terreno. 423. Venice? 533. Vienna. 525. — Mentioned. 419. 423. 426. 431. 488. 496. 538—9. 540. 544.
Giacomo della Quercia. 58—9.
Giacomo di Bartolommeo. See Pacchiarotti.
Gian Barile. Mentioned. 543.
Gian Jacopo di Castrocaro. 412.
Giannicola Manni. See Manni.
Giorgione. Mentioned. 201. 224. 443.
Giovanni Antonio da Gossate. 67.
Giovanni Barili of Sienna. 543.
Giovanni Battista de Rusitis. 353.
Giovanni Battista of Faenza. See Bertucci.
Giovanni Boccati. 114. His works at Camerino. 114. Orvieto. 116. Perugia. 114—16. Rome. 116. — Mentioned. 50. 55. 108. 116. 119. 120—21. 123. 140. 148. 154.
Giovanni d'Asciano. Mentioned. 62. 71.
Giovanni da Monte Rubiano. 357.
Giovanni di Giorgio of Perugia. 371.
Giovanni di Paolo. 79. His works at Altenburg. 81. Asciano? 81. Cologne. 80. 81. London ib., Rome ib., Sienna ib. — Mentioned. 54. 62.
Giovanni di Pietro. His works at Sienna. 80. 81. 83. — Mentioned. 83.
Giovanni Francesco Rustici. See Rustici.
Giovanni Graffione. 186.
Giovanni Santi. Mentioned. 7. 12. 13. 14. 50. 72. 93—4. 112. 133.
Giotto. Mentioned. *123. 185. 199.* 221. 383. 430. 436—7.
Girolamo da Trevigi. London. 398.
Girolamo del Pacchia. See Pacchia.
Girolamo di Benvenuto. His works at Fontegiusta. 381. Sienna. 71. 73. — Mentioned. 51. 84. 234.
Girolamo di Berto. 347.
Girolamo di Giovanni Boccati. 114. His works at Fermo. 117. Monte S. Martino. 116—17.
Girolamo Genga. Mentioned. 16—17. 73. 216. 234.
Giuliano da Maiano. Mentioned. 186.
Giuliano da S. Gallo. Mentioned. 435.

Giuliano del Tasso. Mentioned. 528.
Giulio Romano. Mentioned. 32. 315. 342. 361. 392? 494. 569—70.
Giuntalodi (Dom.). Mentioned. 46.
Glasgow (near). Hamilton Palace. A. del Sarto. 585. Bacchiacca? 585. Bugiardini? 476. Fra Bartolommeo? 476. Signorelli. 11. Sogliani? 476. Spagna. 328.
Gosford House. Perugino? 252.
Granada. Cathedral. Credi. 407.
Granacci (Francesco). 534—5. His works at Berlin. 519. 536—8. Città di Castello. 535—6. Florence. 319. 522. 528—9. 535—9. 540—1. 566. London? 535. 540. Munich? 475. 519. 537. Oxford. 536. 540. Rome. 539. S. Pietro al Terreno. 423? 537. Warwick Castle. 540. — Mentioned. 222. 423. 321. 523—5. 527—8.
Grandi. See Ercole.
Gregorio Cecchi. Mentioned. 80.
Grenoble. Museum. Perugino. 240—1.
Gualdo. Duomo. Alunno. 130—1. Matteo da Gualdo. 118.
— S. Francesco. Matteo da Gualdo. 118. Sano di Pietro. 70.
Gualfonda. Perugino. 255.
Gubbio. Duomo. Francesco di Giorgio. 10. Ibi. 344. Orlando. 326. 344. Pinturicchio? 297.
— Marquis Rhangiasci. Ibi. 345.
— Palazzo. Nanni. 94.
— Portico del Mercato. Nanni. 94.
— S. Agostino. Gentile da Fabriano? 90. Ottº Nelli. 88. 90. 93.
— S. Croce. Nanni. 94.
— S. Domenico. Tomasuccio Nelli. 93.
— S. Donato. Domº di Cecco Baldi. 94.
— S. Erasmo. Ottaviano Nelli. 90.
— S. Felicissimo. Tomasuccio Nelli. 93.
— S. Francesco. Francesco Signorelli. 33.
— S. Lucia. Domº di Cecco Baldi. 94.
— S. M. de' Bianchi. Jacopo Bedi. 93.
— S. Maria della Piaggiola. Domenico di Cecco Baldi. 94. Gentile da Fabriano? 90. Ottaviano Nelli. 90.
— S. M. de' Laici. Ibi. 345.
— S. M. Nuova. Nanni. 94. Ottº Nelli. 88. 92. 96. Pintali. 94.
Gubbio. S. Piero. Ottº Nelli. 93. Manni? 339.
— S. Secondo. Jacopo Bedi. 89. 93. Nanni. 94. Signorelli. 10.
— Spedaletto. Pintali. 94.
Guglielmo da Marcillat. Mentioned. 43. 531.
Guido Palmerucci. Mentioned. 87. 120.
Guido Reni. Rome. 393.
Guidoccio Cozzarelli. His works at Cologne. 86. S. Petersburg. 86. Sienna. 86. Stockholm. 86.

H.

Hague, The. Perugino. 157.
Hamilton Palace near Glasgow. See Glasgow.
Hampton Court. A. del Sarto? 584. 586. Boateri. 251. Chiodarolo. 251. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Perugino? 251.
Hondthorst (Gherard). Mentioned. 47.

J.

Jacopo Bedi. His works at Gubbio. 93.
Jacopo Bellini. See Bellini.
Jacopo da Empoli. Work at Florence. 557.
Jacopo da Norcia. 326.
Jacopo da S. Severino. His works at Urbino. 110—11.
Jacopo da Tolentino. His works at Naples? 355. Liveri. 356.
Jacopo del Sellaio. Mentioned. 496. 531.
Jacopo di Sandro. Mentioned. 528.
Jacopo Pastore. His work at Liveri. 356.
Jacopo Piattola. 186.
Jacopo Sansovino. Mentioned. 233. 528. 544. 550. 558.
Jacopo Siculo. 329. His works at Bettona. 332. Norcia? 326. 332. Rieti. 331. S. Mamigliano. 331—2. Spoleto? 317. 329. 330—1.
Johannes Baptista (but see G. B. Caporali). 33.

I.

Ibi. See Sinibaldo.
Ince. A. del Sarto? 582. 584.
Ingegno (Andrea Alovigi). 161. His alleged works at *Assisi.* 161. 162.

163. Carlsruhe. 165. Florence. 165. London. 164—5. Milan 164. Naples. 164. Orvieto. 165. 311. 343. Paris. 164—5. Perugia. 161. Rome. 164. Urbino. 164.

Innocenzo da Imola. Mentioned. 487. 493. 517.

Ireland. Brinsley Marley Esq. Pinturicchio? 299.

— Earl of Portarlington. A. del Sarto. 582.

Ischia. Marquis del Vasto. A. del Sarto. 577.

Isola Polvese. Thrasimene lake. Ibi. 345.

K.

Kensington Gallery. Fungai. 276. Perugino. 243. Sano di Pietro. 79. Vivarini? 376.

L.

La Bastia (Church of). Alunno. 130. 133.

La Bastia near Fabriano. Bernardino da Perugia. 300.

La Fratta. Perugino. 295. Pinturicchio. 292. 295. Signorelli. 25. 27. 30.

La Genga: Antonio da Fabriano. 109.

Lanzilago of Padua. 167.

Lappoli (Gio.). Mentioned. 46.

Lattanzio da Foligno. 135.

Lattanzio di Monte Rubiano. Mentioned. 362.

Lattanzio Pagani. Mentioned. 370—1.

Leigh Court (Sir W. Miles). A. del Sarto. 476. 586. 579. Fra Bartolommeo? 476. Puligo? 476. Raphael. 230. Salviati? 586. Sguazella? 586.

Leipzig. Museum. A. del Sarto? 580. Bugiardini. 494—5. Giulio Romano? 494—5.

Lellus of Velletri. 108.

Leonardo da Vinci. Mentioned. 3. 4. 15. 67. 172—3. 201. 221—3. 225. 271. 391. 403. 405. 406. 409. 410. 413. 424. 430. 434—8. 440—1. 443. 450. 452. 456. 463. 485—6. 493. 495—6. 502. 505—6. 514. 521—2. 537—8. 544—5. 550. 554. 556—7. 559. 564. 569. 574—5.

Liberale of Verona. Mentioned. 156. 333.

Lille. Wicar collection. Francia Bigio. 502. Raphael. 369.

Lippo of Sienna. Mentioned. 65. 71. 75.

Liveri. Church of. Francesco da Tolentino. 355—6. Jacopo Pastore. 356.

Liverpool Institution. Credi? 414. Filippino. 160. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Gentile da Fabriano. 107. Ghirlandaio (D.)? 414. Pesellino? 68. Signorelli. (L.). 31.

Lodovico d'Angeli. His work at Berlin. 166. Corciano. 166. Perugia. 148? 156. 166. Ravenna. 160. — Mentioned. 359.

Lodovico de Urbanis. 114.

London. Baring Gallery. A. del Sarto. 584. 586. 587. Bugiardini. 499. Eusebio? 327. 342. Fra Bartolommeo? 475. Pontormo. 584. Puligo? 584. Raphael. 342. Raphael del Colle? 475. Spagna 32. 327. 342. 475.

— Mr. Barker. Credi. 414. Francesco di Gentile. 108. Granacci. 535. Perugino. 250—1. Pinturicchio. 293. 299. Pollaiuolo? 419. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419. Signorelli. 6—7. 31. Verrocchio. 419.

— Sir J. Boileau. Sano di Pietro. 79.

— Bridgewater Gallery. Raphael. 532.

— British Institution. Fungai. 376.

— British Museum. Pinturicchio. 304? 306. Raphael. 304. Spagna. 304. 306.

— Ex-Bromley collection. Fra Paolino. 482. Spagna. 327.

— Mrs. Butler Johnstone. A. del Sarto. 564. 584. Perugino? 251. Tiberio. 251. Timoteo Viti. 251.

— Ex-collection of Charles the Ist. A. del Sarto. 508. Francia Bigio. 508.

— Hon. C. C. Cavendish. A. del Sarto. 586.

— A. Derby Esq. Fra Bartolommeo. 476.

— Dudley House. A. del Sarto. 582. 586. Bernardino of Perugia. 301. Ingegno. 165. Perugino. 251. Peruzzi? 398. Prospero Fontana? 398. Pinturicchio. 299. Raphael. 219. 290. 349. Spagna. 308. 311. 327.

London. Sir C. Eastlake. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419.
— Lord Elcho. *Fra Bartolommeo*? 476. Mariotto Albertinelli? 476.
— Ellesmere Gallery. Peruzzi? 398.
— Mr. Farrer. A. del Sarto. 564. 568. Gentile da Fabriano? 80. Gio. di Paolo. 80. Matteo di Gio. 86.
— Mr. Fuller Maitland. A. del Sarto? 560. Fra Filippo? 68. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Francia Bigio. 506—7. Gio. di Paolo. 80. Granacci. 540. Nanoccio. 560. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419. Raphael. 408. 506—7. Sano di Pietro. 79. Spagna. 308.
— Grosvenor House, (Marquis of Westminster). A. del Sarto. 579. 582. 584. Credi. 414. Fra Bartolommeo? 475. Mariotto? 475. Michele di Ridolfo? 475. Puligo. 582.
— Marquis of Hertford. A. del Sarto. 584.
— Holford Gallery. A. del Sarto. 582. 586. Fra Bartolommeo (after). 473. 475? 476. Mariotto. 475.
— H. A. Munro. See Butler Johnstone.
— Lord Overstone. Credi. 414.
— National Gallery. Alunno. 134. A. del Sarto. 580. 583. 586. Bertucci. 327. 354. Credi. 405. 413. F. Francia. 193. Ghirlandaio (D.)? 405. Girolamo da Trevigi. 398. Ingegno. 164. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 112. Mariotto Albertinelli. 492. 516. Pacchia. 388. Pacchiarotti. 383. Perugino. 202. 223—5. 247. 250. Peruzzi. 398. Piero di Cosimo. 425. Pinturicchio? 164. 299. Pollaiuolo (A.)? 405. Rinaldo of Mantua? 398. Sogliani. 492. 516. Spagna? 354.
— Ex-Northwick collection. Fra Bartolommeo? 476. Perugino. 228. 251.
— Ex-Rogers collection. Raphael. 306.
— Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald. Francia Bigio. 507. Raphael? 507.
— Stafford-House (Duke of Sutherland). A. del Sarto. 579. 584. Fra Bartolommeo? 475. Nanoccio? 584. Penni? 328. Raphael. 307—8? 328? 475. Salviati? 584. *Spagna*. 307—8. 328.
London. Lord Taunton. A. del Sarto? 476. Fra Bartolommeo? 476. Fra Giov. Angelico. 107. Gentile da Fabriano. 107. Perugino. 250. Puligo? 476. Signorelli. 31.
— Sir H. de Trafford. A. del Sarto. 585.
— Sir Anthony Stirling. Fra Bartolommeo? 476. 481. Fra Paolino? 476. 481. Ingegno. 164—5. Pinturicchio. 164—5. 257.
— Hon. W. W. Vernon. A. del Sarto. 586.
— G. F. H. Vernon Esq. Granacci? 540.
— Lord Yarborough. A. del Sarto. 586. Francia Bigio. 508. Raphael? 508.
Longford Castle (Lord Folkestone). A. del Sarto. 582. 584. 585. Puligo? 586.
Lorenzetti (the). Mentioned. 75. 81. 391.
Lorenzetto. Mentioned. 544.
Lorenzo da S. Severino. 109. His works at S. Severino. 108. 110. Urbino. 110. Mentioned. 118—19.
Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. His works. 112—13. Mentioned. 118—19.
Lorenzo da Viterbo. His works at Viterbo. 135.
Lorenzo de' Medici. His connection with Signorelli. 5.
Lorenzo di Credi. 403. His works in Altenburg. 413. Berlin. 413. Carlsruhe. 409. Castiglione Fiorentino. 412. Dresden. 413. Fiesole. 411. Florence. 407. 410—12. Forlì. 413. Liverpool. 414. London. 405. 413. Louvre. 407. 410. 413. Mayence. 408. Montepulciano. 414. Munich. 413. Naples. 413. Oxford. 414. Pistoia. 407—8. Rome. 409. 412. Schleissheim. 413. Turin. 413. Venice. 413. — Mentioned. 35. 172. 174. 186. 194. 204. 229. 351. 415. 423. 444. 446. 456. 486. 512—14. 516. 522. 526. 532.
Lorenzo di Mariano. Sienna. 280.
Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). His life. 59. His works at Carlsruhe? 65. Cologne. 65. Florence. 63. 65. Pienza. 63. Sienna. 60. 61.

63. 64. 65. — Mentioned. 51. 66. 68—9. 82. 101.
Loreto. S. Maria. Signorelli. 78.
Luca Pacioli. Mentioned. 3.
Luca Signorelli. See Signorelli.
Lucca. Duomo. Don Bartolommeo della Gatta. 37.
— S. Agostino. Piero di Cosimo. Zacchia. 422.
— S. Martino. Fra Bartolommeo. 449.
— S. Romano. Fra Bartolommeo. 434. 448. 449. 453. 457. 461—4. 489. 553. Mariotto. 489.
— Signor Mansi. Bugiardini. 496. Fra Bartolommeo? 463.
— Villa Saltocchio. Fra Bartolommeo. 473. 489. Mariotto Albertinelli? 473. 489.
Luce? Signorelli. 35.
Luciano da Velletri. 58.
Lucignano. S. Francesco. Pietro di Giovanni. 77. Signorelli. 32.
Luco. S. Piero. A. del Sarto. 570—1.
Luini (the). 406. 410—11.
Lyons. Museum. A del Sarto. 577. Perugino. 205. 215. 230. 240—1. 335. Pontormo. 577.

M.

Madrid. Museum. Allori? 584. A. del Sarto. 558. 577. 579. 581. 584. 586. Carlo Dolce? 584. Pontormo? 582. Salviati? 582.
— S. Trinita. Fiorenzo. 16.
Macerata. Duomo. V. Pagani. 357.
— S. Giovanni. V. Pagani. 357.
— S. Liberata. V. Pagani. 357.
Mainardi. Mentioned. 299. 536.
Malmaison. A. del Sarto. 583.
Manni (Giannicola). 334. His works at Cambridge. 335. Florence? 335. Gubbio? 339. Pacciano? 339. Paris. 338. Perugia. 335—9. 362. —Mentioned. 161—165. 181. 216. 230. 241. 345—8. 350. 359.
Mantegna (A.). Mentioned. 51. 229. 357.
Mantua. A. del Sarto. 568. 570. Raphael? 568. 570.
— Casa Susanni. Bugiardini. 498.
Marc Antonio. Mentioned. 315—16.
Marciana in Valdicchiana. Soggi. 49.
Marco Antoniassi. His work at Rieti. 169.
Marco Zoppo. Mentioned. 35.
Mariano da Pescia. His works at Brussels? 534. Florence. 533—4. Montpellier? 534. — Mentioned. 420.
Mariano of Perugia. 371. His works at Perugia. 371.
Mariotto Albertinelli. His works at Berlin. 475. 488—9. Cambridge. 487. Carlsruhe. 490. Castle Howard. 489. Florence. 438. 479. 484—8. 490—1. London. 475. 476. 492. Lucca? 472. 489. Munich. 490. Paris 485. 487—8. 492. Rome. 479, 485. 491. S. Petersburg. 491—2. S. Pietro al Terreno. 422. Venice? 474. Viterbo. 491. — Mentioned, 242. 381. 383. 401. 429—32. 441. 446. 447. 449. 450. 456. 459. 466. 493—5. 500. 512. 522—3. 525. 527. 541. 545—6. 550. 554.
Masaccio. Mentioned. 68. 101. 197. 230. 429. 521. 557. 564.
Maso Papacello. His works at Cesi, Cortona, Perugia, Rome, S. M. del Calcinaio, Villa Passerini. 32. 33.
Massa. S. Francesco. V. Pagani. 357.
Matellica. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.
— S. Francesco. Eusebio. 327. 341. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.
— S. Theresa. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.
Matteo Balducci. His works at Montemiata, Paris, and Sienna. 301—2. — Mentioned. 259. 278. 295. 299.
Matteo da Gualdo. His works at Assisi. 119. 124. Foligno. 119. 123. Gualdo. 118. Munich. 121. Nociano. 118. Perugia. 120. S. Pellegrino. 118. Sigillo. 119. — Mentioned. 50. 92. 117. 121. 123. 140. 148.
Matteo di Giovanni. 81—2. His works at Asciano. 83. Berlin. 86. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 83. London. 86. Naples. 84. Pienza. 85. Sienna. 83—6. — Mentioned. 51. 67. 71. 73. 117. 151. 302. 374—6.
Maturino. Mentioned. 544.
Mayence. Museum. Credi. 408—9. Ghirlandaio (Dom.)? 420. Raffaellino del Garbo. 420.
Mazzolini of Ferrara. Mentioned. 398.

Melanzio. His works at Montefalco. 247. 362. 363—4. Subiaco. 169. 364. Torrita. 363. Vecciano. 364.
Melozzo of Forlì. Mentioned. 7. 51. 156. 167. 360.
Memling. Mentioned. 272.
Michael Angelo. Mentioned. 2—4. 7—9. 13. 17. 18. 20. 104—5. 172. 177. 221—3. 231. 279. 283. 357. 361. 373. 389. 391. 393—5. 400. 430. 434. 435—6. 438. 440. 455. 459—61. 494—8. 521. 534—5. 537—41. 544. 554. 557. 559. 562—3. 575.
Michele di Ridolfo. Works at Florence. 430. 481. 530—2. London? 475. Munich? 475. Prato. 533. Rome. 533. Venice. 533. — Mentioned. 412. 420. 530.
Michele Lambertini. Mentioned. 61.
Milan. Ambrosiana. Leonardo da Vinci. 406. 443.
— Brera. Alunno. 128. Foschi. 517. Francesco Verlas 357. Gentile da Fabriano. 97. Giò. Santi. 12. Ingegno. 164. Perugino. 207. Raphael. 218. 224. 289. Signorelli. 4. 5. 30.
— Camillo Fumagalli. Fra Bartolommeo. 477. Raphael? 477.
— Castelbarco Gallery. Ibi. 346. Perugino? 242. 346.
— Duca Melzi. Perugino. 225.
— Duomo. Francesco di Giorgio. 67.
— Palazzo Borromeo. Pinturicchio. 293. 296.
— Prefessor Molteni. Luce? Signorelli. 35.
— S. M. delle Grazie. Leonardo da Vinci. 574—5.
Modena. Gallery. A. del Sarto? 579—80. Fra Bartolommeo? 474. Puligo. 580.
Moiano (near Assisi). Ingegno. 163.
Monciatti. 186.
Montagna. Bartº. Mentioned. 358.
Monte. miniat. Mentioned. 229. 407.
Montefalco. Duomo. Melanzio. 364.
— S. Bartolommeo. Campilius? 324. Spagna. 324.
— S. Domenico. Melanzio. 364.
— S. Fortunato. Melanzio. 363. Tiberio. 343.
— S. Francesco. Gozzoli. 123. Lorenzo da Viterbo. 137. Melanzio. 246—7. 362—4. Ottaviano Nelli? 89. Perugino. 210. 362—3. Tiberio. 343.
Montefalco. S. Leonardo. Melanzio. 363.
— S. Luminara. Melanzio. 364.
Montelpare. Alunno. 129.
Montelucce. S. Maria. Berto. 346—8. Caporali (G. B.). 362. Domº Alfani. 346—7. Giulio Romano. 346—7. Penni 346—7. Raphael. 346—8.
Montemiata. S. Francesco di Pian Castagniano. *Balducci. 301.*
Monte Milone. Lorenzo *II.* of S. Severino. 113.
Montemorcino near Perugino. Caporali (G. B.). 362. Pompeo Cocchi. 371.
Montepulciano. Credi. 414. Signorelli. 32.
— S. Lucia. Signorelli. 30.
Monte Rivoso. Spagna. 326.
Monte S. Martino. S. Agostino. Pictures. 118.
— S. M. del Pozzo. Girolamo di Gio. Boccati. 116—117.
Monte S. Savino. Don Bartº della Gatta. 42. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Soggi. 49.
Monte Sta. Maria. Signorelli. 32.
Monte Santo Pietrangeli. S. Francesco. Crivelli? 357. V. Pagani. 357.
Monte Oliveto (Sienna). Francesco di Giorgio. 66. Pacchiarotti? 295. Pinturicchio. 292—5.
Montone. Signorelli. 25.
Montpellier. Musée Fabre. A. del Sarto? 582—3. Fra Bartolommeo? 469. Ghirlandaio (R.). 534. Mariano da Pescia? 534.
Munich. Pinakothek. A. del Sarto. 579. 580. 581. Brescianini? 475. Credi. 413. Eusebio? 327. Fra Bartolommeo? 327? 475. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Gentile da Fabriano. 107. Granacci. 475. 537. Mariotto Albertinelli. 490. Masaccio? 68. Matteo da Gualdo. 121. Michele di Ridolfo? 475. Pacchia. 383. Pacchiarotti. 383. Perugino. 250—1. 254—5. Pollaiuolo (A.). 121. Puligo. 475. Raphael? 254. Raffaellino del Garbo. 255. Spagna. 327. 475.

N.

Nancy. Museum. A. del Sarto? 583. Duccio? 225. Perugino. 225—6. Sogliani? 583. Taddeo Bartoli. 225.
Nanni Unghero. Mentioned. 550.
Nanoccio. Work in London? 584. Windsor 586.
Nantes. Museum. A. del Sarto? 563. Perugino. 253.
Naples. Duomo. Perugino. 207. 246.
— Montoliveto. Pinturicchio. 292. 296.
— Museum. A. del Sarto. 568—70. 579. Berto. 348. Bronzino? 579. Caporali. 359—60. Credi. 313. Fra Bartolommeo. 470. Giulio Romano. 570. Matteo di Gio. 84. Perugino. 246. Pinturicchio. 292. 296. Pontormo? 579. Raffaellino del Garbo? 419. Raphael? 568—70.
— Palazzo Reale. Raphael. 230. 300.
— (near). S. Caterina a Formello. Matteo di Gio. 84—5.
— S. M. la Nuova. Donzelli? 355—6. Francesco da Tolentino? 355—6.
Narni. S. Girolamo. Ghirlandaio school of. 310—11. Pietro Antonio. 125. Spagna. 311.
Neri di Bicci. Mentioned. 62.
Neri di Fioravanti. 185.
Nerroccio (de' Landi). His works at Cologne. 69. Sienna. 69. — Mentioned. 57. 70. 79.
Niccola Tommasi. 185.
Niccolò Alunno. See Alunno.
Niccolò Deliberatore. See Alunno. 133.
Niccolò Soggi. His works at Arezzo. 45—9. Florence. 48. Prato. 45—8. Rome. 45—6.
Nocera. Duomo. Alunno. 130. 132. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.
Nociano. Matteo da Gualdo. 118.
Norcia. Church del Rosario. Jac. Siculo. 332.
— SS. Annunziata. Jac. Siculo. 332.

O.

Oderigo di Credi. 403.
Oderisio da Gubbio. Mentioned. 87. 95.
Onofrio da Fabriano. 109.
Orazio Alfani. See Alfani.
Orcagna. Mentioned. 185. 436—7.
Orlando of Perugia. His works at Gubbio. 344. — Mentioned. 94.
Orvieto. Duomo. Genga. 16. Gentile da Fabriano. 97. 103. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 520. Perugino. 184. and foll. 208. 261. Pinturicchio. 189. 261. 270. Signorelli. 16—22. 131. 208.
— Casa Gualtieri. Eusebio. 164. 341. Ingegno? 164? 341. Raphael? 164. Signorelli? 164.
— Casa Pietrangeli. Gio. Boccati. 116.
— S. Bernardino. Ibi? 346.
Osimo. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.
Ostia. Peruzzi. 393.
Ottaviano Martini Nelli. 87. His works at Assisi. 92. Foligno. 89. 90—1. Gubbio. 88. 93. 96. Montefalco? 89. Perugia. 88—9. Rome. 93. Urbino. 90. — Mentioned. 109.
Oxford. University Gallery. Alunno 134. A. del Sarto. 575. Credi? 414. Granacci. 536. 540. Marco Zoppo. 35. Perugino. 224. Signorelli. 35.
— Dr. Wellesley. Perugino. 219.

P.

Pacchia (del). His works at London. 383. Munich. 383. Pontignano. 380. S. Petersburg? 383. Sienna. 37—9. 80—3. — Mentioned. 73. 335. 374. 401.
Pacchiarotti (Giacomo). His works at Borgo S. Sepolcro? 379. Florence. 378. Sienna. 377—83. — Works erroneously assigned: 383. — Mentioned. 57. 234. 374.
Pacciano (church of). Francesco di Castro Plebis. 171. Manni. 339.
Paiuolo Club. 551.
Pallazuolo. Civerchio. 401.
Palmezzano. Mentioned. 124. 156. 354—5.
Panetti of Ferrara. Mentioned. 354.
Panicale. Duomo. Caporali. (G. B.). 361.
— S. Agostino. Spagna. 228.
— (near). S. Salvatore. Caporali (G. B.). 361.
— S. Sebastian. Perugino. 227. 231. 303.

Panshanger (Lord Cowper) A. del Sarto. 584—5. Beccafumi? 468.
— Fra Bartolommeo. 449—51. 466—7. Perugino. 252. Puligo? 585.
Paris. Galerie Abel. Fra Bartolommeo? 477. Raphael? 477.
— Cluny Museum. Gentile da Fabriano. 107. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 520. Lorenzo Monaco. 107.
— Ex-Beaucousin collection. Mariotto. 516. Sogliani. 516.
— Mr. Joly de Bammeville. Pinturicchio. 16.
— Mr. J. Lafitte. A. del Sarto. 576.
— Louvre. Alfani (D.). 370. Alfani (O.). 370. Alunno. 131. A. del Sarto. 562—3. 576. 584. 587. Balducci. 302. Bernardino of Perugia. 301. 371. Bugiardini? 497—8. Credi. 407. 410. 413. Fra Bartolommeo. 452—3. 461. 464. 481. Francia Bigio. 504—7. Ghirlandaio (B.). 519. 521. Ghirlandaio. (R.). 523. Ingegno. 164. 165. 338. 370. Leonardo. 406. 443. 556. Manni. 338—9. Mariotto Albertinelli. 451. 485—7. Perugino. 157. 179. 229. 250—2. Piero di Cosimo. 424. Pinturicchio. 298. 328. Pompeo Cocchi? 371. Raffaellino del Garbo. 418. Raphael. 452. 504—6. Sano di Pietro. 79. Signorelli. 15. 30. 31. Spagna? 298. 328. Tiberio? 298.
— Louvre. Ex-Campana. Alunno. 133. Perugino. 252.
— Mr. O. Mündler. Gentile da Fabriano. 107.
— Ex-Orleans Gallery. Perugino. 194.
— Ex-Pourtalès Gallery. Mariotto Albertinelli? 492. 516. Sogliani? 492. 516.
— S. Germain l'Auxerrois. Perugino. 205.
Parmegiano. Mentioned. 370.
Parri Spinelli. Mentioned. 43.
Patrico. Church of. Spagna? 326—7.
Pavia. Duomo. Francesco di Giorgio. 67.
— Certosa. Fra Bartolommeo. 451. Perugino. 223.
Pausola. Vincenzo Pagani. 357.
— All'Amatrice. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 112.
Pecori (Domenico). His works at Arezzo. 43. and Sargiano. 49. — Mentioned. 45. 47. 48—9.
Pellegrino Mariani. His miniatures at Pienza and Sienna. 81. His works at Pisa and Sienna. 81.
Penni. Mentioned. 315. 328.
Perino Caesareo of Perugia. 371. His works at and near Spoleto. 372.
Perino del Vaga. Mentioned. 513—14.
Perugia. Cambio chapel. Ibi. 338. Giannicola Manni. 165. 337—8. Perugino. 207. 209—15. 231. 250. 302. 338. Raphael. 214. Spagna? 303.
— Chiesa del Gesù. Caporali (G. B.)? 362.
— Church of the Commenda di S. Croce. Bonfigli. 147.
— Carmine. Alfani. (Dom.). 369. Alfani (Orazio). 369. Anselmo. 369. Bonfigli. 147. Perugino? 147.
— Collegio de' Notari. Bonfigli. 71. Ibi. 346.
— Collegio Gregoriani. Alfani (D.). 366.
— Compª della SS. Annunziata. Alunno. 128.
— Compagnia di S. Fiorenzo. Bonfigli. 145—6.
— Confraternità della Giustizia. Bonfigli. 147. Fiorenzo. 160. Pompeo Cocchi. 371.
— Confraternità di S. Agostino. Alfani (O.). 370. Manni? 339. 346. Ibi. 339. 346. Perugino? 371. Pompeo Cocchi. 371.
— Confraternità S. Bernardino. Perugino. 245.
— Confraternità di S. Giuseppe. Perugino. 217.
— Confraternità di S. M. Novella. See S. Pietro Martire.
— Duomo. See S. Lorenzo.
— Fortress. Papacello. 33.
— Gallery. Alfani (D.). 338. 366. 369—70. Alfani (O.). 370. Alunno. 129. 301. Bernardino of Perugia. 300. Berto. 347. Bonfigli. 140. 145—8. 157. Bartº Caporali. 156. 359. Domº Bartolo. 55. Euschio. 340—2. Fiorenzo. 147. 150—153—7. 158—60. 166. 359. Frescos of the 15th century. 138. Dom. Ghirlandaio? 158—9. Gio. Boc-

cati. 115—16. Ibi. 340. 346. Ingegno. 338. Lellus of Velletri. 108. Lodovico d'Angeli. 156. 166. 359. Manni. 335—6. 338. Mantegna? 152. Matteo da Gualdo. 120. Perugino. 158—9. 201. 237. 240 241. 245. 250. 306—7 323. P. della Francesca. 120. Pinturicchio. 296. 306—7. Pompeo Cocchi. 371. Raphael? 340. Spagna. 306 —7. 325. Tiberio. 344.

Perugia. Galleria Connestabili. Lattanzio da Monte Rubiano. 362. Perugino. 245. Raphael. 341.

— (near) Murelli. Tiberio. 344.

— Palazzo Penna. Fra Bartolommeo? 477. Perugino. 231—2.

— Palazzo Pubblico. Alfani (D.). 370. Bonfigli. 141—4. Fiorenzo. 157. 160. 165. Manni. 334. Perugino. 174—6. 200. 245. Pietro di Galeotto. 176. Santo di Appollonio. 177.

— S. Agnese. Eusebio. 341. Perugino. 243. 342.

— S. Agostino. Alfani (D.). 368. Alfani (O.)? 368. Baccio d'Agnolo. 217. Eusebio. 237. 340. Fiorenzo. 160. Giannicola Manni. 246. Lellus of Velletri. 108. Manni. 336. Perugino. 217. 236. 239 —42. 244. 246. 336.

— S. Anna, Perugino. 242.

— S. Antonio. Raphael. 230. 300.

— SS. Annunziata. Giovanni di Giorgio. 371.

— S. Caterina. Bernardino of Perugia. 300.

— S. Bernardino. Agostino d'Antonio. 144. Bonfigli. 145. Manni. 339. Perugino. 323.

— S. Domenico. Bonfigli. 105. 140 —1. 146—7. Gentile da Fabriano. 105. Gio. Boccati. 55. 114—15. Manni. 325. 335—6. Mariano of Perugia. 371. Spagna. 325.

— S. Fiorenzo. Alfani (D.). 370.

— S. Francesco. Alfani (D. and O.). 368. 370. Bonfigli. 147. Fiorenzo. 147. 148. 150—2. 159. 165. Matteo da Gualdo. 120. Papacello. 33. Perugino. 219. 237. 245. Pisanello? 150—1. 160.

— S. Francesco al Monte. Perugino. 210. 218—19. 245. 303. Spagna. 303.

Perugia. S. Fortunato. Perugino. 220.

— S. Giorgio. Fiorenzo. 160.

— S. Girolamo. Pinturicchio. 306. 307. Spagna. 306—7.

— Sta. Giuliana. Alfani (D.). 368. Berto. 347—8. Caporali (B.). 156. 359. Dom° Bartoli. 54. Fiorenzo. 156. 359. Lodovico d'Angeli. 156.

— S. Lorenzo. Bonfigli. 148. Caporali (B.). 359. Lodovico d' Angeli. 166. Manni. 337. Perugino. 217. 255. Pompeo Cocchi. 371. Signorelli. 10.

— S. M. della Consolazione. See S. Pietro Martire.

— S. M. di Verzaro. Manni. 336.

— S. M. Fra Fossi. Perugino. 242. Pinturicchio. 270—3.

— S. M. Nuova. Alfani (O.). 370. Alunno. 128. 129. Fiorenzo. 153. 158. 245. Perugino. 158—9. 210. 244—5. Sebastian del Piombo. 370.

— S. Pietro. Alfani (D.). 368. Alfani (O.). 370. Bonfigli. 148. 166. Dono Doni? 342. Eusebio. 325. 342. Ingegno? 324—5. Lodovico d'Angeli. 148. 166. Perugino. 203. 205—7. 215. 240—2. Pinturicchio? 296. 325. Spagna. 296. 324 —5. 342.

— S. Pietro Martire. Perugino. 200. 201—3. 215. 218. 224.

— S. Severo. Bernardino of Perugia. 301. Caporali? 362. Perugino. 237. Pompeo Cocchi. 371.

— S. Simone. Lodovico d' Angeli. 166.

— S. Simone e Giuda. See Carmine.

— S. Tommaso. Manni. 338—9.

— Servi. See S. M. Nuova.

— Signor Fantacchiotti. Perugino. 245.

— Signor Morettini. Perugino. 243.

— Signor Pampaglini. Caporali (G. B.). 362. Manni. 362.

— Signor Vincenzo Bertelli. Bonfigli. 71. 140.

Peruzzi (B.). 384. His works at Berlin. 401. Bologna. 397—8. Carpi. 393. Dublin? 401. Escurial (the) 398. Florence? 401. London. 398. Ostia. 393. Rome. 385—97. 398—9. Sienna. 384. 399. Torre di Bibiano? 400.

Venice. 401. — Mentioned. 233—4.
Peselli. Mentioned. 174. 197. 201.
Pesellino. Mentioned. 107.
Pian' di Mugnone. Fra Bartolommeo. 457—8. 461. 463. 465. 471. Fra Paolino. 479.
Pienza. Compagnia di S. Gio. Matteo di Gio. 85.
— Duomo. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 63—4. Matteo di Gio. 85. Pellegrino Mariani. 81. Sano di Pietro. 79.
Pier Angelo Basili. Mentioned. 88.
Pier Francesco di Sandro. His works at Florence. 426.
Piero della Francesca. Mentioned. 2. 3. 4. 7. 15. 20. 22. 37. 41. 42. 47. 50—1. 55—6. 72. 75. 82. 108. 115—16. 119. 120. 136—7. 138—9. 144. 150. 152. 156. 167. 171—3. 181. 361. 379. 387.
Piero di Cosimo. 420. His works at Berlin. 425. Fiesole. 425. Florence. 421—25. London. 425. Lucca. 422. Paris. 424. Rome. 421. S. Pietro al Terreno. 422. Mentioned. 35. 412. 429. 430. 434. 444. 500. 521—3. 525. 527. 537. 543. 545. 578.
Pietro Antonio da Foligno. 123. His works at Assisi. 124. Foligno. 123—4. Narni. 125. Spello. 125. Trevi. 125. Mentioned. 92. 120. 135.
Pietro da Cortona. Mentioned. 449.
Pietro di Galeotto. His work at Perugia. 176.
Pietro di Giovanni Pucci. 74. His works at Asciano, Lucignano, and Sienna. 77.
Pietro Domenici of Sienna. 376.
Pietro Perugino. His birth, education. 170 and foll. His works at Alnwick. 220—1. 242. Altenburg. 255. Arezzo. 171. Ascoli. 232. Assisi. 234. Berlin. 254. Bettona. 235—6. Bologna. 249—50. Bordeaux. 253. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 206. 246. Bowood. 252. Brussels? 255. Caen. 217. 252. 255. Cantiano. 247. Castiglione del Lago. 247. Cerqueto. 175. Città della Pieve. 226—7. 231. 236—7. Corciano. 207. 246. Cremona. 194. Dresden. 254. Dulwich? 252. Fano. 207. 244. Fiesole. 184. 191. Florence. 182. 185—6. 191. 192. 193—9. 206—7. 215. 223. 229. 230. 235. 247—9. 255. Foligno. 232. Fontignano. 243. Frankfort. 255. Gosford House. 252. Grenoble. 240—1. Hague. 175. Hampton Court? 251. La Fratta. 232. London. 173. 223. 225. 228. 247. 250—1. Lyons. 205. 230. 240. Marseilles. 242. Milan. 225. 242. Montefalco. 246. Montone. 232. Munich. 254—5. Nancy. 225—6. Nantes. 240. 253. Naples. 207. 246. Orvieto. 184 and foll. 208. Oxford. 219. Panicale. 227. 231. Panshanger. 252. Paris. 175. 179. 205. 229. 250—2. Pavia. 223. Perugia. 174—7. 200. 201—3. 205—7. 209. 215. 217—20. 231—2. 236—7. 241—3. 244—6. 255. 323. Pistoia. 195. Rome. 175. 177—9. 180—4. 187—90. 200—1. 205. 207. 209. 217. 219—21. 224. 232—3. 249. 250. Rouen. 205—6. 250—1. S. Petersburg. 253. Sienna. 234—5. 377. Sinigaglia. 208. Spello. 238—240. Strasburg. 240. Toulouse. 240. Trevi. 238. 240. 243. Venice. 195. 196. 250. Vienna. 192. 247. 253. Volterra. 254. — Mentioned. 7. 9. 17. 24. 37. 39. 40. 43. 82. 88. 101. 126. 147. 148. 150. 153—6. 161. 165. 168. 256. 265—9. 271—7. 281. 288. 289. 291. 303. 306. 308. 312. 314. 316. 325. 334—5. 342—3. 348. 350. 352. 354. 357. 360—3. 373. 376. 379. 403. 405. 407. 440—1. 445. 456. 488. 492. 527. 569. 571.
Pintali (G.). See Giovanni. 93.
Pinturicchio (Bernardino). His birth. 256. Death. 293. His works at Altenburg. 398. Amelia. 297. Assisi? 256. 297. Berlin. 297—8. Bettona. 297. Chatsworth. 287. Città di Castello. 33. 296. Dresden. 297. Florence. 296. Gubbio. 297. Ireland. 299. La Fratta. 292. London. 165. 257. 293. 299. Milan. 293. 296. Monte Oliveto. 292. 295. Naples. 292. 296. Paris. 298. Perugia. 270—3. 296. Ravenna. 160. Rome. 164. 257—70. 292. 295. 385—6. S. Severino. 273. Schleissheim. 298. Sienna. 279. 289—90. 291—2. 294—5. Spello. 275—8. 292—3. Spoleto. 271. Vienna. 298.

Mentioned. 1. 14. 16–17. 21. 33. 73. 148–9. 150–1. 153. 155. 157. 158. 168. 176. 187. 191. 216. 222. 234. 305. 316. 318. 335–6. 339–40. 344. 348. 349. 350–2. 354. 355. 360. 371. 373–5. 379. 382. 384–5. 387. 391.

Pisa. Academy. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.

— Compagnia di S. Francesco. A. del Sarto. 515. Sogliani. 515.

— Duomo. A. del Sarto. 515. 572. Perino del Vaga. 514. Sogliani. 514–15.

— Pia Casa della Misericordia. Gentile da Fabriano. 106.

— S. Caterina. Fra Bartolommeo. 453–4. Mariotto Albertinelli? 453–4.

— Signor Toscanelli. Pellegrino Mariani. 81.

Pisanello (V.). Mentioned. 80. 99. 117. 150. 160.

Pistoia. Al Ceppo. Credi. 408.

— Convento di Sala. Gerino da Pistoia. 352.

— Duomo. Credi. 407–8. 410. Gerino da Pistoia. 350.

— Palazzo della Comunità. Gerino da Pistoia. 351. Fra Paolino. 482.

— Ex-Puccini Gallery. Gentile da Fabriano? 102.

— S. Andrea. Gerino da Pistoia. 351.

— S. Domenico. Andrea da Salerno? 481. Andrea del Sarto? 481. Fra Bartolommeo. 464–5. Fra Paolino. 464–5. 481–2.

— S. Felice. Bernardino del Signoraccio. 478.

— S. Gio. Fuorcivitas. Bernardino del Signoraccio. 478. Fra Paolino. 482.

— S. Lorenzo. Bernardino del Signoraccio. 478.

— S. M. delle Grazie. Credi. 408. Fra Paolino. 482.

— S. M. dell' Umiltà. Gerino da Pistoia. 351–2. Fra Paolino. 481.

— S. Pietro Maggiore. Gerino da Pistoia. 350. Ghirlandaio (R.). 528.

— Servi. Fra Paolino. 480.

Plautilla Nelli. Her works at Berlin? 483. Florence. 483.

Poggibonsi. S. Lucchese. Gerino da Pistoia. 351.

Poggio a Caiano. Allori. 511. 565–6. A. del Sarto. 511. 545. 565. Francia Bigio. 511. 565. Pontormo. 511. 565–6.

Pollaiuolo (A.). Mentioned. 66. 174. 186. 197. 201. 421.

Pollaiuolo. Simone. 186. 222.

Pomarancio. Mentioned. 8.

Pommersfelden, A. del Sarto. 576.

Pompeo Cocchi. His works at Montemorcino. 371. Paris? 371. Perugia. 371. Mentioned. 362.

Pontignano. Church of. Pacchia. 380.

Pontormo. Works? at Alnwick. 586. Florence. 566. London. 584. Lyons. 577. Madrid? 582. Naples. 579. Panshanger. 585. Poggio a Caiano. 565–6. Vienna. 580. — Mentioned. 487. 500. 554.

Poussin. Rome. 389.

Prato. Duomo. Fra Filippo. 8. Ghirlandaio (R.). 526. 533. Soggi. 47.

— Madonna delle Carcere. Soggi. 45–6.

— S. Piero Martire. Soggi. 48.

— S. Rocco. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Michele di Ridolfo. 533.

Pratovecchio. Dom. Bartoli. 58.

Prepo. Near Perugia. Alfani (D.). 370.

Procaccini. Mentioned. 371.

Prospero Fontana? London. 398.

Puccinelli. (The). Their works at Florence. 401. Munich. 475. Sienna. 401. Torre di Bibiano. 400–1. Turin. 474. Venice? 474.

Puligo (Domenico). Works? at Bristol? 426. Florence? 474. 540. 579. London? 476. 582. 584. Longford Castle? 586. Modena? 580. Munich? 475. Panshanger? 585. S. Petersburg? 492. 583. Vienna? 580. Windsor Castle? 586. — Mentioned. 45.

R.

Raffaellino del Garbo. 415. His works at Berlin. 417. Dresden. 418. Florence. 415–19. London. 419. Mayence. 420. Naples. 419. Paris. 418. Sienna. 416. Venice. 419. Vienna. 419.

Raphael. His works at Dresden. 458. Dudley House. 219. Dulwich. 252. Florence. 461. 469. 485. 501. 568

—70. Leigh Court. 230. Lille. 369. London. 507—8. 532. Milan. 218. 477. Naples? 230. 568. 570. Paris? 477. Perugia. 214—16. 230. Rome. 233. 313. 365. 389. 394. 397. 533. Sienna. 280—9. Stockholm. 347. Vatican Gallery. 220—1. — Mentioned. 3. 20—1. 23—4. 44. 126. 149. 153. 161. 164. 199. 224—6. 233. 246. 266. 271. 303. 305—6. 313—18. 327. 330. 334—35. 338. 340. 345. 349. 351. 354. 357. 361. 366—7. 371. 373. 380—1. 383. 387. 390—1. 393—5. 430. 437. 440—4. 448. 449. 450. 455. 459. 461. 475. 476. 491. 496. 502. 505—7. 522. 524. 525—6. 530. 532. 539. 557. 562. 564. 583.

Raphael de Caponibus. 415.

Raphael de Florentia. 416.

Raphael del Colle. His work in London? 475. Mentioned. 370.

Raphael di Città di Castello. 29.

Ravenna. Gallery. Caporali (B.)? Fiorenzo. 359.

— Galleria Rasponi. Fra Bartolommeo. 442. Raphael? 442.

Recanati. Duomo. Lodovico de Urbanis. 114.

Rembrandt. Mentioned. 469.

Riccio (of Sienna). Mentioned. 15.

Rieti. S. Antonio al Monte. Antonius of Rome. 167.

— S. Chiara. Marco Antoniassi. 169.

— S. Francesco. Jac. Siculo. 331.

Rinaldo of Mantua? London. 398.

Rocco Zoppo. Mentioned. 255.

Romano Bembo. Sienna. 291.

Rome. Belvedere. Pinturicchio. 260.

— Bisenzio Collection (ex). Spagna. 327.

— Ex-Campana Collection. Gio. di Monte Rubiano. 89.

— Camuccini. Perugino. 220.

— Caraffa Chapel. Filippino. 167.

— Cappella Paolina. M. Angelo. 400.

— (near). Castel Nuovo. Antoniasso. 169.

— Castel S. Angelo. Pinturicchio. 265—7.

— Farnesina. Daniel da Volterra. 389. Giulio Romano. 342. Michael Angelo? 389. Peruzzi. 387. 389. 393. Poussin. 389. Raphael. 389. 491. Sebastian del Piombo. 389.

Rome. Gallery of the Capitol. Cotignola? 249. Fra Bartolommeo. 474. F. Francia. 249. Francia (G.). 474. Lorenzo di Credi? 249. Perugino? 249. Gentile da Fabriano. 104.

— James Stuart. Duke of Albany. A. del Sarto. 577.

— La Magliana. Raphael. 311. Spagna. 314.

— Lost works by Mariotto Albertinelli. 485.

— Montecavallo. Peruzzi. 397.

— Monte di Pietà. Alunno. 129.

— Museo Cristiano. Gio. di Paolo. 81. Pinturicchio. 295. Sano di Pietro. 79.

— Palazzo Barberini. A. del Sarto. 579. 581. 582. 584.

— Galleria Borghese. A. del Sarto? 579. Bertucci. 249. 353. Credi. 409. 413. Fra Bartolommeo? 474. 478. 482. Fra Paolino? 474. 478. 482. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Perugino? 249. 353. Pinturicchio. 295. Raphael. 313. 365. 370—2. 533.

— Palazzo Colonna. Alunno. 129. Bugiardini. 499. Perugino? 249. Pinturicchio? 249. 325. Spagna. 249. 325.

— Palazzo Corsini. A. del Sarto? 579. Bugiardini? 579. Fra Bartolommeo. 468—70. 473.

— Palazzo de' Conservadori al Campidoglio. Ingegno. 164. Pinturicchio. 164.

— Palazzo Domenico della Rovere. Pinturicchio. 257.

— Doria Gallery. Marco Basaiti. 249. Perugino? 249.

— Palazzo Farnese. Daniel da Volterra. 389.

— Palazzo Gabrielli. Raphael? 309. Spagna. 309.

— Museo Pio Clementino. Pinturicchio. 260.

— Rospigliosi Palace. Guido. 393.

— Palazzo Sciarra. Fra Bartolommeo? 474. 479. 482. Fra Paolino? 474. 479. 482. Perugino. 249. Pinturicchio. 260.

— Palazzo Spada. A. del Sarto? 579.

— Quirinal. Antoniasso. 168. Fra Bartolommeo. 459—60. Raphael? 459—60.

— Raphael's house. 257.

ROME.

Rome. S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Pinturicchio. 269.
— S. Clemente. Masaccio. 230.
— S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Antoniasso? 360. Bonfigli. 270. Caporali. G. B. 360. Peruzzi. 385—6. Pinturicchio? 270. Signorelli. 270.
— S. Francesca Romana. Gentile da Fabriano. 104. Ibi. 345—6.
— S. Gio. Laterano. Bonfigli. 149. Gentile da Fabriano. 104.
— S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Pinturicchio. 270.
— S. Marco. Perugino? 191.
— S. M. del Popolo. Baccio Pontelli. 257. Pinturicchio. 257—60. Raphael. 315. 394.
— S. M. dell' Anima. Michael Angelo of Sienna. 399. Peruzzi. 399. Tribolo. 399.
— S. M. della Pace. Gaudenzio Ferrari? 395—6. Peruzzi. 394—6.
— S. M. in Araceli. Francesco da Città di Castello? 268. Pinturicchio. 267—9. 335.
— S. M. Maggiore. Gaddo Gaddi. 83.
— S. Maria Nuova. See S. Francesca Romana.
— S. M. Sopra Minerva. Filippino. 415. Raffaellino del Garbo. 415.
— S. Onofrio. Peruzzi. 270. 385—6. Pinturicchio? 270. 385.
— S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Antoniasso. 168.
— S. Pietro. Giotto. 123. Peruzzi. 393. 397. 399. Pinturicchio. 261.
— S. Pietro in Montorio. Antoniasso. 168. Peruzzi? 386. Pinturichio. 386.
— S. Rocco. Peruzzi. 397.
— S. Salvestro. Fra Bartolommeo. 459—60. Mariotto Albertinelli. 491. Raphael. 459—60.
— Signor Badia. Gio. Boccati. 116.
— Sixtine. Don Bart° della Gatta. 39. 178. 183. Bugiardini. 394. Cosimo Rosselli. 421. Granacci. 539. Michael Angelo. 177. 400. 494. Perugino. 177—84. 187. 217. Piero di Cosimo. 421. Pinturicchio. 178—9. 183. 257. Signorelli. 8. 9.
— Tapestries. Raphael. 398.
— Vatican. Bonfigli. 149. Don Bart° della Gatta. 39. Giov. da Udine. 262. Perino del Vaga. 262. Perugino. 200. 205. 207. 251. Peruzzi. 393. Pinturicchio. 178. 292. 304. Raphael. 340—2. Signorelli. 24. Spagna. 304.
Rome. Vatican. Apartamento Borgia. Pinturicchio. 262—7.
— Camere. Bramante. 387—8. Don Bart° della Gatta. 387. Perino del Vaga. 262. Perugino. 200. 205. 207. 251—2. Peruzzi. 386—8. Pieró della Francesca. 387. Pinturichio. 252. 306. Raphael. 233. 288. 315. Signorelli (L). 387. Spagna. 306.
— Grotte. Peruzzi. 399.
— Museum. Alunno. 129. Francesco di Gentile. 107. Perugino. 219—20 224. 295. Pinturicchio. 292. 295. Raphael. 220—1.
— Villa Albani. Perugino. 189—90. 209.
Rossellino. See Bernardo.
Rosso. Work at Vienna? 580. — Mentioned. 46. 365. 367—8. 370. 459. 514. 528. 537. 544.
Rouen. Museum. Perugino. 205—6. 250—1.
Rovigo. Gal. Com. A. del Sarto? 580. Perugino? 309. Spagna. 309.
Rubens. Mentioned. 27. 469.
Rustici. G. F. Mentioned. 46. 550—1.

S.

Salvanello. Mentioned. 80.
Salviati. Work at Dulwich? 586. Leigh Court? 586. London? 584. Madrid? 582. Windsor? 586.
S. Angelo nel Campo. Perugino. 247.
S. Gimignano. S. Agostino. Benozzo. 291. Fra Paolino. 480—2.
— S. Domenico. Fra Paolino. 481.
— (near). S. Lucià a Babbiano. Fra Paolino. 480—1.
S. Ginesio. Zoccolanti. Stephano di S. Ginesio. 114.
S. Mamigliano. Near Spoleto. Jac. Siculo. 331.
S. Pellegrino. Church of. Matteo da Gualdo. 118.
S. Petersburg. Count Paul Stroganoff. Alunno. 134. 376. Fungai. 134. 376. Guidoccio. 86.
— Count Sergei Stroganoff. A. del Sarto. 582. 583. Eusebio? 253. Gerino da Pistoia? 253. 351. Perugino? 253. ? 351.
— Grand Duchess Marie. Perugino. 253.
— Hermitage. A. del Sarto? 581.

S. PETERSBURG.

583. 586. Antonio Moro? 512. Bazzi? 491. Bronzino? 512. Bugiardini. 383. 496. 524. Fra Bartolommeo. 461. 463. Francia Bigio? 512. 524. Ghirlandaio (R.). 423—4. Granacci? 523—5. Mariano da Pescia? 524. Mariotto Albertinelli? 491. Michele di Ridolfo? 524. Pacchia? 383. 496. Sogliani? 491. Spagna. 328.

S. Petersburg. Leuchtenberg Gallery. Fra Bartolommeo? 463. Gaudenzio Ferrari? 491. Mariotto Albertinelli. 491. Signorelli. 31. Sogliani? 492.

— Prince Gortschakoff. Andrea del Sarto? 492. Mariotto Albertinelli. 492. Puligo? 492.

— Princess Kutschubey. A. del Sarto? 583. Puligo? 583.

S. Pietro al Terreno. Fra Bartolommeo? 422. Ghirlandaio (R.)? 423. Granacci? 422. 537. Piero di Cosimo? 422.

S. Quirico. Near Sienna. Sano di Pietro. 79.

S. Severino. Duomo. Bernardino of Perugia. 299. Gentile da Fabriano. 105. Pinturicchio. 273.

— Certosa. Lorenzo da S. Severino. 110.

— Chiesa del Castello. 129.

— Palazzo Pubblico. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.

— Porta del Mercato. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.

— S. Agostino. Lorenzo II. of S. Severino. 113.

— S. Domenico. Bernardino of Perugia. 299.

— S. M. della Pieve. Lorenzo da S. Severino. 110.

— S. M. delle Grazie. Lodovico Urbanis. 114.

— S. M. di Mercato. Bernardino of Perugia. 300.

Sandro Botticelli. His work at Berlin. 536, — Mentioned. 9. 22. 40. 174. 187.

Sangalli. Mentioned. 222.

Sanguinetti. 240.

Sano di Matteo. Mentioned. 59.

Sano di Pietro. His works at Altenburg. 81. Berlin. 79. Buonconvento. 79. Cologne. 79. Dresden. 79. London. 79. Louvre. 79. Pienza. 79. Gualdo. 79. Rome. 79. S. Quirico near Sienna. 77—8.— Mentioned. 52. 59. 60. 61. 64. 68. 75. 82.

Sansovino. (See Jacopo.)

Santi di Appollonio. 177. 203.

Sarcedo. Church of. F. Verlas. 358.

Sargiano. Pecori. 49. Soggi. 49.

Sarnano. Church. Pictures. 118.

— Collegiata. Lorenzo II. da S. Severino. 112. Vincenzo Pagani. 357.

Sarto. See Andrea.

Sarzana. A. del Sarto. 575.

Sassetta. See Stefano di Giovanni.

Sassoferrato. S. Croce. Antonio da Fabriano. 109. — Mentioned. 305.

Savona. Perugino. 235.

Savonarola. Portrait of. 432—3.

Scheggino near Spoleto. Perino Cesareo of Perugia. 372.

Schio. Chiesa dell' Ospitale. F. Verlas. 357.

Schleissheim. A. del Sarto? 581. Credi? 413. Mainardi? 298. Pinturicchio? 298.

Scotland. Glentyan. Signorelli 31. Spagna. 328.

— Keir. Signorelli. 31.

Sebastian del Piombo. Perugia? 370. Rome. 389. 397.

Segna. Mentioned. 74.

Serlio (S.). Mentioned. 388.

Serra Patrona. Gentile da Fabriano. 106. S. Francesco. Alunno. 132.

Sguazzella? Work at Leigh Court. 586.

Sienna. Academy. Andrea di Niccolò. 376. Balducci. 302. Benvenuto. 71. 72. Domenico Bartoli. 52. Fra Agostino? 473. Fra Bartolommeo? 473? 478. Fra Paolino? 473. 478. Francesco di Giorgio. 66—7. Fungai. 375—7. Gio. di Paolo. 80. Girolamo di Benvenuto. 74. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 65. Matteo di Gio. 83. 85. Nerroccio. 69. Pacchia. 379. 381—3. Pacchiarotti? 375—9. 381—2? Pietro di Giovanni. 77. Pietro Dominici. 376. Pinturicchio. 292. 294. Puccinelli. 401. Sano di Pietro. 77. 78—9. Stefano di Gio. (Sassetta). 74. The Three Graces. 289.

— Baptistery. Benvenuto. 70. Gentile da Fabriano. 101. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 61. Matteo di Giovanni. 61. Michele Lam-

bertini. 61. Sano di Pietro. 79. Stef° di Gio. (Sassetta). 76.
Sienna. Carmine. Fungai. 375. Pacchia. 379. Pacchiarotti. 378—9.
— Casa Sozzini. Matteo da Sienna. 84.
— Chiesa dell' Osservanza. Pacchiarotti. 378. Pietro di Gio. 77. Sano di Pietro. 78. Stef° di Gio. (Sassetta). 74.
— Collegio de' Notari. Gentile da Fabriano. 101. 377. Pacchiarotti. 377.
— Compagnia del Beato Gallerani. Pacchiarotti. 377.
— Comp. della Madonna della Neve. Matteo da Gio. 83. 84.
— Comp. di S. Catarina. Fungai. 375.
— Comp. di S. Gio. della Morte. Benvenuto. 73. Pacchiarotti. 378—9.
— Comp. di S. Girolamo. Benvenuto. 73.
— Comp. di S. Trinita. Benvenuto. 73.
— Duomo. Andrea Fusina. 279. Benvenuto. 73. Domenico Bartoli. 53. 56. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Ghirlandaio (Dav.). 520. Giov. di Pietro. 83. Guidoccio. 86. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 60. 65. Matteo di Giovanni. 83. 86. Nerroccio. 69. Pacchiarotti. 377. Pellegrino Mariani. 81. Peruzzi. 384. Pinturicchio. 282—3. 290—1. Rustici (Francesco). 283. Sano di Pietro. 78. Signorelli. 23. Taddeo Bartoli. 97. 104.
— Fontegiusta. Church of the Madonna. Fungai. 375. Girolamo di Benvenuto. 73.
— Loggia della Mercanzia. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 64.
— Michael Angelo. 279. Peruzzi. 400.
— Oratorio dell' Oca. Pacchia. 382.
— Oratorio della Chiocciola. Puccinelli (A.). 401.
— Palazzo. Francesco di Giorgio. 68. Pacchiarotti. 377. Pietro di Giovanni. 77. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 64. Matteo di Gio. 85. Sano di Pietro. 78.
— Palazzo Petrucci. Pinturicchio. 282—3. Signorelli. 6. 16.
— Palazzo Tolomei. Matteo di Gio. 85.
— Piccolomini Library. Bembo. 291. Gio. di Paolo. 80. Pinturicchio. 24. 280—9. Raphael. 280—9. The Three Graces. 289.
Sienna. Porta Romana. Sano di Pietro. 79. Stefano di Giovanni. Sassetta. 62. 74. 76—7.
— S. Agostino. Matteo di Gio. 84. Perugino. 235. Signorelli. 15.
— S. Bernardino. Pacchia. 281—2.
— SS. Concezione. See S. M. de' Servi.
— S. Cristoforo. Gentile da Fabriano. 102. Pacchia. 380—1. Pacchiarotti. 380—1.
— S. Domenico. Benvenuto. 71. Francesco di Giorgio. 16. 67. 86. 375. Fungai. 86. 375. Girolamo di Benvenuto. 84. Matteo di Gio. 71. 84. 86. Signorelli? 16. 86.
— Orat° di S. Caterina. Girolamo di Benvenuto. 73.
— S. Francesco. Pacchiarotti. 377. Perugino. 234. 377. Pinturicchio. 283.
— S. Giovanni. Pacchia. 383. Puccinelli. 401.
— S. Girolamo. Sano di Pietro. 78.
— S. M. A. Tressa. Pacchiarotti. 377.
— S. M. de' Servi. Fungai. 374. Giovanni di Pietro. 81. Matteo di Gio. 83. 84. Stefano di Giovanni (Sassetta). 74.
— S. M. degli Angeli. Pinturicchio. 295. Pacchia? 295. Raffaellino del Garbo. 416.
— S. M. della Scala. Stefano di Gio. (Sassetta). 76.
— S. M. Maddalena. Balducci. 302. Fungai. 376. Sano di Pietro. 79.
— S. Martino. Giovanni di Paolo. 81.
— S. Petronilla. Sano di Pietro. 78.
— S. Spirito. Balducci. 302. Fra Ambrogio della Robbia. 432. Fra Andrea. 480. Fra Bartolommeo? 479—80. Fra Paolino. 479—80. Matteo di Gio.? 302. Pacchia. 380—81. Pacchiarotti? 380—1.
— Signor Baldeschi. *Pinturicchio.* Raphael. 287.
— Spedale. *Bartolommeo di David.* 377. Beccafumi. 377. Benvenuto. 71. 73. Domenico Bartoli. 52. Girolamo di Benvenuto. 71. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 54. 60. 61. 65. Pellegrino Mariani.

81. Pietro di Gio. 77. Priamo della Quercia. 58—9.
Sigillo. S. M. della Circa. Matteo da Gualdo. 119.
Signorelli (Antonio). Work at Cortona. 33.
Signorelli (Francesco). His works at Città di Castello. 33. Cortona. 33. Gubbio. 33. Vienna. 33. — Mentioned. 32.
Signorelli (Luca). His life. 1—35. His works at Altenburg. 30. Arcevia. 23. Arezzo. 5. 10. 25. 27. 31. 32. Ascoli. 26. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 28. Castiglione Fiorentino. 28. Città di Castello. 5. 13. 14. 25. 28—9. 349. Cortona. 9. 22. 25—9. 32. Dresden. 6. 7. Florence. 5. 6. 7. 11. 29. 30. 247. Foiano. 26. 27. Genoa. 35. Gubbio. 10. Hamilton Palace (near Glasgow). 11. 12. La Fratta. 25. 30. Liverpool. 31. London. 6. 31. Loreto. 7—8. Milan. 4. 5. 30. 35. Monte Oliveto (Sienna). 14—15. Montepulciano. 30. 32. Monte S. Maria. 32. Montone. 25. Orvieto. 3. 16. 17—23. 133. Oxford. 35. Paris. 15. 30—1. Perugia. 10. Rome. 3. 8. 9. 24. 387. S. Petersburg. 31. Scotland. 31. Sienna. 6. 15. 23. 86. Spoleto? 10. Urbino. 13. 14. Vienna. 31. Volterra. 11. 12. 13. 32. — Mentioned. 36. 37. 39. 40. 42. 43. 67. 131. 164. 174. 180. 197. 206. 208. 233—4. 269—70. 349. 360. 361. 373. 379. 438. 525.
Sinibaldo Ibi. His works at Gubbio. 344—5. Isola Polvese. 345. Orvieto. 346. Perugia. 338—9. Rome. 345. — Mentioned. 94. 297. 347—8.
Sinigaglia. S. M. delle Grazie. Perugino. 208.
Simone Martini. Mentioned. 64. 71. 77. 81. 103. 381. 391.
Soggi (Niccolò). See Niccolò.
Sogliani (Giov. Antonio). His works at Anghiari. 515. Berlin. 513. Brescia. 516. ? 474. Brussels. 516. Fiesole. 516. Florence. 474. 479. 513—14. 516—17. Hamilton Palace? 476. London. 492. 516. Nancy? 583. Paris. 516. Pisa. 513—15. Rome. 479. S. Petersburg? 491. Turin. 516. Vienna? 474. — Mentioned. 48. 412.
Spagna. His education &c. 303. His probable share in works at Perugia and Panicale. 303. His works at Amelia. 324. Arone. 319. Assisi. 316—18. 324. Berlin. 304. Bettona. 323—4. Caso. 326—7. Diruta. 324. Eggi. 320—1. 326. Ferentillo. 304. 326. Florence. 325. Gavelli. 319—20. Glentyan. 328. Hamilton Palace (near Glasgow). 328. London. 304. 307. 308. 311. 327. Montefalco. 324. Munich? 327. Narni. 311. Panicale. 228. Paris. 328. Patrico. 326. Perugia. 306. 324—5. Rome. 304. 314—15. Rovigo. 309. S. Petersburg. 328. Spoleto. 3. 16. 17. 321—2. 325—6. Terni. 324. Trevi. 312. Todi. 310—12. 324. (Spineta) 304. Viterbo. 327. — Mentioned. 168. 213. 216. 246. 267. 289. 294. 296. 303. 339. 350. 355. 364.
Spain. Credi. 407.
— Escurial. Peruzzi? 398.
Spello. Pinturicchio. 24.
— Private House. Pinturicchio. 276.
— S. Andrea. Pinturicchio. 279. 355.
— S. Francesco. Pinturicchio. 290. 293—4. Raphael? 292.
— S. Girolamo (near). Pietro Antonio. 125. Pinturicchio. 278.
— S. M. Maggiore. Perugino. 238. 240. Pinturicchio. 275.
Speranza. 358.
Spinello Aretino. Mentioned. 68. 77. 85.
Spoleto. Baptistery. Pinturicchio? 271. Spagna. 271.
— Cappella Eruli. Dono Doni. 329. Jacopo Siculo. 329—30. Spagna? 329. Tamagni. 329—31.
— Chiesa all' Arco di Annibale. Spagna. 326.
— Citadel. Spagna. 317.
— Duomo. Campilius. 332. Jac. Siculo. 332. Pinturicchio. 271.
— Monastery della Stella. Spagna. 317. Siculo. 317.
— Palazzo Arone. Jac. Siculo. 330. 331. Spagna. 316—17.
— Piazza S. Gregorio. Campilius. 332.

Spoleto. S. Ansano. Spagna. 316.
— S. Domenico. Perino Cesareo. 372. Spagna. 316.
— S. Jacopo. Dono Doni. 322—3. Spagna. 321—2.
— S. Niccolò. Jac. Siculo. 331—2.
— Spedale degli Esposti. Jacopo da Norcia? 326—7. Spagna. 325—6.
Stefano di Giov. (Sassetta). His works at Asciano. 74—5. Berlin. 76. Borgo S. Sepolcro. 75. Cortona. 74. Florence. 76. Louvre. 74. Sienna. 74—6. — Mentioned. 51. 56—7. 62. 64. 78.
Stefano di S. Ginesio. 114.
Stockholm. Museum, Guidoccio. 86.
Strasburg. Museum. Perugino. 240—1.
Stuttgart. Museum. A. del Sarto? 581.
Subiaco. Sacro Speco. Melanzio. 169. 364.

T.

Taddeo Bartoli. Mentioned. 50. 78. 80. 89. 97. 107—8. 121. 140. 145.
Taddeo Gaddi. 185.
Terni. S. Francesco. Fiorenzo. 160. Pinturicchio. 160.
— S. M. delle Grazie. Spagna. 324.
Tiberio d'Assisi. His works at Assisi. 343—4. Bettona. 344. Foligno. 344. Montefalco. 343. Perugia. 344. Trevi. 342. — Mentioned. 44. 125. 279. 355. 363—4.
Timoteo Viti. Mentioned. 149. 345. 349.
Titian. Mentioned. 389—90. 469. 559.
Todi. Duomo. Spagna. 311—12. 324.
— Conv. della Spineta. Pinturicchio? 304. Spagna. 304.
— Monte Santo. Spagna. 310. 312. 332.
— Signor Leoni. Lattanzio da Foligno. 135.
Tommaso Barnabei. See Maso Papacello.
Tommaso di Stefano. 412.
Tomasuccio Nelli. His works at Gubbio. 93.
Torre di Bibiano. Pacchiarotti. 400. —1. Peruzzi. 400—1. Puccinelli. 400—1.
Torrita. Church of. Melanzio. 363.
Toulouse. Fra Bartolommeo. 461.
— Museum. Perugino. 240—1.
Traini. Mentioned. 199.
Trevi. Church of the Madonna delle Lagrime. Perugino. 238—40. Spagna. 313. 325.
— S. Martino (outside). Pietro Antonio. 125. 342. Spagna. 312. 332. Tiberio. 342—3.
Tribolo. Mentioned. 544.
Tunbridge. (Hon. P. Ashburnham). A. del Sarto? 585.
Turin. Museum. A. del Sarto? 580. Brescianino? 474. Bugiardini. 493. Cesare da Sesto? 516. Credi. 413. Fra Bartolommeo 474. Francia Bigio. ? 474. 500—1. 505. Mariotto Albertinelli. 493. Sogliani. 516.
Turpino Zaccagna. 32.

U.

Uccelli (P.). Mentioned. 2. 20. 51. 98. 101. 547.
Ugolino d'Ilario. Mentioned. 74. 270.
Urbino. Duomo. Piero della Francesca. 4.
— S. Chiara. Ingegno. 164. P. della Francesca. 182.
— S. Gio Battista. Lorenzo da S. Severino. 110—11.
— S. Spirito. Signorelli. 13. 14.

V.

Val d'Orcia. S. Niccolò. Lorenzo di Pietro (Vecchietta). 65.
Val Romita. Gentile da Fabriano. 97.
Van der Weyden (R.). Mentioned. 105.
Van Dyke. Mentioned. 27.
Van Eyck. Mentioned. 224.
Vannucchi. (See note to p. 543.)
Vasari (Giorgio, the elder). Mentioned. 2.
— (Giorgio, the younger). Mentioned. 25.
Vasari (Lazzaro). 2.
Vecchietta. See Lorenzo di Pietro.
Vecciano. Melanzio. 364.
Velo. Church of. F. Verlas. 358.
— S. Giorgio. Early Frescos. 358.
Venice. Academy. Credi? 413? 419. Gentile da Fabriano. 99. Ghirlandaio (R.). 533. Mainardi? 533.

Perugino? 250. Raffaellino del Garbo. 413. 419.
Venice. Bembo collection. Gentile da Fabriano. 100.
— Craglietto collection. Gentile da Fabriano. 99.
— Ducal Palace. Gentile da Fabriano. 98. Perugino. 195.
— Duchess of Berri. Brescianini? 474. Fra Bartolommeo. 474. Perugino? 250.
— Manfrini. Credi? 413? 419. Eusebio. Manni. 250. Perugino. 250. Raffaellino del Garbo. 413. 419.
— Palazzo Zen. Gentile da Fabriano. 99.
— M. A. Pasqualino. Gentile da Fabriano. 100.
— Raphael. Sketch-book. 282—9. 290.
— S. Felice. Gentile da Fabriano. 98.
— S. Gio. Evangelista. Perugino. 195.
— S. Giuliano. Gentile da Fabriano. 98.
— S. Pietro di Murano. Fra Bartolommeo. 447. 533.
— Seminario. Fra Bartolommeo. 474. Fra Paolino? 474. Mariotto? 474. Peruzzi. 401. Verrochio. 404—5. Visino. 492.
Verlas. Francesco. His works at Milan. 357. Sarcedo. 358. Schio. 357. Velo. 358.
Verona. Jacopo Bellini. 100.
Verrochio (Giuliano). 186.
Vienna. Belvedere. A. del Sarto. 562. 564. 580—2. 584. Bugiardini. 498. Fra Bartolommeo. 469 70. 474. 498. Fra Paolino. 454. 478—81. Perugino. 192. 247. 253. Pontormo? 580. Puligo. 580. Rosso? 580. Signorelli. 31.
— Count Czernin. Fra Bartolommeo? 474.
— Esterhazy gallery. Ghirlandaio (R.). 525. Pinturicchio. 33? 298.
— Harrach gallery. A. del Sarto? 581. Bronzino? 474. Fra Bartolommeo? 474. Mariano da Pescia? 420. Michele di Ridolfo? 420. Perugino. 253. Raffaellino del Garbo. 419. Sogliani? 474.
Vienna. Lichtenstein gallery. Alfani (D.). 253. A. del Sarto? 580. Eusebio. 253. Perugino. 153.
Vincenzio Civerchio. His work at Pallazuolo. 401.
Vincenzo Pagani. His works at Macerata, Massa, Monte Santo Pietrangeli, Pausola, Sarnano. 357.
Viterbo. Chiesa degli Osservanti. Jacopo da Norcia. 297. Orlando. 297. Pinturicchio? 297. Spagna. 327.
— S. M. della Quercia. Fra Bartolommeo. 478. Fra Paolino. 480. Mariotto Albertinelli. 491.
— S. M. della Verità. Lorenzo da Viterbo. 136—7.
Vittorio Ghiberti. 186.
Visino. His works at Bologna. 492. Florence? 492—3. Turin. 493. Venice. 492.
Vivarini Ant. Mentioned. 99.
Vivarini. School of. 191.
Volterra. Compagnia del Nome di Gesù. Signorelli. 12.
— Duomo. Signorelli. 12.
— Inghirami. Perugino. 254.
— S. Agostino. Signorelli. 32.
— S. Francesco. Signorelli. 11—13.
— S. Girolamo. Benvenuto. 70.
— S. Michele, Priamo della Quercia. 58—9.

W.

Warwick Castle. Fra Bartolommeo? 540. Granacci. 540. Raphael? 540.
Windsor Castle. A. del Sarto? 508. 580. 583. 586. Francia Bigio. 508. Nanoccio? 586. Puligo? 586.
Wolverton. Lord Orford. Bertucci. 354. Spagna? 354.

Z.

Zaganelli. Berlin? 581. (see Cotignola).

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Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018